

A LINGUISTIC AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON THE
RHETORICAL PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE FRAMING PAUL
THE SILENTIARY'S EKPHRASIS OF S.SOPHIA

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ABSTRACT

Paul the Silentiary's hexameter ekphrasis of the church of S. Sophia in Constantinople was written to celebrate the re-dedication of the church in December 562 A.D.; this followed the reconstruction entailed by the collapse in 558 of the dome of the emperor Justinian's earlier church (dedicated in 537 A.D.). The church which stands today is essentially that which Paul described; hence his poem is not, as it might have been, a vital testimony for art history. Its importance rather is literary, since it is the most substantial Greek poem written in the classicizing manner which survives from the period. The ekphrasis proper, or description of the church, is framed by a panegyrical prologue and epilogue. The present study is concerned with this panegyrical framework. The poem opens with a double prologue in iambic trimeters, of which the first part is a panegyric of the emperor Justinian and the second a personal statement by the poet; in the opening hexameters, the imperial panegyric is continued and the events which led up to the re-dedication of the church are also described; the poem concludes with a further panegyric of the emperor and of Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople. The object of my study is twofold: first, to elucidate the poem and its themes by reference to other available historical, literary and, occasionally, artistic sources and second, to examine its literary pedigree by a detailed discussion of its language and style. This literary aspect of the study has involved comparison with earlier epic poetry, Homeric, Alexandrian and Nonnian, with the epigrams of the Greek Anthology and, where appropriate, with other poetic and prose usage. In my commentary on the complex and elaborate hexameters, I have attempted to provide an extensive linguistic discussion, in order to supplement existing lexica; in treating the Atticising iambs, I have been content with a more cursory discussion of language and style. I have also included several detailed excursuses on literary and historical questions raised by the poem. The text of Friedländer's edition of the poem is largely satisfactory; I provide a list of places where I diverge. I also provide an English translation, which deliberately aims to keep as close as possible to the Greek original, and a select Index verborum to facilitate reference to linguistic discussions in the commentary. Abbreviations are based on those of Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon and Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon.

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INTRODUCTION

Biographical note

Biographical details about Paul are given by Agathias, Hist.5.9.7 ...ἀναλεγέσθω τὰ Παύλῳ τῷ Κύρου τοῦ Φλώρου ἐν ἑξαμέτροις πεπονημένα, ὃς δὴ τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα σιγῆς ἐπιστάταις γένους τε κοσμούμενος δόξῃ καὶ πλοῦτον ἄφθονον ἐκ προγόνων διαδεξάμενος, ὅμως παιδεία γε αὐτῷ καὶ λόγων ἄσκησις διεσπούδαστο, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μᾶλλον ἤνχει καὶ ἐσεμνύνεται. καὶ τοίνυν πεποίηταί οἱ καὶ ἄλλα ὥς πλεῖστα ποιήματα μνήμης τε ἄξια καὶ ἐπαίνου, δοκεῖ δέ μοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ νεῷ εἰρημένα μείζονός τε πόνου καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἀνάπλεα καθεστάναι, ὅσῳ καὶ ἡ ὑπόθεσις θαυμασιωτέρα. A. and A.Cameron (JHS 86, 1966, 17-19) have discussed the evidence for Paul's biography and proposed identifications for Cyrus and Florus (identical with those made by Du Cange in the preface to his edition, Paris 1670, reprinted in Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae Vol.40, Bonn 1834, vi-vii). R.C.McCail (JHS 89, 1969, 94) and R.Keydell (BZ 64, 1971, 69) both expressed doubts about the chronology proposed by the Camerons on the basis of their identifications of Cyrus and Florus. The most important objections are (i) that the ekphrasis, Paul's most scholarly and erudite work (see Agath., quoted sup.), is unlikely to be the work of a young man of about thirty (cf. JHS 86, 1966, 19) and (ii) that Agathias' use of the past tense (διεσπούδαστο, ἤνχει, ἐσεμνύνεται) in the passage quoted sup. indicates that Paul was dead at the time Agathias wrote this passage, probably between 579 and 582, see A.Cameron, Agathias (Oxford 1970) 9f. These two objections reinforce one another and suggest that other possible candidates should be sought in the attempt to identify Paul's father Cyrus and his grandfather Florus.

First, however, the value of Agathias' testimony should be assessed. Agathias' mention of Paul's grandfather as well as his father might be attributed either to the desire to distinguish between various people so named (cf. Du Cange loc.cit.), or, perhaps more likely, to a desire to stress Paul's distinguished

ancestry (cf. γένους τε κοσμοῦμενος δόξη, Agath., quoted sup.). Agathias' friendship with and respect for Paul (cf. JHS 86, 1966, 18) may, however, have led him to exaggerate the distinction of Paul's family, particularly in view of Agathias' own provincial origins (Agath.Hist.praef.14).

In seeking to identify Paul's father Cyrus, the Camerons rightly dismiss (p.18) the Egyptian poet Cyrus of Panopolis. Their chronological objection (that Cyrus of Panopolis died too early to be Paul's father) is reinforced by the negative testimony of Agathias (loc.cit.) which, while praising Paul's ancestry, gives no hint that he had a literary background. (The use of the term ὄμως in describing Paul's literary interests also implies a non-literary family). This objection may be added to the reservations voiced by McCail and Keydell against the Camerons' proposed identification of Paul's father with the Cyrus ἀπὸ ὑπάτων who composed A.P.9.808 and 809 and, according to Planudes, A.P.9.813.

There survives independent, non-literary evidence of other officials from the relevant period who may have been called Cyrus. (i) A silver stamp, dated to the early years of Justinian's reign, bears the name KVPV, see E.C.Dodd, Byzantine Silver Stamps (Dumbarton Oaks Studies VII, Washington 1961) no.6, p.64f; Mrs.Dodd suggested (p.27f) that this stamp was used by an official responsible to the comes sacrarum largitionum, rather than to the emperor, and thus relatively minor in the hierarchy of officials concerned with the stamping of silver. (ii) A seal of a silentarius and vestitor, on which the letters XΩP (? = KΩP) may represent the name of the holder, is recorded by G.Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin (Paris 1884) 602; Schlumberger suggested that the name may be Cyril or Cyrus, and dated the seal to the 6th/7th century. The office of silentary could be purchased (see Jones LRE II.572, III.164, n.17), so it is not impossible that Paul's father might have been a silentary also. (iii) Another seal, bearing the name Kyros and dated to the sixth century, is recorded by G.Zacos and A.Weglery, Byzantine Lead Seals I (Basel 1972) no.654 (cf. ib. no.2808 for the seal of a Kyros stratelates dated to the period 550-650 A.D.). There is no evidence to connect

any of these men called Cyrus with Paul's father, but they should be noted in conjunction with the Camerons' discussion of the evidence.

To the Camerons' evidence for Florus (p.19) may be added Malalas' reference (Exc. de ins.fr.47, p.173.7 de Boor) to a Florus among the team of eminent men (τινας τῶν πατρικίων καὶ ὑπατικῶν, line 5f) sent by Justinian to Cyzicus in 542 to investigate accusations that the exiled John the Cappadocian was implicated in the assassination of Eusebius, bishop of Cyzicus (see further Stein B-E II.482f). This may well be the same Florus who held office in the 530s, proposed by the Camerons as Paul's grandfather. His appearance on a commission as late as 542 would increase the acknowledged chronological tightness of this proposed identification. J.R.Martindale (The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II, A.D.395-527, Cambridge 1980, 481f) lists four men called Florus, of whom none is connected with Constantinople. The most distinguished (Florus 3) was a native of Edessa called by Theophanes (A.M.5963, p.117.3 de Boor) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, father of a Heraclius who was killed in 474 (see PLRE II s.v. Heraclius 4)*. It would be necessary to postulate that Florus had another, much younger, son Cyrus, who moved to Constantinople**, if this Florus were to be Paul's ancestor. Equally unfounded hypotheses would be necessary to connect any of Martindale's other three candidates with Paul.

Agathias refers (ὁ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν κτλ.) to Paul's office of silentiary. By the 6th century, this was a distinguished and fashionable part of the imperial cubiculum, see Jones LRE II.571f; R.Guilland, Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin (Paris 1976) XVII; J.B.Bury, The imperial administrative system in the ninth century (London 1911) 24f. On the significance of Agathias' expression τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν, see n. inf. on 256-61, sec. (iib) fin.

* It has been suggested by A.N.Stratos (Byzantium in the seventh century I, 602-34, Amsterdam 1968, 92) that the future emperor Heraclius was descended from this family.

** Hereafter Cpl.

Manuscript, editions, textual criticism, commentaries, translations

Paul's ekphrases of S.Sophia and of its ambo, together with John of Gaza's ekphrasis of the cosmic painting in the winter baths at Gaza, only survive in one manuscript, the Heidelberg cod.gr.23, best known as the source of the collection of epigrams which forms the Palatine Anthology. The manuscript is dated to the tenth century and the part which contains Paul's poems (p.1-40) is in the hand of a scribe designated J, who assembled and supplemented the work of an earlier scribe A. A facsimile of the manuscript has been edited by K.L.Preisendanz, Anthologia Palatina: Codex Palatinus et Codex Parisinus phototypice editi (Lugd. Batav. 1911). In his preface, Preisendanz discussed in detail the history, composition and scribes of the manuscript, and I have relied upon this preface and facsimile in my discussion of palaeographical problems. Briefer discussions of the manuscript are to be found in Friedländer's preface to his edition of Paul (on which see below), p. 105f; Hermann Beckby, Anthologia Graeca I (2nd ed., Munich 1965) 90ff; A.S.F.Gow and D.L.Page, The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic epigrams (Cambridge 1965) xxxiii ff.

The earliest edition of Paul's ekphrasis of S.Sophia is that of Charles du Fresne, Seigneur Du Cange, appended to his edition of Cinnamus, published in Paris in 1670. Du Cange worked from a copy of the manuscript made by Salmasius in the early seventeenth century (see Beckby op.cit.p.95f), and included a Latin translation of the poem and an architectural commentary. The poem was re-edited, together with Paul's Ambo and the ekphrasis of John of Gaza, by F.Graefe (Leipzig 1822), who used the apographum Gothanum of the manuscript, made by J.Spalletti in 1776 (see Beckby op.cit. p.97, 99), and provided brief textual notes recording improvements to Du Cange's text and his own conjectures. After studying the same apograph and inspecting Graefe's edition, F.Spitzner published a discussion of textual problems in lines 135-223, entitled Observationes criticae maximam partem in Pauli Silentiarrii descriptionem Magnae Ecclesiae (Erfurt 1823). A further edition of Paul's two ekphrases was produced by I.Bekker in the series

Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, Vol.40 (Bonn 1837).

Bekker re-printed Du Cange's preface, translation and commentary, but recorded textual comments made by Niebuhr after an examination of the manuscript. Bekker's edition is reproduced by J-P.Migne in Patrologia Graeca 86, cols. 2119ff. Meineke's comments on the poem, including some textual remarks, were published with the German translation of W.Kortüm, which forms an appendix to W.Salzenberg, Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel (Berlin 1854). In his dissertation de Paulo Silentiario Byzantino sectatore Nonni (Leipzig 1889), J.W.Merian-Genast made a detailed study of Paul's metrical practice and collected linguistic parallels from Nonnian poetry.

The most recent edition of the text is that of Paul Friedländer, Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius, Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit (Berlin 1912, repr. 1969). For his edition, Friedländer* studied the manuscript afresh and, in places where the text had been damaged by damp, was able to fill lacunae by an examination of the reverse imprint of the writing on the facing page (see his preface, p.108f). These lacunae, however, occur chiefly in the central section of the poem; the text of the panegyrical framework of the ekphrasis, with which I have been concerned, presents few palaeographical problems. Fr. also provided a German paraphrase of the poem and a brief exegetical commentary. Fr.'s text was criticised by A.Ludwich who, in his Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentiarius (Königsberg 1913), noted errors observed from his own examination of the manuscript and suggested other textual improvements based upon analysis of Paul's linguistic usage. Scholarship on Paul up to 1929 is reviewed by R.Keydell in Jahresber. über d. Fortschritte d. klass. Altertumswiss. 230 (1931) 134ff.

There is no complete modern English translation of Paul's ekphrasis of S.Sophia. W.R.Lethaby and H.Swainson included an incomplete and often inaccurate rendering in The church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople (London and New York 1894). Lines 352-889, together with Amb.50ff, are translated by Cyril Mango in The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1972) 80-96. The various German translations are listed by Fr., p.108, n.4.

* Hereafter Fr.

Variants from Friedländer's text

1. ᾠρ' for ᾠρ'
36. τῶ[ν πεσ]όντων for τῶν [μαθ]όντων
89. γε μὴν for γε μὲν
91. τᾶν for τάν
110. αὐτῶν for αὐ τῶν
141. δεῦρο, for δεῦρο·
148. οὐδ' ὅτι for οὐχ ὅτι
149. ᾠκεανίτιδας for ᾠκεανιτίδας
156. Ἄνθουσα for Ἄνθοῦσα
187. ἄντυξ, for ἄντυξ·
188. μελάθρου· for μελάθρου,
191. ὀμιχλήεσσα for ὀμιχλήεσσα
201. σφαίρης δὲ for σφαίρης τε
221. Βασκανίη for βασκανίη
222. Retain line as follows:
 ὅττι σέθεν ζώντος ὅτ' ἐγγύθεν ἐστὶν ἄρωγί,
238. (?) εἰάσης for εἰάσης
258. (?) ἔχοντα for ἔλόντα (cf. Fr.'s app. crit.)
298. πᾶλλει for πᾶλλειν
340. ἀρχὸς ὑποδρήσων ...ἐφετμαῖς, for ἀρχὸς, ὑποδρήσων...ἐφετμαῖς

929. ὀδίταις for ὀδίτης
943. (?) ἀντίβιον τινα for ἀντιβίων τινᾶ
948. ἐριδμαίνοντα σέθεν ζυγόδεσμον ἀράξαι, for ἐριδμαίνοντα, σέθεν
 ζυγόδεσμον ἀράξας,
991. τλήμονες, οἱ for τλήμονες. οἱ
1022. εἰς for εἰς

TRANSLATION

Paul the Silentiary's Description of the Church of S.Sophia.

(Iambics addressed to the Emperor Justinian).

Is it possible to think of a day greater than the present one, in which God and the emperor take pride? It is impossible to name one. We know that Christ is Lord, yes we know it without doubt. For this you make known by your words, mighty master, even to barbarians (5). As a result of which you have Him as a helper present to hand in your deeds: in making laws, founding cities, raising temples, taking up arms (should the need arise), arranging truces and checking conflicts. As a result Victory is inherent in your labours (10) like an insignia. (Is it not true that, to the west, we must traverse the whole earth and come to the Ocean, to find the boundary of your power? While to the east have you not now made all men yours?- some you routed in battle, others before coming to this (15); and have you not held every Libyan in slavery long since?). As a result, you escape from diseases serenely, against all expectation; as a result, you always pass by hidden dangers, as one would expect, mighty ruler, with knowledge, protected not by spears or shields (20), but by the very hand of God.

I admire you, almighty master, for your good courage, I admire you for your judgement and faith. The ambush was laid, the sword at the ready, the appointed day at hand (25); the conspirators had already passed within the palace and were laying hand on the inner door, after which they were going to assault your throne. But you knew this and had known long since, and so you remained steadfast and had faith in Him alone (30) who is your champion,- I mean God,- through whom you are victorious in all things. And you did not err in your intent. For what followed? The leader of the ambush fell by his own hand, for Justice was not willing to preserve him. For She knew clearly (35) from the rebels who have so often fallen, that if you had him in your power alive, you would

for certain turn straight to pity and mercy; in these too you surpass all mankind. For, feeling sympathy for the sins of life (40), many a time have you groaned at our transgressions, excellency. Many a time do you dampen your kindly eye with tears, as kings do, grieving on our behalf. Looking in particular towards incontinence, life's housemate (45), you release all from their wicked debts, like God, and run to mercy. You make petitions to yourself when the magnitude of the accusations does not allow others to begin entreaty. For indeed, you never allow (50) the pity which is pre-eminently yours to become the prerogative of another. And as a result of the impious deeds of daring which we do, you have occasion for intercession above.

Does he not take up arms against God Himself, whoever is not willing for this man to rule as emperor (55), a man who is gentle and kindly, and who gives benefits in moderation to friends and enemies alike? This preserves you; this makes the soul of the empress, mighty master, she who is blessed, all-excellent, lovely and all-wise (60), to intercede with God on your behalf; she whom, when she was alive, you had as a pious helpmate; but when she passed on, she provided for your subjects a supporting oath, an oath most unbreakable, which you have not disregarded and would not willingly neglect (65).

So much for that; but to those who are already wanting to go to the temple, give leave to make bold. And let this too, pray, be among your marvels, that words should appear which dare to describe the work which conquers all things by the pre-eminence of its marvels (70). Evidence of the outstanding greatness of your marvels is the great love which the whole city cherishes for you, mightiest emperor, and for your temple. For when you were celebrating the festival as needs must, at once all the commons, the senate (75) and those who pursue the safe middle way of life, begged you to extend the feast-days; you agreed; the days expired; they begged again; again you agreed. By doing this repeatedly, you extended the feast opulently (80).

(After these words had been spoken in the palace, there was an interval in the recitation, and the rest was spoken in the bishop's palace, in the presence of Eutychius, the most holy patriarch, and the following iambics were spoken in preface).

We have come to you, gentlemen, from the hearth of the king, to the hearth of the King who is the all-greatest, the creator of all things, on account of whom Victory is inherent in our master. There the governor of privileges (85) condescended to join the audience after his speech, and he yielded his attention to us graciously; but here the governor of priests is present to our sight: may he also be gracious. While of these may none, on hearing, rebuke the words (90). For someone may well say: "Sir, what utter and exceeding rubbish you talk! Are you asking this man to be gracious to your words, he who is the abode of all goodness and clad in all graciousness? You are in just the state you would think a man was in (95) if he were to beg, importunately insisting, that the sun should rise by day, that light should be bright, or words be words". I would not deny that this is how it is, but looking to my objective (100), which is most all-great and insurpassable, I fear the contest. And yet I begin again to take courage, from the very source of my previous fear. For if there were any hope for mighty word to be matched with the all-lovely temple (105), then it would have been perilous to strip for bouts in which victory was put at venture. But since we all know that never would a word appear which would run an equal race with the emperor's achievements, and that of those very achievements (110), the all-greatest is the foundation of this temple, we ought not to stand spiritless, afraid in the face of a foregone conclusion, but to stir up all our enthusiasm, to the limit of our strength. Boldness is a worthy thing in a man (115). For if the master had not created the temple with goodly courage and lofty spirit, surpassing the contemplation of all hope, the city would not have proceeded to such good cheer and happy indulgence (120). Why then

is it unreasonable that there should now be an appropriate freedom and impunity for words? For whatever they may in their weakness neglect, this can be added by the eyes. However, it is no Attic bean-eater who is their judge (125), but rather men of piety and mercy, in whom both God and the emperor rejoice: they order cities, they hold the reins of all things, both words and deeds. Is it then right that upon them should march these lines (130), cajoled to outspokenness by demagogic harangue? It is right to do this, I myself will repeat, appearing like an echo of my own words. And so I will return to the great emperor.

(Description of the Great Church by Paul the Silentiary, son of Cyrus).

Today it is not the thud of shields bears me on, nor (135) do I hasten to celebrate a victory, western or Libyan, nor yet do I strike out a reverberating rhythm over tyrant-slaying trophies. Let the glories of Mede-slaying works remain unproclaimed today. Peace, rich in prosperity, nurse of cities, you whom our lord has embraced more than Victory of the lovely helmet (140), come now; exulting in city-preserving toils, let us sing in holy hymns of the house which surpasses every most glorious contest, beneath the majesty of which alone every divinely-inspired, glorious, high-roofed work has cowered low.

But pray come you, fruitful Roma (145), and garland our life-giving emperor, clothing him abundantly with pure hymns, not because he has fitted your yoke-band upon the nations of the earth, nor yet because he has extended the almighty measures of your throne beyond outermost boundaries, over against the shores of Ocean, but because, by raising this measureless temple about your arm (150), he has made you more brilliant than your mother on the Tiber. Make way, I say, renowned Roman Capitol, make way! My emperor has so far overtopped that wonder, as great God is superior to an idol! And so I desire that in honey-voiced measures you (155), Anthusa of the golden tunic, sing of your sceptre-bearer. For indeed, not only did our lord, equipping his hand with

weapons, enslave innumerable barbarians with his shield-piercing spear, so that they bowed their untamed necks to your yoke-straps, and cowered before the yoke of your justice; but even (160) black Envy himself, shrieking insolently, sank down beneath the bow of the emperor, protector of the city, and, lacerated by a shower of arrows, thudded down, and by his fall hollowed out the dust. But you too, firstborn Latin Roma, come, singing a song in harmony with fresh-budding Roma (165); come, rejoicing that you see your child surpassing her mother, for this is the delight of parents.

Gentlemen, whose task it is to do honour to the holy ordinances, come pray, cast off the garb of sombre grief and, rejoicing, clothe your limbs in snowy robes (170). Having wiped the five-year tear from our eye, let us sing rhythmic hymns with lips auspiciously praising. The sceptre-bearer of the Ausonians has opened on earth the bolts of the heavenly gates, he has spread wide the doors of joy to all our festivities, he has dulled all cares (175). For, from the time when our lords' most mighty work thudded down, there was unabating mourning throughout the city. Be gracious to my bold tale, be gracious mighty guardian of the earth, may you pardon my verses, even if I provoke your ear a little. For delight in your great works has supervened (180) and buried pangs of gloom in the streams of forgetfulness. The light of the sun is more radiant to the wayfarer after a wintry night, and the longed-for calm is more cheering to sea-roaming men after waves. Be gracious, mighty one, be gracious to my bold tale (185).

Now, although mounted on mighty foundations, the wondrous vault of the hemisphere collapsed, and shook all the foundations of the house of holy mysteries; all the depths of the foundations in the city leapt up, the earth groaned long beneath, and (190) murky dust, mingling with the clouds of the air, hid the midday sparkle of the clear sky of heaven. But, blessed Christ, you stretched a hand over your seat, and did not allow the malicious Telchines to stain your earth with streams of man-slaying blood. For neither did you endure (195) to look with the all-seeing glance of your undefiled eye, upon blood shed in the precincts of the bloodless sacrifice. Nor again did the broad-breasted temple, held

fast within the bonds of craftsmanship, excellent in its fruit, sink down as far as its foundations. But the curve of a single arch slipped away (200), the eastern one, and a portion of the sphere was mingled with the dust. And one part was on the ground, while the rest still (a wonder to behold), just as if without support, was hanging there companion to the breezes. And every man groaned, stricken with gloom. May no-one smite my Siren with indignant word (205) for walking along the path of grief forgotten. Sweeter after weeping is laughter, after sickness health. Not so did the flame streaming forth from the sky grieve men, when it burnt up the surface of the earth, leaving it without herbage, when countless streams of torrents hissed as they were dried up (210); nor yet when down upon the fruit-bearing earth the fiery heaven yawning wide, opened the gates of destructive rainstorm, and confounded dry plain with the sea's surges.

But my sceptre-bearer, when he heard about the horrible grief, did not for long hide the radiance of his mind, nor (215) did he endure to rest downcast in the bonds of idle hesitation, but he shook off the pang of grief short-lived, and darted to the labour of re-building the house.

Shield-brandishing Roma stood beside him and said: "All-powerful lord, of blessed portion, abode of Justice, mainstay of cities (220), Jealousy has snatched me up, but it is a sign of grace in Envy that in your lifetime, when help is at hand, that in your lifetime she has assaulted the beauty of Roma. A gaping ulcer is welling up in our breast. But blessed one (for you have the power to sprinkle medicines upon the ulcer), stretch forth your hand, the nurse of prosperity which flows with riches (225). All the world, directing it with your guiding bridle, have I made subject to your trophy-bearing triumphs. Quiet are both the Median lord and the Celtic war-cry, and the Indian has given the sword of friendship to your throne, bringing elephants and sea-pearls (230); Carthage has bent the knee in slavery to my trophies. Towards me every merchant-ship directs life-bringing hope, watching the circling course of the two Bears, so that I may hand out to my

children affluent prosperity; and the winds blow fair, bringing merchandise over the seas (235). These things follow upon your toils; but pray, sceptre-bearer, do not let your wondrous work be cast upon the treasure-heap of all beauty under the streams of Lethe. For never, lord, even though the peoples of the boundless earth cower down before you, bent low before Ausonian ordinances (240), even though you have built the whole city for me, never will you find another more brilliant symbol of your throne".

So she spoke, and longed to implant her lovely lips upon the emperor's feet. But he stretched out to his familiar Roma a gracious right hand, and raised her up as she bent her knee (245). And he smiled softly, so as to banish her measureless grief and pronounced words full of carefree gladness: "Away with sorrow, royal city, do not trouble your heart. As no dart has conquered your shield, nor has any other barbarian spear smitten your unwavering spirit (250), nor yet may you bow down beneath cares hard to endure. Endure, all-royal city, do not tear your heart. For indeed by my toils I shall make you more celebrated, by rebuilding the well-vaulted summit of the temple.

So he spoke, and hastened to the precincts, and (255) his deed was surely swifter than the accompanying word. For in his haste he did not, according to custom, await his attendant shield-bearer, wearing the golden necklet on his unbending neck, nor any golden staff, ever the escort of lords, nor the host excelling in the deeds of prowess of strong-footed youth (260), black-shod companion of the well-armed way. But suddenly, on either hand men came streaming together from all directions, the emperor before them; shields thudded amid the close-packed multitude, and a confused din rang out. But when he set foot in the temple and perceived that the foundation (265) of the house was unshaken, he turned his whole intent to the vast summit, and praised Anthemius' craftsmanship and his mind excelling in prudent counsel. That man **laid** the first foundations of the temple, discharging the counsels of the nobly-toiling emperors (270), a man skilled both in the choice of a centre and the drawing of a plan. He had implanted in the walls strength great enough to vie with the hostile demon's

onsets, hard to endure. For [the church] did not sink down when the strong-shouldered peak was severed, but unshaken on the well-based foundation (275) supported its foot. And on the former walls the pilot of the great throne among the Ausonians built again the beauty of the faultless head.

But who could sing how with lofty adornment he restored the temple to life? Who has the ability to describe (280) the wise counsel of the wide-ruling emperor, excellent in its fruit? Those things, sceptre-bearer, we shall leave aside, as [being] the province of the building craft, but I will come to the culmination of your nobly-laboured toils, having seen the newly-accomplished miracle, at sight of which divine love thrilled the beams of every eye (285). Every mortal who has directed his eye to the heaven of lovely form, has not for long endured to watch with back-bent neck the circling meadow of the star-tunicked dance, but brought back his eye to a green hill and longed to watch the stream of a flowery torrent (290), the ripe corn, the shelter of a wood thick with lovely trees, the frisking flocks, the coiling olive, the vine supported on luxuriant branches and a bright-eyed calm upon the blue-green sea, fretted by the sea-washed oars of the sailor (295). But if anyone plants his step inside the holy precincts, he is unwilling to bring back his foot again, but with eyes enchanted bends his neck hither and thither with many a twist. All satiety has been expelled outside the lovely-helmeted house. Such an ever-guarded, flawless temple (300) has the emperor built with the succouring counsel of immortal God. For by your toils, lord, you attract the everlasting benevolence of most glorious Christ. For you did not wish to plant massive-shouldered Ossa on the peaks of Olympus, nor to drag Pelion above the neck of Ossa (305), making the aether scalable by mortal steps. But by pious labours having accomplished a work beyond hope, you have no need at all of stepping on mountains, in order that you may dart up to heaven, but on the straight-faring wings of piety you ride to the divine aether (310).

But why do I delay in celebrating the day of the care-banishing feast? Why do I roll out my tale outside the temple? Let us go

within the precincts; sing praises of God, initiates, invoking Him in supplication to assist my words.

Its edge lately blunted after the vintage, the sickle (315) was awaiting the summer work of sheaves to be, and the sun, shaking his reins by the wing of the south wind, was driving to the heatless degrees of the fishy goat, having left lately downcast the discharger of darts. Came the venerable dawn and (320) the divine gate of the newly-built temple bellowed as it was opened, summoning inside people and guardian. As dark night wanes and the light of day grows greater for all, so in truth waned, when the great temple appeared, the night of sorrows and the bright gleam of joy spread over all (325). It was a deed befitting you, mighty sceptre-bearer, and befitting Roma, to have opened the door of the temple to your people as harbinger of the feast of God immortal; it was fitting next after that day of divine wonder to have come to the birthday of life-giving Christ (330). And now the night had been accomplished, guide of Dawn of the lovely foot, summoning gladness, and the immortal herald of God had, waking, welcomed the strains of the unsleeping choir in his wondrous precincts, where with mystic voice the men of life-preserving Christ (335) had rejoiced to utter night-long hymns, singing without pause. But when, having drawn back her shadowy veil, rosy-armed Daylight stole over the heavenly vaults, then all the people assembled and every lord of thrones who discharges the behests of the mighty king (340), and bringing gifts of thanksgiving to Christ the king, with suppliant mouths sang reverent hymns, kindling the silver-white candle with nobly-toiling hands. And the Priest accompanied, and led off the holy choir, the Priest much-hymned (345), whom the sceptre-bearer of the Ausonians had found worthy of the temple. And all Rome's path of the broad ways was straitened. And when they had come to the divine courts, all the people cried out in thanksgiving, and thought that they planted their steps in the undefiled heavenly vaults.

Unbar the door to me, reverent initiates, unbar it (350), unbar the shrine of divine wonder to my tale, and offer a prayer for my verses. For as we touch the starting-rope we must direct our eyes towards you.

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Abide, o sceptre-bearer, I pray, for long-lasting cycles, to bring light to both west and east; for upon you east and west, much-hymned one, know how to rest their cares. For you harbours preserve bright-eyed calm in every city of the maritime earth (925); wrapping about in fair-bosomed embrace the wave outpouring, they soothe the foaming threat of Nereus. And the water of rivers, roaring with its stream, has submitted, and no longer is the robber current sullied by travellers; whoever has seen Mygdonian Sangarius in the Bithynian land, in the past exultant in his untamed streams (930), with his surface spanned by a bridge of dressed stone, will not reproach the true rhythm of my verses.

These things, blessed one of happy portion, foster your long accumulation of life-bearing years; these things (935), with western, Libyan and eastern triumphs, do honour to your power beside the rim of Ocean; these things have often laid low the necks of usurpers by the destructive daring of self-slaughtering hand, before you have girt about your hands with arms, and have smitten the heads of others before you have learnt (940) the tidings announcing acts of wrong. For if ever Justice, having rested for a brief space, brings before your feet one of your enemies, straightway you lull the tempests of necessary anger, straightway you assume a merciful serenity, and the brazen chain, which before was confining (945) him in penal bonds, straightway opens up the fastening upon his neck. And you, directing upon him a glance of gentleness, instead of executing him, elevate to dazzling belts the man who before strove to smite your yoke-band. And you gain profit in the number of your servants' limbs that the relentless tomb could cover (950); vanquished by your serenity, thrice-august emperor, much more than by the sword, the prisoner turns about his whole mind and draws it towards you, and, having darted from fear to love and trust in you, willingly makes his neck slave to your yoke-straps (955). For you know how much mightier is love than constraint, you know too how amidst pastoral flowers, often the bull, by heeding the pipe, avoids the sound of the shepherd's staff.

Hence there ever rose up as escort of your toils Christ the Lord, and with steering bridle (960) your stout-hearted counsels he keeps straight, whether there is need to bare the sword for war or to cover it. He also granted that you choose a God-fearing Priest, who easily runs over all the rugged path of four-fold virtue, whom (965) a divine voice from heaven set upon the most holy seat of Rome.

But, turning aside a little from trophy-bearing hymns of successful warfare in your honour, let us direct our song towards the august Priest. The hymn too for its part is in some respect yours, lord. For Victory, coming by turns now from this quarter, now from that (970), for toils of successful warfare and labours in protection of the city, rested a delicate garland on your head. For when, sceptre-bearer, in the life-giving counsel of your mind, you appointed the great Initiate to your precincts, straightway the assault of the wicked-minded demon collapsed (975), straightway you routed the grievous battle of all the passions, straightway you bound on the wreath of victory for toils in protection of the city.

But do you too uphold a longed-for ear, father most-hymned, leader of the holy temple. By your seal is protected the glory of the emperor (980) and by your prayers winged Victory has subjected the nations beneath the city-preserving yoke-straps of sovereignty. And some, who exulted in clashing shields, the spear brings beneath the emperor's feet, but countless other barbarian-speaking nations of the earth have gathered at Rome (985), because they have heard of the holiness, thrice-prayed-for one, of your serenity. Just lately I saw the divine court thronged by black-limbed men; and, enchanted by your divinely-inspired voice, they bowed soul and neck with voluntary will to thrones of heaven and earth (990). Wretched are those who have not received your hand upon their head, the hand which drives away sins hard to withstand, the hand which supports the impoverished, the hand which is the nurse of orphans and luller of all distress. For indeed, from birth temperance and modesty (995) have united you to holy ways of heavenly hope. Simple are both your meals and your divinely-inspired purpose, simple are the bright gleams of your eyes, simple the steps of

your feet and a simple word moves your lips. Downcast gloom of lowering brow (1000) you do not cherish, but foster a heart which rejoices in Christ, and bear a kindly, gracious radiance; and on your countenance, a gentle smile furrows your august cheeks. These things you bear as signs of your gentle-minded heart; for you are inaccessible to the ready steps of Anger (1005), seated unshaken in untumultuous serenity. You have shaken off all the woes of material labours, but, opening up a conduit of piety, your kindly heart, you direct a sympathetic eye towards human sufferings. Nor is any mortal whom you perceive without means (1010); for forthwith, having opened wide the treasure-store of a spotless mind, you surpass the Lydian wealth of the torrent rich in gold, bestowing wealth flowing river-like, poured forth from your hand. All the glories of labours primeval and more recent you have thoroughly learned: with spotless feet you travel (1015) every path in the holy meadow, and your cares the mystic canon has measured on a just-minded balance. That is why, enchanting your mind with undefiled cares, you have not endured to see holiness for sale, nor have you made holy heads the object of trafficking, nor yet (1020) have you pointed out to profane men a path which should not have been theirs to tread. And if anyone, meekly coaxing with gifts, expects to draw you to favour, heavily you crush him with rebuking bridle, enough to wipe away the cloud from his heart, enough to shame gold disdained, and to teach the fool (1025) that it is meet that he who frequents spotless precincts should himself be spotless.

May you continue to foster the realm of my emperor, blessed one, by your prayers; and may you continue to cleanse from Rome which neighbours the sea every weal of sinful-minded life.

Title and lemma.

Παύλου Σιλεντιαρίου ἑκφρασις τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας: This title is written in the manuscript in maiuscule letters (as opposed to the miniscule in which the text of the poem is written) and adorned with asterisks, in the hand of J, the scribe of this part of the manuscript, see K.L.Preisendanz, Anthologia Palatina: Codex Palatinus et Codex Parisinus phototypice editi (Lugd.Batav. 1911) praef. col.XXXIIIf. The title is also written again above in a later hand, perhaps that of Jan Gruter, see Preisendanz col.CXLIV. The words ἀρχὴ τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Ἰάμβοι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν are added in maiuscule letters by J in the right-hand margin, after his title. Similar lemmata after lines 80, 134 and 410 mark the divisions of the poem. These subsequent lemmata are inserted by J into the main body of the text in maiuscule letters and distinguished by marginal decoration. See Preisendanz praef. col.XXXIII for other marginalia and ib.col.LXXVff on J.

Παύλου Σιλεντιαρίου: See biographical note in Introduction, p.1ff sup.

ἑκφρασις: The ekphrasis is included among the progymnasmata in the rhetorical handbooks of the imperial period. It is defined by Theon (Spengel II.118.7f) as λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ'ὀψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον (cf.Hermogenes, ib.16.12ff, Aphthonius, ib. 46.15f, Georg.Choir., ib.III.251.24ff). Such rhetoricians mention as possible subjects for ekphrasis people (πρόσωπα), events (πράγματα), places (τόποι), times (χρόνοι), see Theon II.118.8f, Hermogenes 16.12ff, Aphthonius 46.16ff, who adds animals and plants (ἄλογα ζῶα καὶ...φυτὰ). The fifth cent. writer Nicolaus Sophistes adds an explicit distinction between the ekphrasis and the diegesis or description (Spengel III.491.27ff), emphasising the importance of ἐνάργεια (clarity) as characteristic of the ekphrasis, ἡ μὲν (sc.διήγησις) γὰρ ψιλὴν ἔχει ἑκθεσιν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ (sc. ἑκφρασις) πειράται θεατὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐργάζεσθαι (29f; see also ib.492.6ff). To the list of possible subjects, Nicolaus adds festivals (πανηγύρεις, 491.31) and, significantly, since these topics became increasingly

common at this period, statues and pictures (ἀγάλματα, εἰκόνας, 492.11f). So Agathias (Hist.5.9.7) advises that anyone who lives outside Cpl. should read Paul's ekphrasis of S.Sophia, εἰ δέ τις ἐθέλοι...γιγνώσκειν σαφῶς ἅπαντα, καθάπερ παρῶν καὶ θεώμενος, cf. ib.sec.8 fin. For a study of the history of the literary description of works of art from Homer onwards, see Fr.'s introduction to his edition, 1ff, esp.83ff on ekphrasis in rhetoric; cf. G.Downey s.v.Ekphrasis in Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum, ed.T.Klauser, Band IV, cols. 921-44, esp. 932ff on ekphrasis in the Christian period; on ekphrasis in the sixth cent., see J.Irmscher, Die poetische Ekphrasis als Zeugnis Justinianischer Kulturpolitik (Wiss.Zeitschr.Univ.Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwiss. Reihe 1, Jg.14, 1965, 79-87).

Of Paul's poem, only the central section 354-920 (rather more than half of the total number of lines) is properly ekphrasis of the church. The remainder is devoted to panegyric of the emperor and of the patriarch, and to an account of the events leading up to the occasion for which the poem was composed, see n. inf.

τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας : Internal evidence indicates that Paul's poem was written to celebrate the re-dedication in December 562 (see further n.inf. on 1) of Justinian's* church of S.Sophia, following the reconstruction which was made necessary by the collapse of the dome in 558. J.'s church was first dedicated in 537, having been built to replace the old S.Sophia, which was destroyed in the Nika Riot of 532. See Stein B-E II.457ff.

Paul uses the classical term ναός to designate S.Sophia throughout the poem. The more explicitly Christian ἐκκλησία occurs only in the lemma after line 134, where the popular name of the church is used, see n. ad loc. See further 8n.inf.

ἱamboi πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανόν: The hexameter poem is preceded by two prologues in iambics, of which the first (1-80) is

* Justinian is hereafter referred to as J.

a panegyric of J., while the second (81-134) is a personal statement by Paul, attempting to win over his audience. Prologues in iambs are found elsewhere in preface to hexameter poems dating from the fourth to the sixth centuries. These are usually similar in content and purpose to Paul's second prologue (see nn.inf. on 66-80 and 81-134), but may be panegyric like Paul's first prologue (e.g. P.Ant. 115, discussed by Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20, 1970, 119ff). Both Paul's prologues are metrically akin to other prologues in their free resolution of the trimeter, modelled on the iambs of Attic comedy, see Fr.p.118f; T.Viljamaa, Studies in Greek encomiastic poetry of the early Byzantine period (Soc. Scient.Fenn., Comm.human.litt., Vol.42, No.4, Helsinki 1968) 84-6; P.Maas, Greek Metre (tr.H.Lloyd Jones, Oxford 1962) secs.110ff, esp.111, 114. The style of both prologues is also characteristically lively, although the first prologue, addressed to the emperor, is more formal than the second, see nn.inf. on 1-80, 81-134.

Fr. is probably right to suggest (p.119) that Paul's double prologue was composed specifically to suit the circumstances in which the poem was delivered: lines 66f, 81-88 and the lemma after line 80 make it clear that Paul and his audience (or part of it) moved to a new venue after the delivery of the first iambic prologue, see further nn. inf. on 66f and lemma after 80.

Paul's double prologue is paralleled by that of Corippus in his Laud.Just., which similarly opens with a prologue addressed to the emperor, followed by one addressed to the quaestor Anastasius, (both, however, in hexameters) and, secondly, by the triple prologue composed by Agathias for his Cycle of poems (A.P. 4.3); in the latter, an iambic prologue similar to Paul's second prologue is followed by a hexameter encomium of the achievements of the emperor, and finally by a brief elegiac preface on the theme of the endurance of literary memorials. Paul's prologue probably served as a model for the more elaborate treatments of Corippus and Agathias (see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just. praef., p.118f. B.Baldwin, BZ 70, 1977, 298ff and ib.73, 1980, 334ff, argues for the traditional dating of Agathias' prologue to the end of the reign of J.).

According to the opening lemma, Agathias' prologue was composed for the occasion of the presentation of his new collection of epigrams. There is no evidence to indicate the occasion on which Corippus' poem might have been recited, but Corippus does refer to the public recitation of panegyrics at the inauguration of Justin II as consul (1st January 566), Laud. Just. 4.154ff tunc oratorum geminae facundia linguae/egregias cecinit sollemni munere laudes/consulis Augusti, see Cameron ad loc. for additional evidence of formal recitation of panegyrics such as Paul's (although probably more often prose works).

Although Paul's hexameters are generally carefully composed in a meticulous and scholarly manner, there are some indications, particularly towards the end of the poem (see, for example, nn.inf. on 1013, 1014f), that the work may have been completed in some haste, perhaps under the pressure of a deadline, and that it lacks a final polish. The ekphrasis proper might have been composed well in advance (most of what Paul says would have been equally applicable to J.'s original church, dedicated in 537, see n.sup.); the passages dealing with topical points, however, (e.g. the conspiracy of Marcellus in November 562, see n. inf. on 24-39 and cf. 937-9 inf., the reference to J.'s extension of the encaenia celebrations, 74-80, and perhaps the description of the encaenia itself, 315-49, although here there is little detail which could not have been derived from similar ceremonies in the past) must have been written only shortly before the poem was recited, see n.inf. on 1 τῆς νῦν ἡμέρας for the date of its delivery.

1-80. First iambic prologue: panegyric of the emperor Justinian. No day could be greater than this one, which is the delight of both God and emperor (1-3). You have spread Christianity, J., and consequently Christ is your constant partner (4-21). I admire your courage, judgement and faith: even when faced with an imminent assassination attempt, you calmly trusted in God (22-32). The assassin's suicide was an act of Justice, since, had he come into your hands, you would have shown your customary surpassing mercy (33-39). You weep at our sins, showing mercy above all to incontinence. You petition yourself when the offence is so great that others dare not ask, and you intercede with God for our impieties (40-53). To take up arms against so virtuous an emperor is to take up arms against God (54-57). This preserves you and makes the empress Theodora intercede with God on your behalf, the empress who was your devout partner in life and whose name, now that she is dead, is a most sacred oath (58-65). But now we must turn boldly to your church. May you achieve the further marvel that words may appear adequate to describe your marvellous achievement (66-70). The great love of the whole city for you and your church indicates the magnitude of your marvellous achievements: by popular request you twice agreed to extend the festival in celebration of the inauguration of your new church (71-80).

Professor Cameron (on *Cor.Laud.Just.praef.*, p.118) links this prologue with the similar prologues of Corippus and Agathias (see n.sup.) as "one of a group of literary treatments of the theme of imperial triumph". In harmony with this theme, the mood of the opening rhetorical question (1-3) is confident and optimistic, and

this tone is maintained, and indeed enhanced (see n. inf. on 135-67), throughout the panegyric introduction to the ekphrasis proper. This attitude of confidence and optimism probably bears little relation to popular feeling at the end of J.'s reign. The period saw the emperor's increasing preoccupation with religious affairs and consequent loss of interest in other matters, see the comments of Agathias (Hist.5.14.1ff) and Corippus (Laud.Just.2.260ff) on neglect at the end of J.'s reign (both, of course, written after the accession of Justin II). J.'s last years were marked by various manifestatons of popular unrest and discontent, including the conspiracy to assassinate J., to which Paul alludes (inf.24ff); see the surveys of Stein, B-E II.777ff, and Jones, LRE 298ff, esp. 301f, and cf. G.Downey in TAPA 78 (1947) 181f. Paul uses the occasion of the re-dedication of S.Sophia to present a rosy picture of the reign, depicting the new church as a centre and climax of the achievements of a Christian emperor, see further n. inf. on 150-54. It is, however, doubtful whether such an elevated piece of literary propaganda as Paul's poem can have had any popular influence, although the elaborate ceremonial surrounding the re-dedication of the church may have made more impact on the popular imagination, cf. Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 9 with n.25 (in the context of a wider discussion of the changing emphasis of ceremonial in the second half of the 6th cent.). A popular counterpart to Paul's poem survives in Canticum XII ap. C.A.Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica (Wiener byz.Studien Band V, Vienna 1968), see Trypanis' introduction, p.139.

Although this prologue is generally serious in tone, it nevertheless has affinities with the lively style characteristic of the iambic prologue in which the poet attempts to win the favour of his audience (see nn. inf. on 66-80, 81-134). It employs locutions which verge on the colloquial and are characteristically Attic (see, for example, nn. inf. on 18, 31) and, in one case, specifically comic (24n.); note also the use of linguistic play (see nn. inf. on 40-53, 57), direct question (1f, 11-16, 54-57), dramatic asyndeton (3, 24, 54) and remarks in the first person by the poet (22f).

1f. The poem opens with a reference to the occasion, natural at the beginning of an occasional oration, cf., for example, Chor.Or.1 dial.1 (1.6f Foerst-Richt.) ἐπειδὴ καὶ παῖζειν τι δίδωσιν ὁ καιρὸς, πανηγυρὶς γὰρ καὶ μία διὰ πάντων ἡδονὴ τε καὶ εὐθυμία φοιτᾷ, κτλ., inf. 135 σήμερον (the first line of the hexameters; see n. ad loc.), also 74-80, see n. ad loc. Paul's opening rhetorical question (answered in line 3) is confident in tone (see introductory n. sup.) and gives an effect of spontaneity and wonder. For a similar effect, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.1 ἄρ' ἔστι συγγενὲς τι μόχθος καὶ λόγος. Graefe prints the line in Jo.Gaz. as a question, but since it is a gnome based on Menander (Monost.640, quoted by Fr., p.135), Fr. is probably correct in considering it to be a statement. (For ἄρα so used, see J.D.Denniston, Greek Particles, 2nd ed., Oxford 1954, p.48 n.2). Paul's opening question is balanced by the similar one which concludes the second iambic prologue (130ff. The effect of this latter question is, however, different). A.Ludwich (Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentarius, Königsberg 1913, 27) is certainly right to argue that in our line as in 130, the particle required is interrogative ἄρα, as printed by Graefe and Bekker, not ἄρα as in Fr.

1. τῆς νῦν ἡμέρας: Probably 6th January (i.e. the Feast of Epiphany) 563, or shortly before, see Fr.p.110. Paul describes the encaenia celebrations of 24th December (inf. 315-49, cf. esp. 329f for the day) and refers (74-80) to J.'s extension of the celebratory festivities. According to the anonymous Διήγησις περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, ch.27 (ed.T.Preger, Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum I, Leipzig 1901, 105.9f), the festivities lasted until Epiphany*. The encaenia took place in December 562 (indiction 11, Mal.495.9ff, Anon.ap.J.A.Cramer, Anecdota graeca

* This work is dated by Preger (BZ 10, 1901, 458) before the mid-ninth cent. It is not generally reliable in historical detail (cf. Fr.p.110 n.1, Preger in BZ loc.cit.458ff, and see further nn.inf. on 198-203, 267ff, 276-8), but since its reference to the prolongation of the festivities is substantiated by Paul, the further information that they lasted until Epiphany may also be true.

e codd.manuscriptis bibliothecae regiae parisiensis, Oxford 1839, II.114.26ff**. Theophanes 238.17ff, cf.237.5, gives only the correct regnal year date 36, which appears also in Cramer, and an incorrect A.M. date, see further nn. inf. on 186-92 and 930-33 on dates in Theophanes). Paul's poem is probably not too long to have been recited in two sessions (a break is indicated by the brief iambic prologue, 411-16) in a single day, so it may well have been recited on the final day of the festivities, the Feast of Epiphany, cf.Fr.p.110 n.3 and see further n. inf.

With Paul's reference here to the occasion, Viljamaa (op.cit. p.54) compares P.Ant.115.b7 .ς νυν ημε[ρ]ας.

2. ἐν ᾧ, κτλ.: "in which God and the emperor take pride". The verb σεμνύνεται is probably not passive ("are magnified/honoured," cf.Fr.p.110 "gefeiert wird", Du Cange honore afficiuntur), but rather middle with ἐν "take pride in", a classical usage, cf. Dem.18.258 ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν... παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος τὸ λυπήσαι τιν' ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι, see LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v.B.2b, adding Agath. Hist.5.9.7 σ.ἐπί, also Proc.Aed.1.1.28, 63 ἀποσεμνύνομαι c.dat. For the singular verb after two closely-linked singular subjects, cf.inf.996, also 341-43 with 340n.

Fr. (p.110), translating the verb as a passive, suggested that this line supports the thesis that the poem was delivered on the Feast of Epiphany. If the verb is middle, the reference might simply be to the pride of God and emperor in the new church which Paul is about to celebrate, but God and J., the champion of Christianity (cf.4f.inf. with n. ad loc.), would equally take pride in one of the great Christian feasts. Moreover, the following reference to Christ (3) would be natural on the occasion of Epiphany. The names of God and His Christian emperor are regularly linked,

** On this source, apparently not based on Malalas, see A.Freund, Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik (Jena 1882) 36ff; L.M.Whitby, The chronicle source of Theophanes for the reigns of Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice, Appendix (forthcoming article).

see (for example) S.MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975) 146f; B.Rubin, Das Zeitalter Justinians I (Berlin 1960) p.429,n.392, who cites similar instances from the legal code. The link here foreshadows the development in the following lines (4-21) of the related theme of the liaison between J. and Christ.

3. Χριστὸν ἴσμεν, κτλ.: The asyndeton is deliberately harsh, for the sake of emphasis, cf. Paul's bold opening line. On the dramatic use of asyndeton, see Denniston, Greek Particles p.xlv, and cf.[Longin.]19.2 τὰ γὰρ ἀλλήλων διακεκομμένα καὶ οὐδὲν ἦπτον κατεσπενυσμένα φέρει τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐμφασιν ἅμα καὶ ἐμποδιζούσης τι καὶ συνδιωκούσης.

4. πάντως: In strong affirmation, cf. NT 1Ep.Cor.9.22 τοῖς πᾶσι γέγονα τὰ πάντα , ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω, and see LSJ s.v.II.1.

4f. τοῦτο γὰρ, κτλ.: J.'s promotion of Christianity, cf.Proc. Aed.1.1.9 (where greater stress is put on J.'s concern to unite the Church in orthodoxy) and contrast id.Arc.13.7. J. took an unprecedented interest in religious affairs, and his reign saw a vigorous attempt to eradicate paganism and heresy, see Bury HLRE II.360ff, Stein B-E II.279f, 369ff, 623ff. The last persecution of pagans occurred in June 562, see Stein B-E II.373 and Excursus H. Paul's phrase τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις may be intended to suggest more peaceful missionary activity, such as the conversion of the Eruli recorded by Procopius, BG.2.14.33 Χριστιανοὺς γενέσθαι ἅπαντας ἐπεισε(by giving them lands), cf.ib.4.3.21 διεπράξατο ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς ἦθη τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι (of the Abasgi). But τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις here is used in linguistic play with ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν (6), cf. Agap.Cap.49 (PG.86(1).1180A) ἃ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις νομοθετεῖς διὰ τῶν λόγων, ταῦτα προλαβὼν ὑπόδειξας διὰ τῶν ἔργων.... οὕτω γὰρ εὐδόκιμον ἀποφανῇ σου τὸ κράτος, καὶ λέγων πρακτικῶς, καὶ πράττων λογικῶς, and inf. 69 with n. ad loc.

5. ποιεῖς,...., γνῶριμον : Cf.X.Cyr.5.5.28 τί γὰρ ἂν, εἴ τις κύνας...θεραπεύων γνωριμωτέρους ἑαυτῷ ἢ σοὶ ποιήσειεν;.

κράτιστε: Cf. Sozomen HE.prol.15, of the emperor Theodosius; Agap.Cap.52 (PG.86(1).1180B), of J.; Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.174 and passim (see Pertusi's index s.v.κράτιστος, p.309), of Heraclius. The subject of an encomium is regularly addressed directly, or alluded to in the second person, often at the very beginning, e.g. Jul.Or.1 (1.3 Hertlein), Them.Or.7 (I.128.1 Downey), Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (p.489 Bonn), Prisc.Pan.5, Cor.Laud.Just.praef.1f, ib.pan.Anast.1, Diosc.3.1ff (I.130 Heitsch).

6f. ὅθεν συνεργόν, κτλ.: God's repayment to J. for his promotion of Christianity, continued in ὅθεν 10, 17, 18. Cf. inf. 959f ἔνθεν ἀεὶ καμάτοιο τεοῦ προκέλευθος ἀνέστη/Χριστὸς ἄναξ. The theme is common in imperial panegyric, e.g. Liban.Or.13.28 (II.72.16ff Foerster) ἔχων Ἀθήνηθεν τὴν θεὸν (Athene) καὶ βουλῆς κοινῶν καὶ πράξεων συνεργόν (of Julian); Proc.Aed.5.3.10 αὐτῷ τὰ ἔργα συνεπιλαμβάνεται ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα (of J.); Georg.Pisid.Her.1.185ff ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγγὺς εἰς βάσιν παρίστατο,/δι'οὗ τὸν ἐχθρὸν .../...καθεῖλες (of Heraclius); cf.nn.inf. on 20f, 31, 32. For the same idea in a different context, cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps. proth.109f ἐγὼ δέ οἱ (sc. Marcian) ἦνυσσα βουλὴν/Χριστὸν...λαχὼν ἐπαρωγὸν αἰοῖδῃς.

Causal ὅθεν, originally Attic (see LSJ s.v.II), is frequent in later literature, e.g. Call.Dian.197, 203, Procl.Hymn 6.10, Nonn.D.12.361, Par.4.119, al., Proc.Gaz.Pan.28 (515.1), No.XII ap. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica, 1ε'6, Anon.V.Theod.Syc.139.1 (I.109 Festugière). For συνεργόν...έν, cf. Ar.Eq.587ff (lyr.) ἐν στρατιαῖς τε καὶ μάχαις/ἡμετέραν ξυνεργόν/Νίκην.

The word πράξεσιν introduces one of the main topics prescribed by Menander Rhetor for the encomium of an emperor (βασιλικὸς λόγος), Rhetores Graeci ed.Spengel III.372.25ff*, τὰς τοιαύτας τοίνυν πράξεις διαιρήσεις δίχα εἰς τε τὰ κατ'εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον. The achievements of J. in peace and war are summarised in lines 7-16, cf. the similar survey of Procopius, Aed.1.1.6-11.

* Now re-edited by D.A.Russell and N.G.Wilson, Menander Rhetor, Oxford 1981.

7. ἔχει παρόντα: Cf. Prisc.Pan.277 ipse Deus pelago praesens exhausit ab alto (of Anastasius). In late authors the cognate term παρουσία regularly denotes the advent of Christ, see Soph.Lex. s.v., Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2b, PGL s.v.B.3.

νομοθετῶν: Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.10. "To many who know nothing of Byzantine history the name of Justinian the lawgiver is familiar as a household word" (N.H.Baynes, The Byzantine Empire, repr. Oxford 1952, 191). See Bury HLRE II.395ff, Stein B-E II.395ff, esp. 402ff. The theme was in any case prescribed for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, Men.Rhet.375.24ff.

κτίζων πόλεις: Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.8 πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμους δεδημιούργηκεν οὐ πρότερον οὕσας. Among J's foundations, Procopius mentions Petra in Lazica (BP.2.15.10), Justiniana in Greater Armenia (Aed.3.5.15), Justiniana Prima in Dardania (ib.4.1.19), Justinopolis in Dardania (ib.4.1.30), Rhaedestus on the Propontis (ib.4.9.20); many new fortresses are listed (Aed.4.4.3 and 4.11.20). The foundation of cities occurs as a panegyric-element at Call. Ap.55.

The verb κτίζω is loosely used in Byzantine literature in the context of imperial building in the sense "have to do with building activities": it does not necessarily always denote entirely new foundations, see G.A.Downey in BZ 38 (1938) 1ff, esp.10 n.3 on the emphasis on imperial building activities in Byzantine panegyric and biography (e.g.Proc.Gaz.Pan.18ff); id. in TAPA 77 (1946) 27.

8. νεὼς ἐγείρων: Procopius praises this aspect of J's activity in Aed., passim, cf. Prisc.Pan.268 templa novans renovansque Deo fulgentia semper (of Anastasius). For the expression, cf. Luc.Alex. 10 νεὼν αὐτίκα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐγείραι, NT Ev.Jo.2.19 λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν, Romanos 54 κα'5 (τὸν ναὸν) ἀνεγείρας (temple at Jerusalem), ib. κβ'6 τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγείρεσθαι ἔργον (J's re-building of S.Sophia after its destruction in the Nika Riot); inf.150, 300; also Amb.128. The verb appears

to be first used in this sense in poetry at Call.Ap.64 ὥδ' ἔμαθεν τὰ πρῶτα θεμεΐλια Φοῖβος ἐγείρειν, see Williams' n. ad loc. and cf. also A.P.9.696.1 (Anon.), and other exx. collected by LSJ s.v. I.4, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1aδ. Paul uses the Attic form νεώς in the iambs (66, 73, al.), but Homeric νηός in the hexameters (199, 254, al.).

8f. ὅπλα κινῶν, κτλ.: J's achievements in war, cf. Proc. Aed.1.1.6-8, also 11. Paul emphasises J's pacifism: Agathias (Hist.5.14.1) observes that J's great military victories were achieved in his youth; in old age he preferred to achieve his ends by peaceful conciliation.

ὅπλα κινῶν: Cf. Thuc.1.82.1 ἀλλὰ ὅπλα μὲν μήπω κινεῖν .

εἰ δέοι: Cf. X.Mem.1.2.59 μήτε στρατεύματι μήτε πόλει μήτε αὐτῷ τῷ δήμῳ, εἴ τι δέοι, βοηθεῖν ἱκανούς .

9. σπονδὰς τε τᾶπτων: J. had concluded a Fifty-Year Peace with Persia late in 561, see Stein B-E II.516ff, esp.518 n.2 for the date, Bury HLRE II.120ff. See further n. inf. on 13-15.

καταστέλλων μάχας: "checking conflicts", cf. NT Act.Ap.19.35 καταστείλας δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸν ὄχλον, and see further LSJ s.v.II.2.

The expression may refer to the gradual dying-down of the war in Italy, where the last Gothic strongholds, Verona and Brixia, fell in 561 or 562 (see Stein B-E II.610f, cf. Bury HLRE II.281). According to Malalas (492.17ff, cf. Theoph.A.M.6055, 237.12ff de Boor), Narses' announcement of these victories arrived in Cpl. in November 562. The war with Persia similarly petered out: military activities ceased after 556 (Stein B-E II.517, Bury HLRE II.120), although the Peace was not concluded until 561, see further n. inf. on 13-15.

10. ὅθεν τὸ νικᾶν, κτλ.: J. is victorious through Christ, cf. inf.84; at 981f the prayers of the patriarch Eutychius are said to

secure J.'s victories. The concept of the victory of the Christian emperor through Christ, and in particular through the sign of the Cross, originated in Constantine's vision before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, and became standard thereafter, see J.Gagé, *Σταυρὸς νικοποιός*, La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien', in *Revue d'hist. et de philos. religieuses* 13 (1933) 370ff; A.Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936) 32ff; etc. Cf. Proc. Aed.1.2.11 σταυρὸς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπὶκείται, δι' οὗ δὴ μόνου τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόρισται κράτος, describing the emblems carried by J. in his equestrian statue in the Augustaeum; Cor.Laud.Just.praef.1f deus omnia regna/sub pedibus dedit esse tuis, introducing an empire-survey, as in Paul.

11. ἐπίσημον: Substantival, "distinguishing mark", "insignia". The term is used of the device on a shield, coin, et simil., see LSJ s.v.; also of imperial insignia (plural), see PGL s.v.2.

11-16. οὐχὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν, κτλ.: The bounds of empire. The theme of J.'s world-empire is reiterated, inf.135ff, 147ff, 157ff, 226ff, 239f, 922f, 935ff. It is treated at length in the prologues of Corippus (Laud.Just. praef.1ff, using rhetorical questions, 10-15, 35f, as in Paul) and Agathias (A.P.4.3B.1ff), both probably dating from the early years of Justin II, see Cameron on Cor. loc.cit., p.118f. (Cameron's dating of Agathias' prologue is disputed by Baldwin, see n. sup. on opening lemma, p.21). P.Lamma (*Ricerche sulla storia e la cultura del VI^o secolo*, Brescia 1950, p.55f, n.21) notes the similar empire-survey at Just.Nov.XXX.11.2 (A.D.536) which, like Paul, alludes to divine assistance and to Ocean, ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἀγαθὰς ὅτι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπικρατείαν νεύσειεν ὁ θεὸς ὥνπερ οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι τῶν πρὸς ἑκάτερον ὠκεανὸν ὀρίων κρατήσαντες...ἀπέβαλον... (p.234.34ff Kroll). For the boundary of Ocean, cf. also A.P.9.297.5 (Ant.Thess.) Ῥώμην δ', ὠκεανῷ περιτέρμονα πάντοθεν. A different view of J.'s imperial ambitions is expressed at Proc.BP 2.3.42 ἡ γῆ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα· μικρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν... (from a speech said to have been made by Armenians to Chosroes of

Persia).

Panegyric of a ruler often includes an empire-survey (e.g. Theoc.17.77-94, Claud.Stil.3.130ff, al.), or a reference to the bounds of empire, see B.Rubin op.cit.p.461ff, n.583. For the latter, expressed with polarisation similar to Paul's, cf. Jos.BJ 3.107 τί θαυμαστόν, εἰ πρὸς ἑὸν μὲν Εὐφράτης, ὠκεανὸς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν, μεσημβρινὸν δὲ Λιβύης τὸ πιότατον, ...τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὅροι; also Them. Or.19 (I.330.14f Downey) δι' ὃν (i.e. Theodosius) ὑποκύπτει μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἡ ἑὼς, ἀτρεμίζει δὲ ἡ ἑσπέρα, Eus.V.Const.1.1 (I.7.9f Heikel) ὅπη γὰρ ἀτενὲς ἐμβλέψειεν, ἣν τε πρὸς ἑὸν ἣν τε πρὸς ἑσπέραν... (on Constantine's universal presence).

11-13. J.'s empire in the west included a province in southern Spain, see Stein B-E II.560ff, Bury HLRE II.286ff, and cf. A.P.4.3B.36ff (Agath.). (An allusion to Spain at 228 inf., suggested by Bury, 288 n.1, is less likely, see n.inf. ad loc.).

11. οὐχί: Common in Attic tragedy (see LSJ s.v. οὐ G), not specifically comic like τουτί, 95, see n.inf. ad loc.

12. ὠκεανὸς...κράτους: Cf.937 inf.

13. διεκδρομοῦσι: Dative plural of the aorist participle with ἡμῖν (12). Agathias exploits the idea of the freedom of the Roman traveller, A.P.4.3B.31ff ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν ἀφύλακτος ὅλην ἡπειρον ὁδεύων, / Αὐσόνιε, σκίρτησον, ὁδοιπόρε, κτλ. Cf. 929 inf. with n. on 921-33.

13-15. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἑὼ, κτλ.: Persia, the great eastern power, had not been conclusively defeated by J., although Paul elsewhere speaks as if it had, cf. inf. 138, 936. No great Persian defeat preceded the treaty of 561 (see 9n.sup.) and the terms of the treaty included a large tribute payable by the Romans to Persia in return for Lazica (Stein B-E II.519, Bury HLRE II.121, cf. Fr.11n.). Paul's attitude is, however, characteristic of the poetry of the period, cf. A.P.4.3B.3ff, 9.641.1 (both Agath.), ib.16.72.1f (Anon.;

discussed by the Camerons in BICS 16, 1966, 101ff); Cor.Laud.Just. praef.30ff with Cameron ad loc. But Paul does not mention Persia specifically here, and the verb προσλαμβάνεις (15; "take to oneself as one's helper or partner", LSJ s.v.I.3) suggests alliance rather than conquest, cf. ἡρεμέει 228.

14. τοὺς μὲν ἐτρέψω μάχαις: E.g. the suppression of the revolt of the Abasgi (Bury HLRE II.114-16, Stein B-E II.507) and the massacre of the Masimi (Bury 119f, Stein 515). For ἐτρέψω, cf. 976 inf. with n. ad loc.

15. τοὺς δὲ πρὶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τόδε: The Lazi voluntarily sought an alliance with J. (Bury 113, Stein 504f). Cf. Cor.Laud.Just. praef.27 certatim gentes Romana ad foedera currunt. Paul uses a similar expression (πρὶν ἔντεσι χεῖρας ἐλίξῃς) at 939 inf. in discussing J.'s defeat of tyrants/usurpers (see n. ad loc.).

Ludwich (op.cit.p.24) argued that Du Cange and Graefe were correct to write εἰς here, since Paul prefers this form to εἰς in trimeters. But the number of instances of εἰς is small (86, 119, 131, Amb.8), and since εἰς also appears in the ms. at 82 (as well as 81, where it is used metr.gr.), it is more prudent to follow Bekker and Fr. in retaining the ms. εἰς here (although εἰς predominates in Attic prose and comedy, see LSJ s.v.init.). Cf. 1022n. inf. on Paul's practice in hexameters.

16. Λίβυν δὲ πάντα, κτλ.: "every Libyan". Libya represents the southern boundary of the empire, cf. Jos., quoted in n.sup. on 11-16. Corippus (Laud.Just. praef.35f) and Agathias (A.P.4.3B.42ff) similarly mention Libya in their empire-surveys.

The Vandal Gelimer surrendered to Belisarius in 534, but peace was not established in Africa until John Troglita's victory over the Moors in 548, see Bury HLRE II.124ff, Stein B-E II.311ff, 547ff. On the Moorish rebellion of 563, see n.inf. on 136. Cf. also 231 inf. where δοῦλον is similarly used in a further reference to Africa, and see n. ad loc. for parallels.

17f. ὄθεν νόσους, κτλ.: For J.'s illness and rumoured death in 560, see Theoph.A.M.6053 (234.20ff), Stein B-E II.778; Procopius (Arc.4.1ff, 9.35ff) mentions earlier unexpected recoveries from illness. For Paul's juxtaposition of this theme with that of military achievements, cf. A.P.1.11.3f (Anon.) Ἰουστίνῳ (i.e. Justin II) δίδου/νίκας ἐπὶ νίκαις κατὰ νόσων καὶ βαρβάρων .

18-21. ὄθεν εἰκότως, κτλ.: J. escapes dangers because Christ gives him foreknowledge of them, so that he is able to meet them prepared. This, the last-enumerated of the rewards conferred by Christ on J. (see n. sup. on 6f), prepares for the transition to the recent unsuccessful conspiracy of November 562 (see n.inf. on 24-39), which forms the largest single topic of the first iambic prologue. J.'s foreknowledge (μαθὼν 20, 29) and trust in God on that occasion is the leading theme of this section. For imperial foreknowledge, cf. Men.Rhet.373.23ff (discussing the use of traps and ambushes by the emperor and his enemies respectively) εἶτα ἔρεῖς, ὅτι σὺ μὲν τοὺς ἐκείνων λόχους καὶ τὰς ἐνέδρας διὰ φρόνησιν ἐγίνωσκας, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ πραττομένων οὐδὲν συνίεσαν, and Christian exx. quoted 31n.inf.

18. εἰκότως: The adverb, common in classical drama and oratory (see LSJ s.v.) and also in Romanos (e.g. 54 1ε'1, 1η'4 with E.C. Topping in BZ 71, 1978, 30 n.63, id. κα'1) is here virtually a parenthesis, "as one would expect". Paul uses εἰκότως again inf. 95, 412 (both iambs). Its position in our line is determined by the desire to exploit its homophony with εὐκόλως (17), see Pertusi's introduction to his edition of George of Pisidia, p.45ff, on the frequent use of similar effects in the iambs of George. Paul's use of εἰκότως here may have influenced his omission of the δὲ which is strictly expected in this clause after the μὲν in 17.

19. ἐν ἄφανει: Cf. Thuc.1.42.2 ἐν ἄφανει ἔτι κεῖται; etc.

20. παρήλθες: Cf. Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.2.330 τοὺς σοὺς παρήλθες εὐχερῶς ἐναντίους (of Heraclius); also Dem.18.188 τὸ ψήφισμα

τὸν...κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ νέφος, and see PGL s.v.3.

20f. οὐ δοράσιν, κτλ.: J. is guarded by God. Menander Rhetor prescribes that, when praising the emperor's good fortune, the panegyrist should compliment him as follows, φίλοι πάντες εὖνοι καὶ δορυφόροι κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρόθυμοι (376.29f). Here God is J.'s δορυφόρος. Cf. also Agap.Cap.62 (PG.86(1).1181D) ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ φυλαττόμενος (i.e. the emperor), καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καταγωνίζεται γενναίως, καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους κατασφαλίζεται σπουδαίως. The theme of the emperor's divine protection is common in imperial panegyric, e.g. Them.Or.7 (I.135.17f Downey) ὁ νοῦς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ παλαμῇ δορυφορεῖται, κτλ., an Assyrian proverb, quoted also at id.Or.19 (I.333.3ff), al.; Liban.Or.13.20 (II.70.6ff Foerster); Prisc.Pan.254f haec propter celsi dominator maximus axis/...avertit...hostes, where God's protection is seen as a reward for Anastasius' virtue, as in Paul, cf. ib.270ff; simil. Georg.Pisid.Bell.Av.237ff τόξον γὰρ εἶχες τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐλπίδα/.../ πύργους δὲ πίστιν καὶ βέλη τὰ δάκρυα/καὶ πῦρ τὸ Πνεῦμα, κτλ., of the patriarch Sergius, in the context of his defence of Cpl. against the Avars in 626. Cf. also ps.Ap.Met.Ps.58.19 οὐνεκά μευ θεὸς αἰὲν ὑπερμενέως προμαχίζει.

22f. The narrative of the conspiracy is preceded by two lines in praise of J., in which a heightening of tension is indicated by the use of asyndeton, anaphora of ἄγαμαι and the intensive adjective παγκράτιστε (very rare: elsewhere only in Palladius, see PGL, Soph.Lex.s.v.; cf. τρισέβαστε 952 inf. with n. ad loc., also of J.). Menander Rhetor recommends (373.5ff) that the praxeis of the laudandus be divided according to the four virtues ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις. Paul here enumerates the virtues which characterised J.'s behaviour at the time of the plot, namely courage (εὐψυχία = ἀνδρεία, cf. Agath.Hist.5.1.8, etc.), wisdom (γνώμη = φρόνησις) and faith in God (πίστις).

24-39. These lines refer to the conspiracy of Ablabius, Marcellus, Sergius and others in November 562, see Mal.Exc.de ins. fr.49 (173).

30ff de Boor), Mal.493-5 Bonn, Theoph.A.M.6055 (237.15ff de Boor); Bury HLRE II.69, Stein B-E II.779. The circumstantial details of Paul's account make the reference here certain, see detailed nn. inf. Professor Cameron plausibly suggests (on Cor.Laud.Just.2.361f), on the basis that three of those implicated in the plot are called ὁ ἀργυροπράτης, that this was a bankers' plot, reflecting the financial crisis at the end of J's reign and consequent strained relations between government and bankers; cf. Lamma op.cit.p.56f, n.22 and see introductory n.sup. on 1-80 for the probable widespread feeling of disenchantment and dissatisfaction at the end of J's reign.

References to unsuccessful conspiracies or attempts to gain the throne are not uncommon in imperial panegyric, e.g. Them. Or.7 (I.127ff Downey) on Valens' victory over the usurper Procopius in 366, where the treatment is similar to Paul's, with circumstantial detail (e.g.p.137.19ff), references to the emperor's protection by God (e.g. 131.23f, 135.17ff), and his clemency to offenders (e.g.140.12ff), also id.Or.19 (I.327ff) on Theodosius' clemency (probably written against the background of a conspiracy against him, see Downey's note, p.328), Or.4 (I.80.2ff), for a reference to the conspiracy of Magnentius and Vetranio; Julian Or.1, 2, both of which have many references to the western usurpers Magnentius and Vetranio, and Silvanus, e.g. Magnentius and Vetranio: Or.1 (1.5ff Hertlein), 26Bff (32.5ff), 30Bff (37.8ff), Or.2. 55Cff (70.7ff); Silvanus: Or.1, 48C (60.13ff), Or.2. 98Cff (126.10ff), al. (Julian does not emphasise the emperor's clemency to the same extent as Themistius, but the theme is present, e.g. Or.1. 32A, 39.18ff, 38B, 47.20ff, 48Aff, 59.22ff; Or.2. 58B, 73.19ff, 99A-B, 127.5ff, al.); ps.Pampr.1 verso 1-15 (I.109 Heitsch), recto 21-32 (p.110f), with R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 38ff, esp.54f, 60-62, identifying the accounts in the two passages as referring respectively to Zeno's campaign against Illus and the sedition of Marcianus (note esp. McCail p.60f on the similarity between our passage and ps.Pampr.'s treatment of the second theme). Similar references occur in panegyrics which are more or less contemporary with Paul's, Proc.Aed.1.1.10, 16, on J's clemency to the conspirators Arsaces and Artabanus in 548 (see further nn. inf. on 940f, 948f); Cor.Laud.

Just.1.60f, 4.348ff with Cameron ad locc. and A.P.4.3B.53f (Agath.) with Averil Cameron, Agathias (Oxford 1970) 14f: Cameron argues that both Corippus and Agathias refer to the conspiracy of Aetherius and Addaeus in 566.

Paul probably developed the theme here for the same reason as that suggested by Cameron (1.60n.) for Corippus' references to the 566 conspiracy: the attempt by Marcellus and Sergius to assassinate J. had taken place little more than a month before Paul spoke, and could not be passed over without comment. (It is given detailed treatment by the chronographers). So Paul turned the affair to panegyric advantage by producing a version of it which presented J. in the best possible light: the proximity of J.'s danger is emphasised by the dramatic style of lines 24-29 (note the opening asyndeton at 24, the use of short clauses linked by καὶ at 24 and 25, together with the resolutions in the first foot of these lines, and the following more extensive period, 27f, which culminates in the vivid imperfect ἤπιοντο, 29; cf. n. sup. on 22f). With this is contrasted the emperor's supreme calm and faith in God (29-32, see further ad loc.). J.'s calm is suggested stylistically by the long words of 30f ἑκατέρησας, πεπίστευκας, προασπίζοντι, and by the lack of resolution in the trimeter. Moreover, the affair was not fully resolved at the time Paul spoke, and the extensive treatment of the theme of imperial clemency which follows the narrative of the conspiracy (35-53) may be a polemic in defence of J.'s actions, see further n. inf. on 34-39.

24. ὁ λόχος συνέστη: The chief conspirators are named as Marcellus ὁ ἀργυροπράτης, Sergius, nephew of Aetherius the curator (domus divini), and Ablabius, son of Miltiades, who was bribed by Marcellus to help him. The plan was to assassinate J. as he sat

ἐν τῷ τρικλίῳ* in the evening. Accomplices would then provoke a riot. See Mal.Exc.fr.49, 173.30-174.9, Mal.493.1-11, Theoph. 237.15-25.

For συνέστη, cf. Ar.Eq.861ff ὅστις εἷς ὧν/ἔπαυσα τοὺς ξυνωμότας, καί μ'οὐ λέληθεν οὐδὲν/ἐν τῇ πόλει ξυνιστάμενον, with Blaydes ad loc.; X.An.5.7.2 καὶ σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι συνίσταντο. Paul's use of συνέστη here, followed by ξυνωμόται (26) looks like a reminiscence of Aristophanes (cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.91), although other comic allusions are confined to the second iambic prologue, 81-134, see n.inf. ad loc.

24f. καὶ παρεσκευασμένον, κτλ.: Cf. Mal.Exc.fr.49, 174.15ff εὐρέθη Μάρκελλος ὁ ἀργυροπράτης τῇ αὐτῇ ἑσπέρα, ἐν ᾗ τὴν σκέψιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐμελλον ποιεῖν, εἰσερχόμενος ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ φορῶν βουγλήν, together with Ablabius, also armed, Mal.493.17-20, Theoph. 238.1.

The construction of ὑπάρχω with a participle is classical, see LSJ s.v.B.I.5, K-G.I.39, sec.353.4, Anm.2, and cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.354.2, p.287.

* I.e. the great hall or state room, perhaps the τρίκλινος τῶν δεκαεννέα Ἀκκουβίτων (on which see J.Ebersolt, Le grand palais de Constantinople, Paris 1910, 58ff, A.Vogt on Const.Porph.de Caer., t.1(2).68f). The subsequent "trial" of the conspirators (see n.inf. on 34-39) is also said to have taken place ἐν τῷ τρικλίῳ (Mal.Exc.fr.49, 175.3, Mal.494.15); cf. Const.Porph.de Caer.1.95 (432f Bonn) ὁ τῆς θείας λήξεως Ἰουστινὸς τὸν εὐσεβέστατον ἡμῶν δεσπότην Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τρικλίῳ. The sources attribute the great new Chrysotriclinos to Justin II (see, most recently, A.Cameron in Byzantion 50, 1980, 76, id. in Past and Present 84, 1979, 17 and cf. R.Janin Constantinople byzantine, 2nd ed., Paris 1964, 115f); Bury, however, suggested (HLRE II.54 n.3) that J. may have designed the Chrysotriclinos buildings as part of the re-building of the palace area after the destruction of the Nika Riot.

25. ἡ κυρία: Sc.ἡμέρα , "the appointed day". Cf. Hdt.5.50.1 and see LSJ s.v. κύριος II.3, adding Proc.BV 1.2.22 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κυρία παρήν, Agath.Hist.1.12.2 ἡ μὲν κυρία παρωχῆκει.

26-29. Paul elaborates on the proximity of J.'s danger (cf. n.sup. on 24-39), although the chronographers confirm (Mal.Exc. fr.49, 174.17ff, Theoph.238.1ff) that Marcellus was seized and committed suicide (cf.n.inf. on 33f) ἐν τῷ τρικλίῳ. The pursuers appear to have waited until the conspirators had thoroughly incriminated themselves before arresting them (cf.n.inf. on 29-32).

26. οἱ ξυωμόται: See 24n.sup. and cf. also Ar.Eq.257, 452, Vesp.488, 507, al.

27. παρήλθον:"passed within", see LSJ s.v.III.2, PGL s.v.1.

τῆς πύλης τε τῆς ἑσῶ: Cf. Georg.Pisid.Her.2.124 τῆς ἑσῶ θύρας (metaph.).

28. τοῖς σοῖς θρόνοις: In the hexameters, Paul similarly uses θῶκος/θῶκος in the plural to denote J.'s throne, see 148n.inf.

29-32. ταῦτα γνοῦς, κτλ.: J. is aware of the imminent danger and remains perfectly calm, trusting in God. Paul omits to mention that the conspiracy had been betrayed in advance by Ablabius (Mal.Exc.p.174.9-14, Mal.493.11-16, Theoph.237.25-29). Hence J.'s escape is made to appear the direct result of his πίστις and God's protection. The chronographers also imply that the failure of the conspiracy was due to divine intervention, by introducing the reference to Ablabius' betrayal with the phrase τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως εὐδοκήσαντος (Mal.Exc.174.9, Mal.493.12, Theoph.237.25). On imperial serenity, see further nn. inf. on 244-47 and 944.

29. δὲ: Adversative, delayed metr.gr.

31. τῷ σου προασπίζοντι : "in your protector/champion". Cf.

Eus.Laud.Const.18 (259.10ff Heikel) ἐπαξίως δ' ἂν ἡμῖν τοῦ σοῦ
 προασπιστοῦ γε καὶ φύλακος θεοῦ διελεύσῃ... τὰς ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἐπιβούλων
 φθοράς, τὰς ἐν κινδύνοις δεξιώσεις, ... τὰς τῶν μελλόντων προγνώσεις
 (part of a catalogue of the achievements of Constantine with God's
 assistance, similar to that of Paul 6ff), and see further PGL s.v.
 προασπίζω, προασπιστής: also Georg.Pisid.Bell.Av.232ff εἶχες
 συμφρονοῦσαν Πάρθενον/ἥ σοι τὸ μέλλον τοῦ σκοποῦ προῖστόρει /
 ταύτην συνασπίζουσαν ἐξ ἔθους ἔχων, κτλ., of the patriarch Sergius,
 who defended Cpl. against the Avars in Heraclius' absence in 626.

The verb προασπίζω is found in late prose (see LSJ s.v.)
 and in Nonnus (D.20.221, 45.110, al.), who also uses the noun
 προασπιστήρ (D.20.50, al., Par.17.35).

τὸν θεὸν λέγω: The explanation is scarcely necessary. The
 explanatory use of λέγω ("I mean") is characteristically Attic
 (see LSJ s.v.III.9) and the expression here adds a conversational
 flavour; this is more pronounced in the style of the second
 iambic prologue.

32. ὧ πάντα νίκας: "through/in whom you are victorious in all
 things", cf. Du Cange per quem omnia vincis. The dative ὧ is used
 in a comitative sense, with antecedent θεὸν, equivalent to the usual
 σὺν θεῷ. But Fr. (ad loc.) understood as the antecedent τῷ
 πιστεύειν, from πεπίστευκας (30).

For this variation of an idea now familiar (see esp.10n.sup.,
 also nn. on 6f, 20f, 31), cf. Prisc.Pan.6f qui (sc.deus) tibi regna
dedit, cui debes omnia soli/prospira, quae bellis pariter vel pace
tulisti; Cor.Laud.Just.praef.1f deus omnia regna/sub pedibus dedit
esse tuis, 1.182f pro te deus omnia fecit,/ quae fieri voluit and passim,
 see Cameron on praef.1 and Introduction p.8f.

32. τοῦ σκοποῦ δ' οὐκ ἐσφάλῃς: "you did not err in your intent/
 guardian" (exploiting the ambiguity of σκοπός), almost "you did
 not miss your mark", (cf. 100 inf. πρὸς δὲ τὸν σκοπὸν βλέπων).
 The pithy statement and the alliteration and assonance again anticipate
 the style of the second prologue.

Lines 32-35 are divided by a strong pause after a long anceps in the second metron. The short phrases give an effect of speed appropriate to Paul's rapid *résumé* of the *dénouement*.

33. τί γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις;: For the use of the question, cf. A.P.4.3A.8 (Agath.) τί δὲ νῦν ποιήσομεν;.

33f. ἔπεσεν αὐτοχειρία, κτλ.: Cf. Mal.493.20ff καὶ ὡς προγνωσθέντες συνεσχέθη μὲν Μάρκελλος, καὶ ἀστοχήσας τοῦ προσδοκωμένου σύρας τὸ βοῦγλιν ὃ ἐφόρει ἑαυτῷ ἐπήγαγε πληγὰς τρεῖς, καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε, Mal.Exc.fr.49, 174.18ff, Theoph.238.1ff. The chronographers add that Sergius escaped to the church of the Theotokos in Blachernae (Mal.493.23f, Mal.Exc.174.22-24, Theoph.238.4f). On this church, see R.Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, Pt. I, vol.3, Les églises et les monastères (2nd.ed., Paris 1969) 161-71, who cites other occasions on which it was used as a refuge.

Paul refers to Marcellus' suicide again, inf.937-9. Julian similarly refers to the suicide of the usurper Magnentius (Or.1. 40B, p.50.4ff Hertlein), which, like Marcellus' fate, is considered to be a just end (see n.inf. on 34-39); cf. also Prisc.Pan.259 sed Deus in propriam cladem converterat illos, of Arab invaders.

34. ὁ τὸν λόχον ἄγων: It was usual not to refer to conspirators by name, see Cameron Agathias 15. Conspirators or usurpers are not named in any of the panegyric instances collected in n.sup. on 24-39.

34-39. οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλεν, κτλ.: The end of Marcellus is represented as an act of Dike, whose harshness is contrasted with J.'s clemency, cf. inf.941ff. Certainly there is no evidence that any executions followed the uncovering of the plot (see below).

Praise of the emperor's *φιλανθρωπία* is a stock theme of the βασιλικὸς λόγος, see Men. Rhet.374.25ff on clemency to those vanquished in war (quoted in part in n.inf. on 56f), ib.375.8ff (peacetime achievements) καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τὸ ἡμέρον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπαινέσεις, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους *φιλανθρωπίαν*,

τὸ εὐπρόσοδον, ib. 17f ὁ βασιλέως ὅψεσιν ἐντυχὼν τῶν δεινῶν ἀπήλλακται; cf. Them.Or. 19 (I.330.17ff Downey), al., Liban.Or. 13.17 (II.69.4-6 Foerster), Socr.HE 7.22.7ff (II.779.13ff Hussey), Proc.Gaz.Pan. 22 (510.20ff), Prisc.Pan. 228ff. Procopius similarly comments on J's clemency to Arsaces and Artabanes, Aed. 1.1.10 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτεπάγγελτος τὰς αἰτίας ἀφείς, cf. ib. 16, quoted in n.inf. on 948f. (But at Arc. 13.1-3, Procopius expresses a different view).

Paul develops the theme at considerable length (35-53), perhaps in an attempt to justify J's handling of the conspiracy, and, in particular, his treatment of his old general Belisarius (cf. Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just. 4.348f, for a similar justification in Corippus). Paul mentions only the death of Marcellus, but the chronographers record (Mal.Exc. 174.24ff, Mal. 494.1ff, Theoph. 238.5ff) that Sergius was dragged from his sanctuary and made a confession which implicated, among others, Belisarius. Further arrests were made and confessions elicited, and finally J. called a grand meeting of the consistory and senate on 5th December, which was attended by many dignitaries, including the patriarch Eutychius. The various depositions were read out and Belisarius was disgraced: his bucellarii were removed and he was placed under house-arrest. Theophanes records (239.17f) that Belisarius was only restored to favour in the following July, so that he would still have been under house-arrest when Paul spoke. (Belisarius died in March 565, Theoph.A.M. 6057, 240.24-26). Belisarius' popularity is reflected in the biased account given by Agathias (Hist. 5.15.7ff) of his defeat of the Kotrigurs in 559, see Cameron, Agathias 49f. His disgrace is recalled in mediaeval legend, according to which the great general ended his days as a blind beggar in Cpl., see W.Wagner, Medieval Greek Texts (London 1870, repr.1971) 116ff, and cf. Bury HLRE II.69, Stein B-E II.779f n.5.

Lammas suggested (op.cit. p.57 n.22 fin.) that J's moderate action may have been a compromise solution at a time of strong feeling against the emperor. In emphasising J's clemency, Paul acts as his publicist. The indignant question of 54-57 may have the same motive.

35. ἡπίστατο: Sc. Δίκη. For the line-end, cf. Georg. Pisid. Exp. Pers. 2.145 ἐμφρόνως ἡπίστασο.

36. τῶ[ν πεσ]όντων: Graefe's supplement for the short syllable which is lost where the ms. is damaged, accepted by Bekker. This, or παθόντων (Fr. in app. crit.) or ἁλόντων, is preferable to μαθόντων (Fr. in text; "found out"- what?).

τυράννων: The term may denote captured barbarian kings like the Vandal Gelimer, who had been treated generously by J. (see Bury HLRE II.138, Stein B-E II.318), cf. A.P. 4.3B.55 (Agath.) ἁμοιβαίων δὲ τυράννων, of the Gothic kings of Italy after Theodoric, Cor. Laud. Just. praef. 11 with Cameron ad loc. But it is also regularly used to mean "rebels", "usurpers", see Soph. Lex. s.v., PGL s.v.2, Fr.'s n. on 135-137, and cf. Jul. Or. 1.26B (32.4 Hertlein), al., and the other exx. from the 3rd/4th cents. collected by R. Macmullen, 'The Roman concept Robber-Pretender,' in Rev. int. des droits de l'Antiquité, Ser.3, t.10 (1963) 221 n.3. Macmullen (221ff) traces the idea back to the Stoic/Cynic distinction between king and tyrant: legitimate rule belongs only to the philosopher-king.

πολλάκις: Rhetorical exaggeration, cf. n. inf. on 937ff.

37f. ἔση, ...τρέπη: The use of indicative for optative in historic sequence in oratio obliqua is classical: "She knew that, if you were to catch him, you would turn to pity", see Goodwin, GMT p.274f. In the apodosis, τρέπη is written because it is metrically convenient, or as representing the prophetic use of the present (Goodwin GMT sec.32, p.11). Fr. suggested that the present is used because clemency was characteristic of J., but the reference is to J.'s treatment of a single individual (αὐτοῦ 37, i.q.δ τὸν λόχον ἄγων 34), not to a continuous or repeated state of affairs.

38. εἰς οἶκτον..., εἰς ἔλεον: Rhetorical dualism, cf. 65

παρήλθευ...παραδράμοις, 120 εὐθυμίαν τε καὶ τρυφήν, 121f παρρησίαν/...
λόγων ἀζημίαν.

εὐθύς: Cf. 944-47 inf.

39. κἀνταῦθα νικῶν: "in these also conquering", i.e. as well as being all-conquering in the sense implied in 32.

πάσαν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν: Periphrastic for πάντας ἀνθρώπους. For the locution with φύσιν, see LSJ s.v.V.

This statement prepares for the more general discussion of J's clemency which follows (40-53). The idea suggested in this line is developed in 47 ὥσπερ τὸ θεῖον. The Christian emperor was seen as God's representative on earth, imitating God in his life. An important aspect of this imitation was in the exercising of clemency. This is already made explicit in Themistius, Or. 19 (I.333.9ff Downey): the emperor is called divine not because of his material power, ἀλλ'ὅτι μόνῳ θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἐστὶ ζωὴν ἐπιδοῦναι (14f); so no-one gives God the title νικῆτης et simil., but τὸν φιλάνθρωπον καὶ τὸν εὐσεβῆ καὶ τὸν σωτήρα (17f). Cf. Agap. Cap. 63 (PG. 86(1).1184A) ὁ μὲν θεὸς οὐδενὸς δεῖται · ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ μόνου θεοῦ. Μιμοῦ τοίνυν τὸν οὐδενὸς δεόμενον, καὶ δαφιλεύου τοῖς αἰτοῦσι τὸν ἔλεον, κτλ., cf. id. Cap. 21 (col. 1172A) τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἴσος παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὁμοίος ἐστὶ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ · οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐτοῦ ὑψηλότερον. Χρὴ τοίνυν αὐτὸν καὶ ὡς θεὸν μὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, κτλ., Cap. 8 (1168A), Cap. 37 (1176B) and passim, see P. Henry III in GRBS 8 (1967) 281ff, esp. 298ff. For additional illustration and bibliography, see Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 2.361f (a passage designed to illustrate Justin's pietas and clementia), esp. nn. on 399, 428. With our line, cf. also Prisc. Pan. 228 et superans omnes mentis novitate benignae.

40-53. J's clemency. The illustrations are arranged in order of increasing magnitude, progressing from J's sympathetic grief and

and tears (40-44) to more concrete manifestations of clemency (44-50), and culminating in J's own petitions to God on behalf of sinners (50-53). The examples are unified by linguistic play: at 40f, the parallelism of the synonyms ἁμαρτάσιν/πταίσμασιν is reinforced by the homophony achieved by placing both words in the dative plural at the line-end; in a similar echoing effect, the areas in which J's clemency is exercised are denoted by abstract nouns used in the genitive plural at the line-end (46 ὀφλημάτων, 48 ἐγκλημάτων, 52 τολμημάτων); in addition, τῶν ἐγκλημάτων (48) is matched by τῶν δεησέων (49); note also the repetition of πολλάκις in eadem sede at 41f. The use of similar effects characterises the iambs of George of Pisidia, see 18n.sup.

40. ταῖς τοῦ βίου, κτλ.: Cf. 1009 inf. συμπαθεῖς ἀνδρομέοισιν ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν ὄμμα τιταίνεις, of the patriarch Eutychius. Here τοῦ βίου is equivalent to ἀνδρομέοισιν in 1009.

40f. ἁμαρτάσιν/...πταίσμασιν: These nouns are synonyms. The feminine third declension noun ἁμαρτάς is a less common variant for ἁμαρτία or ἁμάρτημα. In classical Greek all three terms, together with πταῖσμα, denote "error" and do not necessarily imply moral guilt, see LSJ s.vv., and cf. Aristotle's definition of ἁμάρτημα, EN 5.8.6, 1135b11ff. In Jewish and Christian thought, however, ἁμαρτία and ἁμάρτημα are the usual words for "sin" (see Soph.Lex.s.vv.2, PGL s.v. ἁμαρτία, ἁμάρτημα II) and ἁμαρτάς and πταῖσμα are used in the same sense, see Soph.Lex.s.v. ἁμαρτάς 2, PGL s.v.1 and s.v. πταῖσμα, and for πταῖσμα, add Romanos 54 κε'5, No.XII ap.Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica, η'5.

42. ὦριστε: "excellency". In respectful address ὦριστε is usually used in conjunction with a noun, e.g. Orph.Hymn 56.1 δαῖμον ὦριστε, Procl.Hymn 1.33 θεῶν ὦριστε. Plato uses ὦριστε/ὦριστε alone (e.g. Meno 77c, Rep.338d), but there the tone is ironical, "my dear fellow".

42f. πολλάκις δὲ, κτλ.: J's tears are those of a king (βασιλικῶς 43). Normally the emperor remains calm and serene at all times, as J. did in face of the attempt upon his life, 29f sup., see nn.inf. on 244-47 and 944. Tears are, however, permissible, even commendable, in some contexts, for example in grief (as here, ἀλγῶν 44) or in prayer, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.156f, 2.10f. Here J's tears are appropriate to his God-like clemency, cf. NT Ev.Luc.19.41 where Christ weeps for Jerusalem. Contrast Proc.Arc.8.24 on J's crocodile tears.

43. τὸ πρᾶον ὄμμα: Cf. inf.947 σὺ δ' ἴλαον ὄμμα τανύσσας, also of J's clemency. For πρᾶος in this context, cf. X.Ages.11.6 τὰς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἁμαρτίας πρᾶως ἔφερε, and see further n.inf. on 1021f.

βασιλικῶς: Attic, cf. X.Cyr.1.4.14, etc.; in iambs, Georg. Pisid.Rest.S.Crucis 27 ὁ σταυρὸς ἦλθε βασιλικῶς δεδεγμένος.

ὑποβρέχεις: The compound is not classical and is usually used metaph. of toppers, see LSJ s.v. But for Paul's literal use, cf. Thphr.HP 5.3.3 καὶ γὰρ ὑποβρέχουσι ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν τρύπησιν μαλάξεως χάριν (of hardwood trees), where ὑποβρέχουσι is a probable conjecture.

44. ἀλγῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν: Cf. Cor.Laud.Just.2.380 condoluit miserans (Justin II's behaviour to petitioners).

44f. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρασίαν, κτλ.: In Aristotle (EN 7), ἀκρασία is a general fault, "weakness of will" or the inability to do what one knows to be right owing to the intervention of desire. The ἀκρατής is only ἡμιπονηρός because the moral judgements he makes are correct (7.10.3). In later writers, however, ἀκρασία takes on definite sexual implications, e.g. A.P.5.105.2 (Marc.Arg.) ἐπεὶ πάσης γεύεται ἀκρασίης (of Menophile), Agath.Hist.2.24.2 λέγεται γὰρ ποτε Σεμίραμιν...εἰς τοῦτο ἀκρασίας ἡγμένην, ὥς Νινύα τῷ παιδὶ ἐθελῆσαι συνελθεῖν ἐξ ταῦτό, cf. NT 1Cor.7.5, Soph.Lex.s.v. ἀκρατής 2.

"Incontinence" in sexual matters is therefore the natural interpretation here: J. did pass stringent legislation which prohibited divorce by consent and, with Theodora, attempted to control prostitution, see Jones LRE II.972-76, III.327f, esp.nn.81, 84 for J.'s legislation; Bury HLRE II.406-9, 411-13.

45. τὴν σύνοικον τῷ βίῳ: The use of metaph. σύνοικος in moral contexts is classical, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. also Greg.Nyss.Virg.20 (PG.46.400B-C) τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν σύνοικόν τε καὶ βίου κοινωνὸν ἑαυτῷ λαμβάνειν.

46. ὀφλημάτων: In Attic, ὀφλημα is a technical term for a fine incurred in a lawsuit, but later it is used of debt in general, see LSJ and PGL s.v. and cf. Agath.Hist.5.14.2. In Christian writers, the forms ὀφείλημα and ὀφειλέτης are used metaphorically of sin (ἁμαρτία), see Arndt and Gingrich s.v. ὀφείλημα 2, ὀφειλέτης 2, PGL s.v. ὀφειλέτης. Romanos uses ὀφλημα in this sense, e.g. 27 ιγ'2 ὡς πατρῶον ἐποφείλοντας ὀφλημα, 28 κε'5 (both of Adam's sin), see further J.Nimmo Smith, Romanos the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric (Edinburgh University M.Litt.thesis, 1971, unpublished) 101-6 and cf. J.Rivière, Le dogme de la redemption (2nd ed., Paris 1905) 373ff on judicial allegory in Christian thought. Fr.(ad loc.) is certainly right in saying that Paul here has in mind NT Ev.Matth.6. 12 ἀφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλεταῖς ἡμῶν. The parallelism between J. and God is made explicit in 47 ὥσπερ τὸ θεῖον. Remission of material debts was also an imperial prerogative, e.g. Theoph.A.M.6060, 242.22ff, of the empress Sophia.

47. ὥσπερ τὸ θεῖον: See 39n.sup., and cf. Cor.Laud.Just.2.422 more dei (of Justin II), Prisc.Pan.198 iudicis ipse sedens iudex caelestis imago (of Anastasius), etc. Here and at 127, Paul uses the abstract τὸ θεῖον for τὸν θεόν, metr.gr., see Averil Cameron in Historia 15 (1966) 472f, and cf. also Proc.Gaz.Pan.29 (515.9).

τρέχεις: Cf. Agap.Cap.62 (PG.86(1).1181D) τρέχειν μὲν εἰς τὴν

ἄνω βοηθείαν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ὀφείλει,... ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ πρὸ πάντων, κτλ.; Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.3.339f πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν Πόλιν σου.../...τρέχεις, of Heraclius' return from campaigning. Later (218, 255ff) Paul uses similarly vivid language to describe J.'s eager activity in connection with S.Sophia; cf. also inf.414 πρὸς τὸν νεῶν δραμοῦντες (iambics), of Paul's audience, eager to hear the second part of his poem.

48-50. The eagerness to act with clemency implied in the use of τρέχεις (47) is further manifest in J.'s willingness to act both as suppliant and judge. Cf. Greg.Nyss.Res.3 (PG.46.657D) εἰ γὰρ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, παραίτησιν ὑπερβαίνοντα καὶ συγγνώμην, αἰδοῦμενος ὁ Δεσπότης τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας γαληνὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον, δέχεται τὸν ἀπερριμμένον, κτλ.

48. αἰτεῖς δὲ σαυτόν: Sc. συγγνώμην.

τῶν ἐγκλημάτων: Like ὀφλημα, ἐγκλημα is a technical lawcourt term in Attic, "charge" (see LSJ s.v.I, II, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1, PGL s.v.1); later it is also used more generally, "reproach", "ground of complaint" (LSJ s.v.III, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2, PGL s.v.2).

49f. οὗ δίδωσι, κτλ.: For the construction of δίδωμι with accusative and infinitive, cf.963 inf. with n. ad loc. In δεησέων, Paul uses another Attic lawcourt term (see LSJ s.v.I, Soph.Lex. s.v.2), which is later regularly used of petition to God (see Soph.Lex.s.v.1, Arndt and Gingrich s.v., PGL s.v.).

51. τὸν ἑλεόν σου τὸν πάνυ: "your pre-eminent pity", "the pity which is pre-eminently yours"; cf. 39 sup. For the use of πάνυ with article, see LSJ s.v.II, K-G.I.595, sec.461.6c, and cf. Thuc.8.89.2 ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας τῶν πάνυ [στρατηγῶν sec1. Clausen] τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, Athen.8.347e φιλόσοφος δὲ ἦν τῶν πάνυ ὁ Αἰσχύλος, Agath.Hist.2.24.2 Σεμίραμιν τὴν πάνυ τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν.

52f. ἐξ ὧν δὲ δρώμεν, κτλ.: "And as a result of the impious deeds of daring which we do, you have occasion for intercession above". In cases of impiety, where J. himself has not the power to grant forgiveness, he intercedes with God on behalf of the offenders, which their very impiety would prevent them from doing for themselves, cf. LXX Jb.27.9f ἢ τὴν δέησιν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ ἁσεβοῦς] εἰσακούσεται κύριος; ἢ ἐπελθούσης αὐτῷ ἀνάγκης μὴ ἔχει τινὰ παρρησίαν ἔναντι αὐτοῦ; ib. Pr.13.5 λόγον ἄδικον μισεῖ δικαίος, ἁσεβὴς δὲ αἰσχύνεται καὶ οὐκ ἔξει παρρησίαν, and see PGL s.v. παρρησία IIA.3c. Although παρρησία has a long history in classical Greek (see 115n.inf.), Paul is here using the term in its Christian sense: according to Judaeo-Christian doctrine, παρρησία is the right to speak freely with God, granted to persons of special piety, such as OT prophets, NT disciples, holy men and Christians of similarly outstanding virtue, see E. Peterson, *Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von Παρρησία* in Reinhold Seeburg Festschrift I (Leipzig 1929) pp.289ff; G. Scarpata, Parrhesia: Storia del termine e delle sue traduzioni in latino (Brescia 1964) 73ff; PGL s.v. IIA.2,3. Paul here refers specifically to παρρησία as the power of efficacious intercession with God on behalf of sinners: this appears originally to have been the prerogative of Christian martyrs after death, later felt to belong to them also in life, as well as to ascetics and holy men, see Peterson pp.293ff, Scarpata pp.93ff, Peter Brown in JRS 61 (1971) 94ff, PGL s.v. IIA.3d, and cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.98 (PG.86(2).2385A) on the dead patriarch Eutychius (although the term παρρησία is not itself here used). In attributing such Christian παρρησία to J., Paul no doubt has in mind the Christian concept of the uniquely-close relationship between the emperor and God (see 39n.sup.), but the resulting compliment to J.'s piety is of the highest order, without parallel among secular figures (although cf. 61 inf.). The later, more explicit, compliment to J.'s piety at inf. 307-10 is more deeply rooted in imperial ideology, see n. ad loc.inf.

52. δὲ : Delayed, metr.gr.; cf.29.

53. ἀφορμὰς...παρρησίας: This sense of ἀφορμή ("occasion") is Attic, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Georg. Pisid. Bell. Av. 165 τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν λόγων, "the occasion of my poem", id. Her. 2.123, al.

54-57. An indignant rhetorical question in asyndeton recalls the subject of the conspiracy, from which the excursus on J.'s clemency originated, see n.sup. on 34-39 on the political background which may have motivated Paul's words. For the form of the question here, cf. 11ff sup. (with 11n. on οὐχί), and on such use of asyndeton, see 3n.sup.

Paul's passage, although much briefer, is similar in context and sentiment to the conclusion of Julian's second oration (panegyric of the emperor Constantius), 98Bff (126.5ff Hertlein), which refers to the death of the usurper Silvanus and Constantius' subsequent clemency, cf. 100A-B (128.10ff) πολλάκις δὲ ἦν πανούργος καὶ μοχθηρὸς καὶ δυστυχῆς, πολέμιος ἐθέλων εἶναι τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ ὃν σφόδρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαφερόντως πρᾶον ἡπίστατο, of Silvanus; 99B (127.7f) ἀλλὰ ὥς ἐνὶ μάλιστα πρῶτος εἶχε καὶ εὐμενῆς πᾶσιν ἦν, 100B (128.18f) ὁ δὲ ἡμέρος καὶ πρῶτος καὶ μεγαλόφρων, al. simil., on Constantius' clemency.

54f. The parallelism between God and emperor marks the climax of the parallelism between divine and imperial clemency in 40-53 (made explicit in 47, but also suggested elsewhere, see, for example, n. on 42f, and cf. 39n.sup.). Paul may well have had in mind Call. Ap. 25ff κακὸν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζειν./ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῇ μάχοιτο/ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῇ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μαχοῖτο. Similar sentiments are, however, commonplace at all periods, e.g. Il. 17.98f δππότ' ἄνῃρ ἐθέλῃ πρὸς δαίμονα φωτὶ μάχεσθαι,/ὃν κε θεὸς τιμᾷ, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθη; Pi. P. 2.88 χρῆ δὲ πρὸς θεὸν οὐκ ἐρίζειν; A. P. 10.91.1ff (Pallad.) ὅταν στυγῇ τις ἄνδρα, τὸν θεὸς φιλεῖ,/οὗτος μεγίστην μωρίαν κατείσσεται./φανερῶς γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ κορύσσεται, κτλ.; ps. Pampr. 3.151 (I. 116 Heitsch) τάχ' ἄν μακάρεσσιν ἐρίζοι, cf. Heitsch XXXVII.25 (I. 125); Niceph. Hist. Syn. p. 6.11ff de Boor εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς (i.e. the emperor Heraclius to assembled dignitaries and people) "ὁ βασιλεῖα ὑβρίζων

τίνι προσκρούει;". τοὺς δὲ φάναι "τῷ θεῷ τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν βασιλέα".

56f. τὸν ἡμέρον, κτλ.: "a man who is gentle and kindly, and who gives benefits in moderation to friends and enemies alike". This general laudation of J.'s philanthropic rule concludes the encomium of the emperor; Paul ends his panegyric with a compliment to the dead empress Theodora (58-65). Procopius likewise follows his reference to the conspiracy of Arsaces and Artabanes (cf. n. sup. on 24-39) with more general sentiments on J.'s philanthropia, Aed.1.1.10 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτεπάγγελτος τὰς αἰτίαις ἀφεῖς, τοὺς δὲ βίου δεομένους πλοῦτῳ πεπονημένους κατακορεῖς καὶ τύχην αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπηρεάζουσαν βιασάμενος, εὐδαίμονι βίῳ τὴν πολιτείαν ξυνῴκισεν. For the philanthropic virtues mentioned by Paul, cf. Jul.Or.2.99B, 100B (quoted in n. sup. on 54-57); Men.Rhet.375.8f τὸ ἡμέρον τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους (quoted more fully in n. sup. on 34-39), ib.374.28-31 μῶριον δὲ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἢ δικαιοσύνη, ὅτι νικήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἡμύνατο τοὺς ἄρξαντας ἀδίκων ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐμέρισε κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τὰς πράξεις τιμωρίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, κτλ. (Aristotle defined justice as a mean, EN 5, 1133a30ff); Them.Or.1 (I.8.7f) τὸ δὲ δὴ πρᾶον καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ τὸ ἡμέρον τί ἂν ἄλλο ἐν δίκῃ καλοῖτο (describing ὁ φιλάνθρωπος βασιλεὺς); Prisc.Pan.43 est clemens, stabilis, moderatus, mitis, honestus (of Anastasius); Agap.Cap.41 (PG.86(1).1176D) ἴσως πρὸς τε φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς ποῖου τὰς κρίσεις, κτλ., id.Cap.19 (col.1169D) εἰ τὴν ἐκ πάντων βούλει καρποῦσθαι τιμὴν, γίνου τοῖς ἅπασιν εὐεργέτης κοινός, Cap.13 (1168D) ἴσον εἶναι χρὴ πάντοτε τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ φρόνημα, Cap.55 (1180D) ..., καὶ θυμούσθω μετρίως, καὶ μὴ θυμούσθω, κτλ.; etc.

56. ἐν τῷ μετρίῳ: "according to the mean", "in moderation". The use of τὸ μέτριον in the sense "the mean" is classical, see LSJ s.v. μέτριος III.1, although the dative phrase with ἐν appears to be Paul's own.

57. εὐεργετοῦντα: The concept of the εὐεργέτης is adopted into Byzantine imperial ideology from Hellenistic political philosophy, e.g. Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.3,9), Agap.Cap.19 (quoted in n. sup. on 56f).



καὶ φίλους καὶ μὴ φίλους: Viljamaa (op.cit.p.82) cites this expression as an example of word-play, characteristic of the prose and iambic prologue and the language of New Comedy. The negative μὴ is generic, see K-G.II.197, sec.512.4.

58. σώζει σε ταῦτα: Emphatic asyndeton. In ταῦτα, Paul refers back generally to J's benignant rule, as exemplified in the previous passage, cf. the similar use of ταῦτα inf.934 (reiterated 935, 937), also 236. The theme of the security achieved by clemency is expounded inf.950-58 (see n. ad loc.), lines which, like our passage, follow a discussion of τύραννοι (937ff). Menander recommends a prayer for the emperor's preservation as a suitable topic for the epilogue of the βασιλικὸς λόγος, 377.19ff (see further n.inf. on 921-33).

58-61. ταῦτα τὴν ψυχὴν, κτλ.: Not only does J's φιλανθρωπία secure his kingdom on earth, but it causes the dead empress Theodora to intercede with God on his behalf. Paul thus elegantly effects a transition to a concluding complimentary reference to Theodora (who died in 548, see Stein B-E II.589 with n.4), using asyndeton and anaphora to reinforce the significance of his words. For similar bold anaphora, cf. Cor.Laud.Just. 4.288 principis haec, haec aula dei. On the value of an emperor's good works on earth for securing access to heaven, see n.inf. on 307-10.

Menander recommends that a reference to the empress be inserted when praising the emperor's σωφροσύνη, 376.9ff εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀξίας εἴη καὶ τιμῆς μεγίστης ἥ βασιλῆς; for such references, cf. Prisc.Pan. 301ff (of Ariadne, who, like Theodora, was already dead); Cor.Laud.Just. praef.22f, al.; also Epigr.Gr. 1064.10ff where a prayer to the martyr Sergius for Theodora follows a prayer for J.

Paul here implies that Theodora is in heaven: judgement was commonly assumed to follow immediately upon death, e.g. Theoph. A.M.6008, 162.2ff de Boor, Cyr.Scyth.V.Sab. 60 (II.161.18ff Schwartz), Evagr.HE 5.1 (195.4ff Bidez-Parmentier), al. Like J. on earth, Theodora is said to have attained in heaven the rare honour of παρρησία with God (see n.sup. on 52f), presumably in reward for

her pious deeds in life (cf. 62 inf.). Such παρρησία is sometimes considered to be greater after death, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Pan.Bern.7 (PG.50.640.52ff) πολλὴν γὰρ ἔχουσι παρρησίαν οὐχὶ ζῶσαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσασαι· καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον τελευτήσασαι, cf. Thdt. Hist.rel.18 (PG.82.1428B). There is, however, a Hellenic precedent for this motif in panegyric: at Theoc.17 (an encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus) 46-52, the king's dead mother Berenice is said to have been given upon death a place in Aphrodite's temple and a share in the goddess' prerogatives, so that she looks kindly on men and eases their cares.

60. τῆς πανταφίστης: The epithet is rare, attested only in a Spartan inscription (see LSJ s.v.) and in Theodoret, of patriarchs (see PGL s.v.).

τῆς καλῆς: Paul praises Theodora's beauty also at A.P.16.77, cf. ib.78 (Anon., on the same theme), Proc.Aed.1.11.8f, id. Arc.10.11.

πανσόφου: The epithet is Attic (see LSJ s.v.), used in patristic writers of God, prophets, apostles, bishops, holy men et simil. (see PGL s.v.); cf. also Georg.Pisid.Heracl.ex Africa 6 οἷς πάνσοφος νοῦς οὗ χαρακτηρίζεται, of other panegyrists of Heraclius.

62. εὐσεβῆ συνεργάτιν: Cf. Just.Nov.VIII.1 (A.D.535) where J. acknowledges the advice of "the most pious consort whom God has given us", κοινωνὸν τοῦ βουλευματος παραλαβόντες τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δεδομένην ἡμῖν εὐσεβεστάτην σύνοικον; also Epigr.Gr.1064.11 τῆς νόος εὐσεβίῃ φαιδρύνεται, of Theodora; etc. The feminine noun συνεργάτις (cf. σύνεργον 6) is classical (E.El.100), but rare, being found occasionally in later prose, see Stephanus, PGL s.v.

Theodora undoubtedly had great influence on J. (for example, in the fall of John the Cappadocian, see Stein B-E II.480ff), but her sympathies did not always coincide with his, most notably her monophysitism, see the survey of Stein B-E II.235ff, and cf. Proc.Arc.10.

63. Fr. (ad loc.) objected to the line as "schlecht gebaute", referring to the word-end inside both the resolved first brevis (δὲ μετῆλθε) and the resolved second anceps (μετῆλθε, παρέσχε), i.e. the "broken anapaest", see Maas, Greek Metre sec.111. But, according to Maas sec.114, this is tolerated "in the trimeter of the rhetorical preludes of the imperial period".

μετῆλθε: "passed on". This verb is not elsewhere used absolutely in this sense, but cf. OGI 56.55 (Canopus, 3rd cent.B.C.) εἰς θεοῦς μετῆλθεν, with Dittenberger ad loc., ib.45 μετελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἄεναν κόσμον, and see PGL s.v.1 fin. Analogous are Polyb.2.70.6 τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε, 4.25.6 κατὰ φύσιν...μετήλλαξε; Evagr.HE 5.1. (195. 6f Bid.-Parm.) ἐς τὰ κατώτατα μετεχώρησε δικαιοτήρια; Eustrat. V.Eutych.65 (PG.86(2).2348C)μεταστὰς τοῦδε τοῦ βίου, cf. Greg.Nyss. Pulch. (PG.46.869A; quoted in n.inf. on 81f); etc.

63-65. παρέσχε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, κτλ.: Men can rely on an oath which J. swears in Theodora's name; τοῖς ὑπηκόοις is dative of advantage. This is the interpretation of Maas. Fr. understood Paul to mean that men in general swear by Theodora's name, but this is unlikely in view of Just.Nov.LXXVII.1 (A.D.535), which seeks to prevent the swearing of blasphemous oaths in God's name, and also random oaths κατ'ἀνθρώπων (contra homines). See Fr. ad loc. for Maas's examples of the binding of an obligation by the utterance of an oath, and without further ceremony. With Paul's sentiment, contrast Proc.Arc.8.24f on the ὅρκους δεινοτάτους with which J. sealed his agreements, before immediately proceeding to break them.

64. βοηθόν: The syncopated form βοηθός is found in Attic prose, see LSJ s.v.; and cf. Call.Dian.153.

ὅρκον ἄρραγέστατον: The sense is reinforced by the emphatic repetition of ὅρκον and the superlative of ἄρραγής, the latter not elsewhere attested. The simple adjective is used of agreements in a late inscription and in papyri, see LSJ s.v.I.2 and cf. Preisigke

Wörterbuch s.v.

65. παρήλθες, ... παραδράμοις: The verbs are used as synonyms. This sense of παρέρχομαι is classical (see LSJ s.v.IV), but παρατρέχω is so used only at Theoc.20.32 and in later prose, see LSJ s.v.4b, PGL s.v.1b, and cf. inf.123.

66-80. These lines are transitional, linking the themes of the two prologues: the encomium of J. (1-65) is continued in Paul's compliments to the emperor's achievement in building S.Sophia (70) and to his extension of the festival (71-80), but the prayer for courage (68-70) anticipates Paul's auxesis of his subject and attempt to win the audience's goodwill in the second prologue (81-134, see further ad loc. inf.). Fr. (66n.) observed that the lines also mark a corresponding change towards the lighter tone of the second prologue.

From this point, Paul's prologue betrays a clear debt to the techniques and tone of the prose prolalia or dialexis and to the language of Attic comedy. In this it can be more closely related to other iambic prologues in late Greek poetry, see further nn. inf. on 68-70, 81-134. Relevant material is collected and discussed by Fr., p.119ff; T.Viljamaa, Studies in the encomiastic poetry of the early Byzantine period (Soc.Scient.Fenn., Comm.human.litt., Vol.42, No.4, Helsinki 1968) 68ff; Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20 (1970) 119ff; Menander Rhetor (ed. Russell-Wilson, Oxford 1981) p.295.

66. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα: I.e. the encomium of J. The formula is common in Attic, see LSJ s.v.οὐτος C.VII.3, and cf. Denniston Greek Particles p.258f.

66f. πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεῶν, κτλ.: The expression marks Paul's turning to the main subject of his poem, but is also an appeal to J. to give the sign for the dismissal of the assembly. Paul might be thought simply to refer to the change of subject, as he does inf. 134 οὐκοῦν ἐπάνειμι πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, Amb.26 οὐκοῦν πρόσειμι τῷ σεβασμῷ τόπῳ, and probably inf.313 ἴομεν ἐν τεμένεσσι, see

n.inf. on 311-14, for exx. from prose rhetoric, noting esp. Proc. Gaz.Pan.17 (507.16 Bonn) where βαδιοῦμαι is used. But lines 81-88 inf. and the lemma after line 80 clearly indicate that Paul did indeed move to a new venue after the delivery of the first iambic prologue. According to the lemma, this was not the church itself, but the ἐπισκοπεῖον, see further n. ad loc.inf. The unqualified dative βουλομένοις might refer to Paul alone (for the poetic plural, cf. 85 ἡμῖν, 933 ἡμετέρων ἐπέων), but it probably includes part, if not all, of the audience. Fr. suggested (p.110) that the audience moved in ceremonial procession to its new venue, see further 81n.inf. In θαρρεῖν, Paul prepares for the reference in 69 to the τόλμη needed by the poet to undertake his task, see n. ad loc., and cf. n.inf. on 102-124.

67. βαδίζειν:LSJ designate this word "Very rare in Poets" (citing E.Ph.544). It is, however, common in Aristophanes: 83 instances are listed in H.Dunbar, A complete concordance to the comedies and fragments of Aristophanes (New ed., rev. Marzullo, Hildesheim 1973). John of Gaza uses it metaphorically in iambic prologue (Descr.1 prol.10), and Choricus in rhetorical dialexis (XXIV = dial.14.5, p.281.21 Foerst.-Richtst.); cf. inf.130. On the use of comic expressions and vocabulary in iambic prologues, see Viljamaa op.cit. p.88ff.

68-70. With a complimentary appeal to J., Paul seeks inspiration in face of the magnitude of his task: the building of S.Sophia is a marvel; may J. achieve the further marvel that Paul be sufficiently inspired to find words to praise it. This theme is developed inf.100ff. The emperor here takes the place of the Muse or deity to whom the writer usually appeals, Il.1.1 μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, etc.; George of Pisidia makes an appeal similar to Paul's, but to the Trinity, Exp.Pers.1.15f ἰθὺνον ἡμᾶς ἔνθα τῆς ἐξουσίας/τῆς σῆς ἔνεστι συγγράφειν τὰ θαύματα.

The need of the poet for τόλμη is already acknowledged in Pindar (e.g.O.9.82, 13.11), and reference to this becomes commonplace in later rhetoric. Discussing the βασιλικὸς λόγος, Menander Rhetor

recommends that auxesis (i.e. elevation of the subject) is appropriate to prooemia (368.8f); examples are given, which include stressing the greatness of the subject (368.9-11) and the impossibility of doing justice to it in words (368.21ff, mentioned as being appropriate to all kinds of epideictic subjects; 369.7ff). Cf. Liban.Or.59.5 (IV.211.9ff Foerst.) ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἔθος τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐγκωμιάζειν τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν καταμέμψεσθαι δύναμιν ὥς πολὺ λειπομένην τῶν πραγμάτων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποθαυμάζειν ὑπερβολὴν ὥς πολὺ νικῶσαν τοὺς λόγους, al.simil. This double theme of the greatness of the subject and the author's humble ability commonly leads to the idea of τόλμη, as in Paul, see the exx. collected by Viljamaa op.cit. p.73ff and cf. also Jul.Or.1 (pp.1-4 Hertlein); ps.Pampr.3.4 (I.111 Heitsch); Diosc.5.11ff (I.134 Heitsch), 6.13ff (p.136), 12B.18ff (p.142); Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.12ff); Prisc.Pan.8; Eustrat. V.Eutych.1f (PG.86(2).2274Cff); etc. For similar auxesis of the subject without specific reference to τόλμη, cf. Cor.Johann. praef.15ff, A.P.4.3A.45f (Agath.); also Agath.Hist.praef.12f, with other references collected by Cameron Agathias Appendix E, p.145, s.v. Agathias' modesty. A related use of τόλμη-language is that which reflects unease about the depiction of divine natures, see the passages collected by R.C.McCail in Byzantion 41 (1971) 241ff, and cf. inf.756 where Paul draws back after describing the altar-table of S.Sophia.

68. ἔστω δὲ, κτλ.: "And let this too, pray, be among your marvels, that...". Niebuhr's conjecture τοδί που is unnecessary: the use of the neuter article as equivalent to the demonstrative τοῦτο, when introducing a dependent expression, is a Homeric usage, e.g. (introducing infinitive) Il.17.406f οὐδὲ τὸ ἔλπετο πάντα, / ἐκπέρσειν πολίεθρον, cf. Od.1.370, 20.220f, Call.Lav.Pall.132f μῶνα Ζεὺς τόγε θυγατέρων/δῶκεν Ἀθαναίᾳ πατρώια πάντα φέρεσθαι; (introducing a clause) Il.15.207 ἐσθλὸν καὶ τὸ τέτυκται, ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἰσίμα εἶδῃ. See further Chantraine Grammaire homérique II. 160, sec.237, K-G.I.576, sec.457.1 fin., 579, sec.457.6a fin. The particle δήπου emphasises τὸ, see Denniston Greek Particles p.267 on its nuance. It is found occasionally in Homer (e.g. Il.16.

746, 24.736, Od.4.739, 17.484), but is most frequent in Attic comedy (see Denniston loc.cit.). Homer often uses δὴ alone after the demonstrative article, see Ebeling Lexicon Homericum s.v.A.5b.

69. λόγους...πρᾶγμα : This antithesis is further exploited for the same purpose in the development of this theme inf., cf. 104f εὐσθενεῖ λόγῳ/συνεξισοῦσθαι τῷ νεῷ, 108f οὐκ ἄν ποτε/λόγος φανεῖν συντρέχων ταῖς πράξεσιν; also 129. Preoccupation with λόγοι and their appropriateness to the subject is not uncommon in rhetorical prologues, e.g. Chor.Or.1 dial.2 (1.8ff Foerst.-Richtst.), id.24 (=dial.14).5 (281.21ff); Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.22f); Jo.Gaz.Descrip.1 prol.1-8, id.Anacr.2.1f, cf.3.1f; Proc.Aed.4.1.1-3, cf.27; A.P.4.3A.45f (Agath.), inf.Amb.5f; cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.77-9. For the λόγος/πρᾶγμα contrast, cf. also Proc.Gaz.Pan.27 (514.17f) νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις ὁρῶ, ἃ τοῖς λόγοις ἀκούων ἐθαύμαζον, sup.4-6 with n. on 4f.

70. τὸ πάντα νικῶν, κτλ.: For the surpassing achievement of S.Sophia, cf. inf.101, 118, 142, 143f, 153, with additional material collected in nn. on the hexameter lines; see 153n. also on the use of θαῦμα and θάμβος in connection with building achievements. This sense of ὑπερβολή ("pre-eminence", "perfection"), without the usual pejorative associations of excess (cf. LSJ s.v.3) is Aristotelian, see LSJ s.v.5 and cf. Lib.Or.59.5 (quoted in n.sup. on 68-70); Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (491.2f) τῇ λῖαν ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καταπλαγεῖς; Agath.Hist.5.9.2 μεγέθους τε ὑπερβολῇ... ἐπικοσμήσας, of S.Sophia. Paul uses the word in the same context inf. 101, see n. ad loc.

71. τῶν ἄγαν σου θαυμάτων: Like πάνυ (51 sup.), ἄγαν is regularly used with a noun in Attic, see K-G.loc.cit.51n., and cf. Democr. 222 ἦ...ἄγαν χρημάτων συναγωγῇ, S.Ant.1251 ἦ τ' ἄγαν σιγῇ, Pl.Rep.8.564a ἦ...ἄγαν ἐλευθερία, id.Epist.8.354d διὰ τὴν ἄγαν ἀναρχίαν.

This third reiteration of θαυμάτων serves as a transition to the theme of the popular request for J's extension of the festival in celebration of the inauguration of S.Sophia; the prologue is thus

concluded with the theme from which it began, see Fr.'s n. on 71.

72f. ὁ τοσοῦτος ἔρωζ, κτλ.: Popular enthusiasm is referred to again, inf.119f (see n.ad loc.), 413-5, Amb.15ff, also 25. Paul's words here are true to the extent that the festivities connected with the re-dedication of the church probably offered a bright contrast to the prevailing atmosphere of neglect and decline in J.'s last years. The assassination attempt of November 562 (see n.sup. on 24-39), popular unrest and faction riots (see Stein B-E II.778f) indicate the limits of the people's love; cf. n.sup. on 1-80.

74-80. J.'s extension of the festivities in response to universal popular request. This extension is not recorded in the chronographers, but the 9th cent. Anon.Descr.S.Soph. says that the festivities lasted until Epiphany, see 1n. sup.

74. ἦγεζ τὴν ἑορτὴν: Cf. Hdt.1.147.2 Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτὴν, 1.182.2 ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν ἄγωσι, Call.fr.305 Pf. Λιμναίῳ δὲ χοροστάδας ἦγον ἑορτάς, and exx. of this sense of ἄγω in Attic collected by LSJ s.v.IV.1.

The chronographers (Mal.495.9, Anon.ap.Cramer p.114.27*, Theoph.p.238.18) use the technical term ἐγκαίνια, which is applied both to the consecration or dedication of a church, city et simil. (see PGL s.v.1) and to the annual celebration of the dedication (see PGL s.v.2); see also Du Cange Glossarium s.v. According to 9th cent. sources, the encaenia of S.Sophia was celebrated annually on 23rd December, see C.Mango and J.Parker in DOP 14 (1960) 233. Sources date the first encaenia of J.'s church to 22nd or 27th December, see n.inf. on 315-53.

75f. ἅπας ὁ δῆμος, κτλ.: Paul divides ἡ πᾶσα πόλις (72) into three separate groups, thus stressing the unanimity of the appeal. There is no reason to understand ὁ δῆμος in the technical sense "circus factions" as does Fr. (75n.). In contrast to ἡ γερούσια ("the

* On this work, see 1n.sup., footnote **.

senate"), the natural sense is the general "people", "commons" (Lat. plebs), the normal meaning of δῆμοι in late Greek, see Alan Cameron Circus Factions (Oxford 1976) 28ff, and cf. LSJ s.v.II.1. The expression οἱ τῶν μέσον, κτλ. denotes all who are excluded from the other two classes (not the clergy, as suggested by Fr., 75n.). For the use of μέσος to denote class, see LSJ s.v.II.2. The connection between the middle way and safety is classical, e.g. Eur.fr.928 Nauck οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλὲς/περαιτέρω τὸ κάλλος ἢ μέσον λαβεῖν, Snell suppl.ad Nauck (Hildesheim 1964) Adesp.547.6 ἢ δὲ μεσότης ἐν πᾶσιν ἀσφαλέστερα (of the gifts of fortune); cf. Arist. Pol.4.9.7, 1295b29f καὶ σώζονται δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὗτοι (sc. οἱ μέσοι) μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν (followed by illustrations); Hor.Carm. 2.10.5ff, and additional exx. collected by Nisbet and Hubbard ad loc. Fr. (ad loc.) notes the similarity of Daedalus' advice to Icarus, O.Met.2.137 medio tutissimus ibis.

77. ἐπεξάγειν: For the sense "extend", cf. D.C.43.50.1 τό τε πωμήριον ἐπὶ πλεον ἐπεξήγαγε, Heliod.9.26.2 οὐδὲ ἐπεξάγω τὴν τύχην πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, Plut.Mor.855c τὴν διήγησιν, and similar exx. collected LSJ s.v.II.1.

78f. ἦτουν, κτλ.: The dramatic, asyndetic style (cf. 3n.sup.) is similar to that of 24f, although here the brief phrases are much more staccato. Paul perhaps intends to suggest the readiness of J.'s compliance with popular request.

ἐξέδραμον: For the sense "expire", see LSJ s.v.7 and cf. Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.2.286 ἔκτης δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκδραμούσης ἡμέρας.

79. πολλῶς: This probably refers simply to the two extensions mentioned, cf. n.inf. on 937ff for another case of πολλῶς in rhetorical exaggeration. Adverbial εὐθύς is used for similar effect at 75, cf. inf.944-46, 974-76.

80. ἐπεξέτεινας: The sense "extend", occurs in Aristotle, see LSJ s.v.I.1; cf. Plut.Mor.1147a ἐπεκτείνειν τοὺς περὶ τούτου

λόγους, and see Soph.Lex.s.v.2 for the technical sense "lengthen a word/vowel".

πλουσίως: The adverb is classical, see LSJ s.v., adding Ar. Vesp.1168, X.Oec.9.13 (comparative); also in NT, see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.

Lemma

In the ms., the lemma is inserted into the main body of the text (see n.sup. on opening lemma), which suggests that the lemma was already in the exemplar from which the scribe J copied in the tenth century. Further assessment of its authority can be based only on the internal evidence of the poem. All the information in the lemma might have been deduced from the text (66f, 81-88), except for the precise detail that the remainder of the poem was recited in the ἐπισκοπεῖον (on which see n.inf.; the lemma at the beginning of Paul's Ambo similarly says that the poem was delivered ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ). The natural inference which a later scholiast would have made from references in the text (66 πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεῶν, 82f ἐξ βασιλέως ἐστὶαν/τοῦ παμμεγίστου) is that the poem was delivered in the church itself. (This is the conclusion of W.R.Lethaby and H.Swainson, The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople, London and New York 1894, 34). The lemmatist's reference to the ἐπισκοπεῖον may, therefore, have early authority. The church was later used for public orations, for example the reading of a despatch announcing Heraclius' final triumph over Persia (Chron.Pasch.727.7ff Bonn). But the recitation of Paul's poem was not an occasion of such popular interest, and a more select audience would have been more comfortably accommodated for a long recitation in the ἐπισκοπεῖον. The references in the text (quoted sup.) could refer generally to the ecclesiastical buildings associated with S.Sophia rather than precisely to the church itself: at 66f the expression means "move to the subject of the church" as well as "go to the church", see n. ad loc.

ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ...,...ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπεῖῳ: The ἐπισκοπεῖον is the bishop's palace, more properly designated τὸ πατριαρχεῖον in the lemma at the opening of the Ambo. The name ἐπισκοπεῖον dates back to the time when the prelate of Cpl. was only a bishop, see R.Janin in Revue des études byzantines 20 (1962) 131f. The lemmatist perhaps preferred the older name here to avoid the repetition which would be involved in the following reference to Εὐτυχίου τοῦ...πατριαρχου, if πατριαρχεῖον were used. Such linguistic sensitivity would be worthy of Paul himself, and indeed, the lemma may date back to Paul,

see n.sup.

Little is known about the patriarchal palace, and particularly about the patriarchal palace in 562, since, according to John of Ephesus (HE 2.34, p.145 Payne-Smith) it was rebuilt by the patriarch John Scholasticus (A.D.565-577) after it had been destroyed by fire, presumably the great conflagration of the Nika Riot in 532. After rebuilding, it was situated close to S.Sophia, to the south or south-west, across the Augustaeum from the Great Palace; it occupied a considerable area and included several other buildings besides the patriarchal palace itself, see C.Mango The Brazen House (Arkaeol.-Kunsthist.Medd.Dan.Vid.Selsk 4, no.4, Copenhagen 1959) 51ff and map p.23, R.Janin in Rev.ét.byz.20 (1962) 131ff, id. Constantinople byzantine (2nd ed., Paris 1964) 177-80, and cf. Averil Cameron in Byzantion 50 (1980) 74-6. Before its destruction, the patriarchal palace may have been on the same site, or perhaps to the north, between S.Sophia and S.Irene, see Mango pp.54-6, Janin REB 133f, Cpl. byz.177. The destruction and re-building of the patriarchal palace at this period does not necessarily undermine the authority of the lemma: the patriarch must have been provided with some kind of accommodation between 532 and 565, and this would be designated τὸ πατριαρχεῖον. Indeed the new patriarchal palace may well have been built, at least in part, by 562 (John Scholasticus may have been responsible only for the completion of the work).

ἐπὶ Εὐτυχίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου: Eutychius succeeded Menas as patriarch in 552 (see Stein B-E II.654f with 655 n.1) and was deposed by J. in 565 for refusing to accept the doctrine of aphthartodocetism (see Stein p.687 with 688 n.1); Eutychius resumed his former position after the death of his successor John Scholasticus in 577, until his own death in 582. Paul concludes his Descr. with a panegyric of J. (921ff), followed by a panegyric of Eutychius (978-1029, see further nn. ad loc.inf.). Hence the two parts of the epilogue, addressed respectively to J. and Eutychius, balance the two iambiic prologues, spoken before

J. and Eutychius respectively.

The reference to Eutychius here, together with the contrast drawn between J. and Eutychius in lines 85-89, indicates that Eutychius presided over the remainder of Paul's recitation. This might be taken to suggest that the patriarch was the highest dignitary present, and hence that J. himself was not present. Although J. is directly addressed later in the poem (e.g. 177ff, 921ff, 934ff), this does not necessarily prove that he was present, cf. (for example) Diosc.1 (I.128 Heitsch), for an encomium of Justin II, composed to celebrate the arrival of a representation of the emperor in Egypt. But, in view of J.'s personal enthusiasm for and involvement in the re-building of S.Sophia (recorded in other sources besides Paul, see n.inf. on 214-18), it is hard to believe that he did not attend Paul's public celebration of his achievement. Eutychius would, however, have presided over the recitation because it took place in his palace (see n.sup.).

The recitation of Paul's poem in the patriarchate, under the presidency of Eutychius, and before an audience which included a significant proportion of clerical dignitaries (see 81n.inf.), indicates that the occasion was, at least nominally, one of ecclesiastical rather than imperial significance, although of course the poem itself is essentially an imperial panegyric, as foreshadowed by the opening panegyric of J. The linking of imperial and ecclesiastical in ceremonial occasion has now been recognised as part of a general trend towards such integration in the late sixth century, see Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 3ff, esp.6ff.

81-134. Second iambic prologue: appeal for the goodwill of the audience (captatio benevolentiae). We have come from the palace to the patriarchate. There J. received us favourably; may Eutychius do so here (81-89). You may think that my appeal is ridiculous, and I acknowledge that it is, but my task is so great that I am afraid (90-102). And yet I take courage in the thought that the task is acknowledged to be impossible: in the face of this acknowledgement, one should gather all one's resources and do one's best (102-114). Such boldness is commendable: if the emperor had not acted boldly in building the church, we should not now be in our present joyful position (115-120). Why should I not speak with appropriate boldness? Anything overlooked may be supplied by looking at the church (121-24). My audience is pious and merciful, being composed of men who rule cities (125-29). Should they be subjected to outspoken harangue? They should, and so I will return to the subject of J. (130-34).

This prologue belongs to a homogeneous group of similar iambic prologues in late Greek poetry, in which the practice of prose rhetoric is combined with the metre and idiom of Attic comedy, cf. n.sup. on 66-80. Prose rhetoricians, particularly those of the Gaza school, regularly prefaced a serious prose oration with a dialexis or prolalia in a familiar, chatty style, aimed at securing the audience's goodwill, see Fr.p.120ff, Viljamaa op.cit. p.71ff. This technique was adopted by poets treating epideictic themes, who expressed their captatio benevolentiae in the resolved trimeters (see n.sup. on initial lemma) and characteristic idiom and vocabulary (sometimes extending to the point of clear reminiscence) of Attic comedy, at the same time betraying a more general debt to

the manner and tone of the Aristophanic prologue and parabasis and to the prologues of New Comedy, see Fr.p.118f, 121f, Viljamaa p.84ff, Cameron in CQ N.S.20 (1970) 122ff.

The themes and techniques of Paul's prologue are typical: an opening reference to the new venue (81-84) leads to a direct appeal for a favourable reception (85-89) and anticipation of audience criticism (89-102); there follows a justification for the poet's acknowledged boldness in essaying his theme (102-24; the author's τόλμη is a theme of the rhetorical auxesis, see n. sup. on 68-70), flattery of the audience (125-29) and a conclusion which indicates the transition to the poem proper (130-34). The style is enlivened by the use of linguistic play (especially 81-88, see nn. ad locc.; cf. 99f), dialogue technique (89-98), maxim (115), and direct question (121f, 130f), as well as by direct comic reminiscence (e.g. 106, 107).

81. ἄνδρες: The second prologue is addressed to the audience. Such direct address of the audience is characteristic alike of the Aristophanic parabasis, the comic prologue, the rhetorical prolalia/dialexis and the iambic prologue. For the last, cf. Laud.Beryt.8ff (I.95 Heitsch), Jo.Gaz.Descr.1 prol.20ff, A.P.4.3A.1ff (Agath.), inf.Amb.3ff; also Prisc.Pan. praef.5, 11 (appeal to Anastasius for favourable reception).

Later references (88f, 126ff, 168, see nn.inf. ad locc.) suggest that the audience over whom the patriarch presided (see n.sup. on lemma) included a significant proportion of ecclesiastical dignitaries, as indeed might be expected. Perhaps the secular dignitaries assembled in the palace to hear Paul's first prologue and then proceeded to join Eutychius and the ecclesiastical dignitaries already assembled in the patriarchate, cf. n.sup. on 66f.

81f. ἐκ τῆς ἐστίως, κτλ.: Such word-play, aimed at producing a favourable contact with the audience ("phatic language"), is characteristic both of the prose rhetorical prologue and the iambic prologue, cf. inf.85/88 and see Viljamaa op.cit.p.82f. The linguistic parallel here between God and emperor recalls the ideological

parallelism of 40-53 sup., see 39n., and cf. also 2 sup. For Paul's choice of parallelism here, cf. Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.869A) ἐκ βασιλείας εἰς βασιλείαν μετέστη, of Pulcheria's elevation, in death, from an earthly to a heavenly kingdom. On the move here referred to, see nn.sup. on 66f and lemma after 80; on the form εἰς, see 15n.sup.

83. τοῦ παμμεγίστου: The superlative compound is rare, cf. Ael.VH 10.2 π.ἁνδριάντα and other exx. collected by Stephanus s.v. Paul uses it in connection with S.Sophia, inf. 101, 111.

τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων: The noun ποιητοῦ is Maas's conjecture for the ms. νοητοῦ. The correction seems certain: substantival νοητής is not elsewhere attested, while the phrase ποιητῆς πάντων is used by patristic writers of God and Christ, see PGL s.v. ποιητῆς B, C, and cf. also Pl.Tim.28c τὸν...ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντός. For Paul's expression with ὅλος, cf. Just. Dial.7.3 (PG.6.492B) τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν ὅλων θεόν, and see PGL s.v. ποιητῆς B.2f, s.v. ὅλος 2a. Paul regularly uses ὅλος as a synonym for πᾶς (e.g. 129, 174f, 976) and the use of τὸ ὅλον like τὸ πᾶν, to denote the universe, is classical, see LSJ s.v.II.1. The shortening of the first syllable of ποιέω (metr.gr. in Paul) is Attic, see LSJ s.v. ποιέω init. and cf. ib.s.v. ποιητής fin. for the shortening of the first syllable of the noun in inscriptions. For confusion of ν and π in mss., see F.J.Bast Commentatio palaeographica, appended to Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Corinth (Leipzig 1811) pp.715f, 726, 730, 747.

Note the repetition of the syllable -του at the beginning of each metron in this line, and cf. n.sup. on 81f on linguistic play.

84. δι' ὅν, κτλ.: The close similarity to line 10 sup. (see n. ad loc.) is to some extent excused by the fact that the two lines are addressed to different audiences (cf. 81n.sup.).

85-88. On the circumstantial evidence of these lines, see n.sup. on lemma after 80. Viljamaa (p.82) cites antithesis (ἐκεῖ μὲν 85,

ἐνταῦθα δὲ 87) as a further characteristic of "phatic language", see n.sup. on 81f.

85. τῶν γερῶν ὁ προστάτης: "the governor of privileges". The chief purpose of this appellation of J. lies in the word-play (achieved by the softened pronunciation of γ here) with τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν προστάτην (88), see n.sup. on 81f. The noun προστάτης occurs in Attic drama, including Aristophanes (Eq.1128, Ran.569, Pax 684, Pl.920), but it is otherwise regularly confined to prose, see LSJ s.v. For its use in iambic encomium, cf. Diosc.3.3 (I.130 Heitsch) = 5.41 (p.135) γουνάζομαί σε προστάτην τῶν προστατῶν.

86. καθεῖς ἑαυτὸν κτλ.: "condescended to join the audience after his speech". The verb καθίημι suggests both physical descent and metaphorical condescension (cf. Fr.'s n. ad loc.). The noun θέατρον is used by Paul collectively to denote the "audience" (cf. LSJ s.v.2) or the "gathering" *et simil.*, rather than the place of assembly, cf. inf. 411, Amb.7, 10, 11; also Jo.Gaz.Descr.1 prol.20; Chor.Or.3 dial. (48.5 Foerst.-Richtst.); etc. The phrase ἐκ λόγων indicates that J. made a preliminary speech, but Paul is chiefly concerned with the verbal play between this expression and εἰς θέατρον.

87. τὸν νοῦν παρέσχευ εὐμενῶς: Paul uses παρέχω instead of the more usual προσέχω (cf. inf.Amb.9), thereby continuing the notion of condescension or submission implicit in καθεῖς (see n.sup.). For Paul's use of εὐμενῶς (picked up by εὐμενῆς *in eadem sede* 89) in the context of a favourable reception for his poem, cf. A.P.4.3A.15f (Agath.) ἀλλ'ἔστιν ἐλπίς εὐμενῶς τῶν δρωμένων/ὑμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν; Agath.Hist. praef.13 νῦν δὲ ἡ μὲν εὐμενῆς καὶ ἴλαος [καὶ] τῆς προθυμίας ἡμᾶς ἀποδεχέσθω (of his native Myrina); also Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.35f ἀλλ'ὦ στρατηγὲ τῶν σοφῶν βουλευμάτων,/ μετ'εὐμενείας τοὺς ἔμοῦς δέχου λόγους.

88. τῶν ἱερῶν τὸν προστάτην: The genitive τῶν ἱερῶν might be

masculine or neuter. A neuter expression ("governor of holy offices") might be expected to parallel the neuter τῶν γερῶν (85), but Paul perhaps rather intended τῶν ἱερῶν as a masculine antecedent ("priests") to τοῦτων in 89, see further n.inf. ad loc. Paul later uses adjectival ἱερὸς to mean "priestly", "of priests", inf. 344, 996, 1020, see nn. ad locc. For προστάτης of the patriarch of Cpl., cf. Eustrat.V.Eutyech.95 (PG.86(2).2381A) ποιμένα καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ προστάτην, of Eutychius' successor, and see PGL.s.v.4.

89-100. τοῦτων γε μὴν, κτλ.: Paul anticipates audience criticism. Cf. Chor.Or.2 dial.4 (27.23ff Foerst.-Richtst.) μὴ τοίνυν νεμέσα, ὦ φιλότης, κτλ., and see the exx. from iambic prologue collected by Viljamaa op.cit.p.75. Like Paul, Agathias expresses the imagined criticism in direct speech, A.P.4.3A.28f τοῦτο δέ τις αὐτῶν προσφώρως, δεικνὺς ἐμέ, / ἴσως ἔρεῖ πρὸς ἄλλον. "... , κτλ. But the technique is as old as Homer, Il.22.105ff αἰδέομαι Τρῶας..., / μή ποτέ τις εἴπησι κακώτερος ἄλλος ἐμεῖο. / 'Ἐκτωρ ἦφι βίηφι πιθήσας ὤλεσε λαόν'.

89f. τοῦτων γε μὴν, κτλ.: "while of these may none, on hearing, rebuke the words". The genitive τοῦτων may either define μηδεῖς or be objective genitive with ἀκούσας ("having heard this"). Its position and the strengthening particles γε μὴν (on which see n. inf.) favour the former interpretation. Moreover, if τοῦτων went with ἀκούσας and denoted Paul's words, the dative τοῖς λόγοις would either be weakly repetitive ("having heard these words, rebuke the words") or an awkward and redundant instrumental dative ("revile with words"; the article τοῖς further renders this interpretation unlikely), see further 90n.inf. Taken with μηδεῖς, τοῦτων refers to the audience. The particles γε μὴν and the intonation of the speaker would make the reference sufficiently clear, but it is likely that τοῦτων refers back to 88 τῶν ἱερῶν ("the priests"), see n. ad loc.

γε μὴν: In view of Paul's sensitive use of particles, I have

tentatively preferred the collocation γε μὴν here to the γε μέν of the ms. and all other editors, on the grounds that the former is an Attic combination, whereas γε μέν is confined to Epic and Ionic, see Denniston Greek Particles p.347 (γε μὴν) and p.386f (γε μέν), and cf. LSJ s.v. γε I.5, inf.413 νῦν γε μὴν (iambics). This easy change does not affect the sense, since the usage of the two combinations "corresponds closely" (Denniston p.386): both are most commonly adversative (γε μὴν, Denniston p.348f, sec.2, cf. Gow on Theoc.1.95; γε μέν, Denniston p.387, sec.1, cf. Gow on Theoc.4.60); so here, and at 413, the collocation introduces an adversative sentence. But both also occur in a progressive sense in lists (γε μὴν, Denniston p.349, sec.3, cf. Gow on Theoc.1.95; γε μέν, Denniston p.387, sec.2, cf. Call.Ap.73, Dian.188, Theoc. 25.127). If, as argued in n.sup., τοῦτων here refers to the audience, it is the third item in a list, after J. (85) and Eutychius (88); hence the idea of progression is also present here.

90. λοιδορεῖσθω τοῖς λόγοις: Middle λοιδορέω is constructed with dat.pers. in Aristophanes (Eq.1400, Pax 57, Ec.248, Pl.456), see LSJ s.v.II, and cf. also Agath.Hist.1.12.9. Paul's following dat.rei is apparently without parallel, but he later uses a dat.rei, referring to his poem, after verbs which are normally followed by a dat.pers., cf. inf.177 ἴλαθι μύθῳ, 179 ἰλήκοις ἐπέεσσι, with nn.inf. ad locc. The dative here refers specifically to 89 ἔστω δὲ καὶ τοῖς εὐμενῆς, as is made clear by lines 92-4 inf.

91. εἴποι γὰρ εἰκὸς ἂν τις: "For someone may well say". Paul here uses εἰκὸς as equivalent to εἰκότως, cf. inf.412f ὄχλον ἂν τις εἰκότως ᾔησεν τοῦτο; Agathias similarly uses προσφόρως, A.P.4.3A.28 (quoted in n.sup. on 89-100). Expressions such as this are often used to introduce a hypothetical objection, e.g. Greg.Nyss.Pulch.(PG.46.868C) εἴποι τις ἂν, οἶμαι, Eus.Laud.Const.11 (224.18 Heikel) φαίη ἂν τις αὐτῶν. Viljamaa (op.cit.p.17) notes that the rhetorical ethopoeia (i.e. imaginary characterisation presented in the character's own words) regularly begins with the words τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ δεῖνα, and (p.117) that the style of

such ethopoeiae is regularly "staccato, asyndetical, and antithetical". This style is recognisable in Paul's imaginary interlocutor (91-98).

ὦ τᾶν: "Sir". This is a polite and respectful form of address, used in speaking to parents, social superiors, and equals who are not intimates, frequently calling attention to an admonition or proposal; so E.R.Dodds on E.Bacch.802, cf. G.Björck Das Alpha Impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache (Acta societatis litterarum humaniorum regiae Upsaliensis, Uppsala 1950) 275-7. The expression occurs frequently in comedy, including 21 instances in Aristophanes (Dodds' figure). Dodds and LSJ suggest that it is an Attic colloquialism, but new evidence indicates that it is not so limited, see LSJ Suppl.s.v. τᾶν.

91f. ὥς πάνυ/ληρεῖς περιττᾶ: "what utter and exceeding rubbish you talk". Dunbar (rev. Marzullo) Concordance lists 26 instances of ληρέω in Aristophanes. Note the Attic form περιττᾶ.

92f. τοῦτον αἰτεῖς, κτλ.: Indignant asyndeton, cf. 3n.sup. The tone of these words is clear only from the context.

93f. τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν οἰκίαν, κτλ.: These expressions stand out from the colloquial style of the passage in which they are embedded, recalling instead the imagery of Biblical and patristic writers, appropriate in compliment to the patriarch.

93. τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν οἰκίαν: In NT and patristic writers, the body is regarded as the habitation of the soul (e.g. NT 2Ep.Cor.5.1 ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ σκήνους; Epist.ad Diognetum 6.3, p.144. 25f ed. K.Bihlmeyer, Die Apostolischen Väter I, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1956); the Christian is inhabited by God, Christ, the Holy Spirit et simil., e.g. NT Ep.Rom.8.11 διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ (i.e. God) πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν, Greg.Naz.Or.44.5 (PG.36.613A) ...ἡμεῖς οἱ θεοῦ ναὸς εἶναι...ἡξιωμένοι, see further Arndt and Gingrich s.v. ἐνοικέω, PGL s.vv. ἐνοικέω and cognates, οἶκος 4. For Paul's more general expression, cf. NT Ep.Rom.7.17 ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία, Barn.16.7

(30.19 Bihlmeyer) οἶκος δαιμονίων (of a pagan), Paul Sam.fr.9 (p.332.13f ed.F.Loofs, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur Band 44, Heft 5, Leipzig 1924 = PG.86.1393A) ἢ τὸ ἐνοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν σοφίαν λέγειν ὥς ἐν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ; (of Christ); also Aristaen.Ep.2.4 (71.9 Mazal) τὸν ἐνοικοῦντά μοι πόθον.

94. τὸν πάσαν εὐμένειαν ἡμφιεσμένον: "clad in all graciousness". The metaphor of the garment is likewise common in NT and patristic writers, where, however, it is usually expressed by the verb ἐνδύω, see Arndt and Gingrich s.w. ἐνδυμα 2, ἐνδύω 2b, PGL s.vv. ἐνδυμα 2, ἐνδύω A.1, esp.g, for its use of spiritual gifts or qualities; see further n.inf. on 169f.

Paul's participle ἡμφιεσμένον is Aristophanic (Vesp.1172, Th.92, 840, Ec.879, 1057; cf. Emp.277), although it is not used metaphorically of qualities in comedy. In classical authors, this metaph. usage is more commonly expressed by the participle ἐπιειμένος, e.g. Il.1.149 ἀναδείην ἐπιειμένε, 8.262 ἐπιειμένοι ἄλκην, cf. A.P.7.606.1 (Paul Sil.) ἐλευθερίην ἐπιειμένος. Later writers, however, use ἡμφιεσμένον metaphorically, e.g. Them.Or.1 (I.6.9f Downey) (οὐδὲ) ἄρκτον ἢ κάπρον ἢ λέοντα, βασιλέως ὄνομα ἡμφιεσμένον; Agap.Cap.60 (PG.86(1).1181C) φιλοπτωχίας γὰρ ἡμφιεσμένον πορφύραν (on the unageing garment of imperial benefaction); Const.Porph.de Caer.1.5 (49.19f Bonn) οἱ γὰρ δεσπότες χαρὰν ἡμφιεσμένοι.

95-98. The folly of Paul's request that Eutychius be εὐμενής (89) is illustrated by comparison with a series of three established or self-evident phenomena, drawn from nature and from language. Reference to the order of nature as a means of emphasis is a long-established technique. It may be expressed either positively, as in Paul (e.g. "while the sands o'life shall run") or, commonly, negatively, in the form of an ἄδύνατον (e.g. "till a'the seas gang dry"). Early instances are found in Archilochus (fr.74D = 122 West) and Herodotus (5.92.1), and the technique is common in Roman poetry of the Augustan period, see R.G.Austin on V.Aen.1.607ff; cf. also

Claud.Get.54ff, Diosc.5.43ff (I.135 Heitsch) = 9.10ff (p.139); etc. Paul begins with such a typical analogy from nature and concludes with a linguistic instance, the second example being part natural, part linguistic, see Fr. 98n. Fr. rightly suggests (loc.cit.) that the choice of the final example should be connected with the significance which λόγοι have in this prologue: the reference here anticipates the exploitation of the contrast between λόγος and πρᾶγμα in Paul's auxesis of his theme, inf.100ff, cf. nn.sup. on 68-70, 69. In putting this example into the mouth of his imaginary critic, Paul makes a joke at his own expense. Paul further enlivens his analogies by making his imaginary interlocutor phrase them in the form of an appeal from a further hypothetical character that the phenomena should be in accordance with their established order.

95. τουτὶ πέπονθας, κτλ.: Cf. Ar.Vesp.946f οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκεῖ πεπονθέναι, / ὅπερ ποτὲ φεύγων ἔπαθε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, al.simil.; this use of πάσχω is Attic, see LSJ s.v.II.1, 2. On τουτὶ, cf. Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20 (1970) 123, "It is well known that deictic iota is, in poetry, virtually confined to Attic comedy - where it is very common", and see ib.123f for instances from late iambic prologues. For εἰκότως, cf. 18 sup. with n. ad loc.

96. λιπαρῶς ἐγκείμενος: Wilamowitz's conjecture, λιπαρῶς for λιπαρῶν, is attractive, cf. Jos.BJ 7.108 πάλιν δ' αὐτῶν σφόδρα λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένων καὶ συνεχῶς δεομένων, id.AJ 1.56 τοῦ θεοῦ λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου καὶ πολυπραγμονούντος, ib.15.31, 16.13, al.simil.; Heliod.2.6 (43.16f Bekker) ὁ Θεαγένης οὐκ εἶα λιπαρῶς ἐγκείμενος. When used in this sense ("insist"), ἐγκεῖμαι is frequently constructed with an adjective or adverb (see LSJ s.v.II), and Paul has many adverbs in -ως in his iambics (e.g. πλουσίως 80, εὐμενῶς 87, εἰκότως 18, 95).

97. The line is metrically incorrect: metre requires the third syllable of ἀνατέλλειν to be short. Maas (Greek Metre sec.20) judged the verb to be corrupt, but this is the term normally used of the rising

of a heavenly body, see LSJ s.v.II.

99-102. Paul acknowledges that the criticism is justified, but explains that the magnitude of his task makes him nervous. The magnitude of the subject is a theme of the rhetorical auxesis (see n.sup. on 68-70), and the reference here marks the transition to Paul's justification for undertaking his theme (102-24).

99. τὸν τρόπον: Like the expression τῶν γερῶν ὁ προστάτης (85), the noun is here introduced chiefly for the sake of the word-play with σκοπὸν (100). Note also the alliteration of tau in this line.

100. πρὸς δὲ τὸν σκοπὸν βλέπων: Cf. Greg.Naz.Or.43.12 (PG.36.509C) ...τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ παραδείγμα, πρὸς δὲ βλέπων εὐθὺς ἀρίστος ἦν (of St.Basil), cf. ib.20 (col.521C), 80 (604A). The term σκοπὸς is often used in prologues to denote the author's objective, e.g. Diosc. 12A.15 (I.141 Heitsch) τοῖνυν σύ γ' αὐτὸς συνδραμὼν τῷ 'μῷ σκοπῷ (addressed to the laudandus), Jo.Gaz.Anacr.1.4f ἀλλὰ μενοινῆν/ ὑμετέρην σκοπὸν οἶδα τανύσκοπον (addressed to the audience), Eustrat.V.Eutych.1 (PG.86(2).2276A) ὁκνήσωμεν πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον σκοπὸν; (leading, as in Paul, to the affirmation that, faced with an impossible task, it is best to do one's utmost). The δὲ is here adversative, cf. 29 sup.

101. ὅς παμμέγιστος, κτλ.: The magnitude of the subject, cf. 70 sup. with n. ad loc. On παμμέγιστος, see 83n. sup.

οὐκ ἔχων θ' ὑπερβολήν: Cf. Dem.21.119 τοῦτο γὰρ, τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔχον ἔστιν ὑπερβολὴν ἀκαθαρσίας, id.25.54 δεινῶν γὰρ ὄντων, οὐ μὲν οὖν ἔχόντων ὑπερβολήν, and other expressions collected LSJ s.v. ὑπερβολή 3. But in these Attic expressions, the term has a pejorative sense; here, as at 70 (see n.sup. ad loc.), it is used in compliment.

102. τὴν ἀγωνίαν: The metaphor of the contest is commonplace in this context, cf. Men.Rhet.368.11, Lib.Or.59.6 (IV.211.16 and

212.2 Foerster), Chor.Or.1 dial.2 (1.10 Foerst.-Richtst.), Proc.Gaz. Pan.29 (315.17), Proc.Arc.1.4, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1 prol.9, A.P.4.3B.55, 57 (Agath.), Agath.Hist. praef.8. Paul continues the metaphor with further images derived from athletic contest, e.g. 106 ἐπαποδύεσθαι πάλαις, 109 συντρέχων.

102-24. θαρρεῖν δ' ὅμως, κτλ.: Paul takes courage in the thought that the task is acknowledged to be impossible, but, granted this, the speaker should do his best (102-114). Two further justifications are adduced at 116-20, 123-24. The progression from fear and hesitation at the task ahead to the assumption of courage is an indication of the speaker's τόλμη, see n.sup. on 68-70 for the theme of τόλμη in the auxesis of rhetorical prologue. Similar to Paul's sentiments here are those of Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (490.20-491.14): the orator feels at once courage and fear (θαρρεῖν τε ἅμα καὶ δεδιέναι με, 490.21), courage because the subject inspires, but fear lest its richness should render him speechless (Procopius, like Paul, uses the noun ὑπερβολή, see the expression quoted 70n. sup.); nevertheless he makes bold (πάντα τολμῶντες οἱ λόγοι καὶ νῦν ὁμοίως θρασύνονται, ... θαρροῦντες, 491.9ff; ὅθεν τολμήσομέν τι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, ἄρκουσαν εἰς συγγνώμην τὴν προθυμίαν προβεβλημένοι, 491.13f). Procopius of Caesarea likewise claims to hesitate as he embarks on his Arcana (ἀλλὰ μοι ἐξ ἀγώνισιν ἑτέραν ἵοντι χαλεπὴν τινα καὶ δεινῶς ἅμαχον, ... βαμβαίνειν... ἑμβαίνει, Arc.1.4), thinking that what he is about to relate will one day seem incredible (δέδοικα μὴ καὶ μυθολογίας ἀποῖσομαι δόξαν κἂν τοῖς τραγωδοδιδασκάλοις τετάξομαι, *ibid.*); but he takes courage (ἐκείνῳ μέντοι τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχων οὐκ ἀποδειλιάσω τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἔργου, ὥς μοι οὐκ ἁμαρτύρητος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, 1.5). For the verb θαρρέω in similar context, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.1 οὐδὲ λόγου δυνάμει θαρσῶν (explaining his reasons for writing), A.P.4.3A.35 (Agath.), Agath.Hist. praef.12, and for the expression of 102, cf. Pl.Smp.193e νῦν δὲ ὅμως θαρρῶ (after reference to possible fear). From this point, Paul assumes an increasing confidence, which culminates in the expression χρῆ τοῦτο πράττειν (132).

103. ἐδεδίειν: Hermann's correction (accepted by Bekker and Fr.) is preferable to Graefe's ἐδεδοίκειν, since ἐδεδίειν might easily have been corrupted to the optative ἐδεδεῖην which is transmitted in the ms.

104. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπὶς ἦν τις: Agathias uses ἐλπὶς to express greater confidence, A.P.4.3A.15 ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐλπὶς, κτλ.

104f. εὐσθενεῖ λόγῳ/συνεξισοῦσθαι τῷ νεῷ τῷ παγκάλῳ: On the contrast between the λόγος and its subject, see n.sup. on 69. Paul here reinforces the parallelism by putting both λόγῳ and νεῷ in the dative. The expression εὐσθενεῖ λόγῳ is dative after ἐλπὶς, cf. E.Or.779 μολόντι δ' ἐλπὶς ἐστὶ σωθῆναι κακῶν, and see the exx. collected K-G.I.195, sec.389.6D, Anm.7. The verb συνεξισῶ occurs only in late literary Koine writers, see LSJ, Soph.Lex. and PGL s.v. For its use in this context, cf. D.H.Pomp.5.6 (II.244.4f Usener-Radermacher) οὐδὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεξισῶν τοὺς λόγους. The epithet εὐσθενής is found occasionally in poetry, cf. Il. Pers.6.3 (V.140, ed. Allen, Homeri opera) εἶδος, A.P.16.323.4 (Mesomed.) σίδηρον, Q.S.14.633 Ἀργείων; also in prose, see LSJ, PGL s.v. But πάγκαλος is Attic, see LSJ s.v.

106. σφαλερὸν ὑπῆρχεν, κτλ.: "it would have been perilous to strip for bouts". The indicative ὑπῆρχεν (= ἦν) is here used potentially, without ἄν, a classical idiom, see Goodwin GMT secs.416 (p.152), 420-22 (p.154ff); contrast 119 οὐκ ἄν προῆλθεν. For ἐπαποδύεσθαι πάλαις, cf. Ar.Lys.615 ἀλλ' ἐπαποδύμεθ' ἄνδρες τουτῷ τῷ πράγματι. This is the only instance of the compound in classical Greek, although it is found elsewhere in Koine and patristic writers, see LSJ, Soph.Lex., PGL s.v.ἐπαποδύω. Paul's application of the metaphor from wrestling to poetic composition recalls the contest staged between Aeschylus and Euripides at Ar.Ran.814ff, e.g. 877f ὅταν εἰς ἔριν ὀξυμερίμοις / ἐλθωσι στρεβλοῖσι παλαίσμασιν ἀντιλογοῦντες.

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107. παρακεκινδυνευμένον: Cf. Ar.Ran.98f ὅστις φθέγγεται/

τοιουτονί τι παρακεκινδυνευμένον, also id. Eq.1054, Ach.645, Vesp. 6; elsewhere in Attic and Koine prose.

108. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἴσμεν: Paul identifies himself with the audience in a further tactic aimed at the establishment of a sense of mutual rapport, cf. n.sup. on 81-134. He then proceeds (ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε, κτλ.) to further auxesis of the subject, see n.sup. on 68-70.

109. λόγος φανείη, κτλ.: The λόγος/πρᾶγμα contrast is again reiterated, cf. 69n.sup. For the reference to λόγος combined with the verb συντρέχω, cf. ps.Pampr.3.2ff (I.111 Heitsch) ὅπου γὰρ [...] συντρέχουσιν οἱ λόγοι[ι], τὸν ποίκιλον νοῦν τῶν ποιητῶν σωφρόνως/ἐλκουσιν, ἐκφέρουσιν εἰς εὐτολμίαν, κτλ.: Graindor's conjecture [ἐργοι] before συντρέχουσιν in line 2 (suggested in Byzantion 4, 1927-28, 475), would make the sentiment close to Paul's, although ps.Pamprepius is describing a positive inspiration which Paul feels is impossible in the present case. Similar also are Jo.Gaz.Anacr.2.1f ὁ λόγος στρατηγικὴν λαβὼν ἐξουσίαν, /θαυρῶν πρόεισι τῇ στρατηγῇ συντρέχων; Diosc.12A.15 (I.141 Heitsch) τ]οῖνον σὺ γ' αὐτὸς συνδραμὼν τῇ 'μῇ σκοπῇ.

110. αὐτῶν πράξεων: Cod. αὐτῶν. Ludwich argued (Textkritische Noten zu Paulus Silentarius, Königsberg 1913, 12f, cf. id. in Rhein.Mus.41, 1886, 596f) that αὐτῶν must be read (so Du Cange, Graefe) rather than αὐ τῶν (Bekker, Fr.), because Paul avoids αὐ, but frequently uses αὐτός (Ludwich, Noten, collects the instances). For the same reason, Meineke's conjecture αὐ τῶν inf.703 and at A.P.5.250.1 (Paul Sil.) is to be rejected.

111. τὸ παμμέγιστον: Cf. 101 sup. and see 83n.

τοῦτου νεώ: Wilamowitz's conjecture, accepted by Fr., is probably to be preferred to the ms. τοῦ σοῦ. This prologue is addressed to the audience (ἄνδρες 81) in the patriarchate, over which Eutychius presided (see nn.sup. on lemma after line 80). The expression τοῦ σοῦ might be thought to refer to the patriarch

Eutychius, but elsewhere (e.g. 73), the church is described as J's. This objection is removed if the demonstrative is read. There is no difficulty about the omission of the definite article with the demonstrative in poetry, see K-G.I.630, sec.465.4, Anm.6f.

112f. οὐ χρὴ δεδοικότας, κτλ.: Paul has assumed considerable confidence in the course of the argument from 102f δέδοικα τὴν ἀγωνίαν. In the second metron of 112 both longa are resolved to accommodate the polysyllabic words; the effect of fluttering trepidation reinforces the sense of δεδοικότας. The plurals δεδοικότας and ἀτόλμους continue Paul's identification of himself with the audience (cf. 108n.).

ἐπὶ προδιεγνωσμένοις: "in the face of a foregone conclusion"; cf. Jos.AJ 17.94 ἵκετεύοντος μὴ προδιεγνωσμένην καταστήσαι δίκην. The verb occurs first in Thucydides (1.78.1, 5.38.3), then occasionally in Koine writers, see LSJ s.v.

113. μένειν ἀτόλμους: Proc.Gaz. (Pan.1, p.491.3) and Agathias (Hist. praef.12) use passive καταπλήσσω to describe the same sensation. Paul here again indulges in word-play, μένειν/κινεῖν (114).

113f. ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν, κτλ.: Proc.Gaz. hopes more explicitly (Pan.1, p.491.13f, quoted n.sup. on 102-24) that enthusiasm (προθυμία) will make amends for deficiencies; cf. A.P.4.3A.17f (Agath.) ἔθος γὰρ ἡμῖν τῇ προθυμίᾳ μόνῃ/τῇ τῶν καλούντων ἐμμετρεῖν τὰ σιτία (metaph., of his feast of poetry); Agath.Hist. praef.15 νῦν δὲ ἡ μὲν εὐμενῆς καὶ ἴλαος [καὶ] τῆς προθυμίας ἡμᾶς ἀποδεχέσθω (of his native Myrina), also ib.13 ἀλλὰ μοι εἴη ἄξιόν τι δρᾶσαι τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἔργων ὥς ἐγγυτάτω ἰκέσθαι.

114. ὥς ἔχει τις ἰσχὺς: Cf. Men.Rhet.369.12f ὅμως δὲ οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρῆσαι πρὸς δύναμιν, Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (491.13) ὅθεν τολμήσομέν τι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, Agath.Hist. praef.12 θαρροῦντά τε ἶέναι ἐκέλευε καὶ σθένει παντὶ ἔχεισθαι ἔργου (of Eutychianus' encouragement to Agathias to write his history). Paul's construction

is classical, see E.Schwyzler, Griechische Grammatik Bd.II.p.132 sec.γ).

115. ἔχει τι χρηστὸν, κτλ.: The abrupt asyndeton of the line is due to its gnomic character: Viljamaa (op.cit.p.82) compares Men.Monost.623 (ed. Jaekel) οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν σεμνὸν ὥς παρρησία, and observes (ibid.) that the use of maxims was a further rhetorical technique which aimed to appeal to the audience, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1 prol.1 and other exx. from iambic prologue collected by Viljamaa.

Paul here uses the maxim in transition from one argument to another. Its sentiment sums up the argument of 102-14 (cf. Fr. 115n.) where Paul declares that, although fearful, he is encouraged to attempt the task before him by the thought that, where defeat is inevitable, there is credit in τόλμη and προθυμία. In the following lines (116-20), Paul further argues in support of τόλμη that J's building of S.Sophia was itself an act of τόλμη. The reference to παρρησία here is picked up by the reiteration of the term at 121 and at the climax of Paul's argument in 131.

In this Atticising prologue, Paul uses the term παρρησία without reference to its Judaeo-Christian associations, see n.sup. on 52f and cf.61. In origin, παρρησία was closely associated with the ideals of the Athenian democracy (= πᾶν-ῥησία, the right to say all things), e.g. E.Hipp.421ff ἄλλ' ἐλεύθεροι/παρρησία θάλλοντες οἰκοῖεν πόλιν/κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν, see Barrett's n. ad loc. and other exx. collected LSJ s.v.1. With the decline of democracy, the word suffered a corresponding corruption of sense (see LSJ s.v.2 and cf.131n.inf.). It was later adopted into moral and religious terminology (cf. n.sup. on 52f), but it also continued to be used more generally well into the Byzantine period (see LSJ s.v.3 and cf.PGL s.v.B), frequently in the sense "boldness", "courage", e.g. Test.XII Patriarch., Test.Reub.4.2 (p.7 de Jonge, = PG.2.1041C-D) οὐκ εἶχον παρρησίαν ἀτενίσαι εἰς πρόσωπον Ἰακώβ; Agath. Hist.5.22.5 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤδη ὑπερβάντες τὸ προπετὲς τοῦ τεύχους...ἐνέκλινον πρὸς τὰ εἶσω καὶ ἐπεφέροντο φρονήματι ξὺν πολλῶ καὶ παρρησίᾳ, cf. 5.19.2; Niceph.Hist.Syn.p.19.17 de Boor, the παρρησία of the emperor Heraclius in single combat with a Persian general, cf. ib.p.44.7. See further the surveys of Peterson and

Scarpat, cit. in n.sup. on 52f.

This general sense "boldness" is the dominant one here: the term covers both Paul's τόλμη in attempting to describe S.Sophia (102-14) and J.'s τόλμη in building the church (116-20). It is introduced here in anticipation of Paul's exploitation of its Attic associations below (121, 131). See R.C.McCail in PCPS N.S.16 (1970) 80, with n.4. For παρρησία used of the writer's boldness, cf. Chor.Or.3 dial. (p.48.4f Foerst.-Richtst.), Jo.Gaz. Anacr.3.1 (both quoted by Viljamaa, p.74); Proc.Aed.1.1.1.

116-20. J.'s building of S.Sophia was itself an act of τόλμη, and this is the source of the present celebrations. The success of J.'s act of τόλμη is a further justification for Paul's attempting a similar act. Paul draws a more explicit parallel between his own work and J.'s, inf.Amb.5f. Agathias and John of Gaza make similar references to the τόλμη of the creators of works of art which they describe. Their references, however, are not used in justification of the writer's τόλμη, but reflect rather an unease about the depiction of divine natures; John of Gaza explicitly dissociates himself from such τόλμη (Descr.1 prol.24-6). See R.C.McCail in Byzantion 41 (1971) 241ff, esp.244 for the passages from John of Gaza.

116. εἰ μὴ γὰρ: For the postponement of γὰρ, cf. Ar.Vesp.653 εἰ μὴ γὰρ ὅπως δουλεύω 'γώ; etc.

φρονῶν μέγα: The expression is Homeric (Il.11.296 of Hector going into battle, 13.156 of Deiphobus) and Attic, although in Attic it is often used in a bad sense, see LSJ s.v. φρονέω II.2b.

117. ἐδημιούργει: "fashioned/created". Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.31 καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ νεῷ πρόσωπον...τρόπῳ τοιῷδε δεδημιούργηται (of S.Sophia), Agath.Hist.5.6.3 οἱ (sc. μηχανοποιοῖ) ...μιμήματα τινα καὶ οἷον εἶδωλα τῶν ὄντων δημιουργοῦσι (describing the profession of Anthemius of Tralles, architect of S.Sophia), inf.Amb.5f λόγους τῷ δεσπότῃ/συνδημιουργεῖν τὸν νεών. The simple verb is

elevated, and frequently used by late authors of divine creativity, see LSJ s.v.I.3, PGL s.v.3.

118. πάσης ὑπερβᾶς, κτλ.: "surpassing the contemplation of all hope". Cf. inf. 307f ὑπέρτερον ἐλπίδος ἔργον/ἐξανύσας, also of S.Sophia; also 18 sup. Paul's elevated periphrasis here stresses the lofty aspiration which produced J's surpassing achievement (cf. sup.101 and 70 with n. ad loc.).

119f. οὐκ ἂν προῆλθεν, κτλ.: Paul refers to the festivities associated with the re-dedication of the church, cf. 74ff sup. But such reference to festivity and feasting is also a rhetorical technique aimed at catching the audience's sympathy by reminding them that the occasion of the speech is also one for self-indulgence. The suggestion is that they should also be indulgent to the metaphorical feast offered by the speaker: this image is developed in detail by Agathias in his prologue (A.P.4.3A). Paul uses similar language in the same context, inf. Amb.18f τρυφῆς τε μακρᾶς εὐσεβεῖς πανηγύρεις· /ὅς πᾶσι σεμνὴν ἐμβαλὼν εὐθυμίαν. Cf. also Chor. Or.1 dial.1 (1.6ff Foerst.-Richtst.) ἐπειδὴ καὶ παίζειν τι δίδωσιν ὁ καιρὸς, πανηγυρις γὰρ καὶ μία διὰ πάντων ἡδονή τε καὶ εὐθυμία φοιτᾷ, φέρε, πρὸς τὰ ἐμὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὠραΐσομαι παιδικά, ib.3 (1.17f) νῦν δέ, ὅτε πανηγυρίς τε πολυτελὴς καὶ τρυφῆς γέμουσαι τράπεζαι πανταχοῦ, κτλ.; A.P.4.3A.4 (Agath.) καὶ δὴ κάθησθε τῇ τρυφῇ σεσαγμένοι, ib.26 τρυφῶσι; and see Viljamaa p.80f.

119. προῆλθεν: LSJ list only instances of this compound in prose (both Attic and Koine). For its use in poetry, cf. Georg.Pisid. Her.1.78 καὶ νῦν προῆλθεν Ἡρακλῆς τῷ πράγματι.

121-24. The question of 120f, a confident challenge to the audience to fault the argument, marks the conclusion of the justification of τόλμη which began at 102. An additional, unconnected argument is appended in 123f.

121. ἀπεικός: Sc. ἔστι. Cf. Antiphon 2.2.5 ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἀπεικός;

etc. Paul is fond of derivatives of $\epsilon\acute{o}\iota\kappa\alpha$, cf. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ 91, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\varsigma$ 18, 95, 412. Here $\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\nu$ is virtually an oxymoron, cf. n.sup. on 91 for parallel use of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\varsigma/\epsilon\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\tau\omega\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\omega\varsigma$ in Paul and Agathias respectively.

$\pi\alpha\rho\rho\eta\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$: See 115n.sup. Here the sense is closer to the Attic "freedom of speech", as is made clear by the addition of the phrase $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ (122). This Attic flavour prepares the way for the Aristophanic reminiscence (125) which opens the next passage, in which Paul flatters his audience.

122. $\alpha\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$: Graefe, Fr.; $\alpha\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$, cod., Du Cange, Bekker. If the ms. reading is correct, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ in 122 must be a vague emphatic "even". The conjecture $\alpha\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ makes $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ a simple connective and gives the couplet (121f) a rhetorical balance which is enhanced by the homophonous line-endings of 121-2 (cf. the extensive use of similar techniques 40-53 sup., see n. ad loc.). The only difficulty is that $\alpha\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ is not elsewhere attested. But Hesychius has the entry $\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha \cdot \tau\omicron \alpha\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma \phi\omicron\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\nu$. $\kappa\rho\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$. K.Latte (Heiliges Recht, Tübingen 1920, repr. 1964, p.66 n.10) suggested that Hesychius' gloss may have originated in a legal phrase of the form si quis eum occiderit, $\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ $\eta\mu\eta\nu$. Hesychius' entry is substantiated by epigraphical evidence: $\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ = $\alpha\zeta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ is attested in Boeotian (E.Schwyzler, Dialectorum graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora, Leipzig 1923, no.503a, note; ca.B.C.200; = LSJ Suppl.s.v. $\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$); similarly $\alpha\tau\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in Cretan (2nd cent.B.C.; see LSJ Suppl.s.v.), and in Elean (4th cent.B.C.; see LSJ s.v. = Schwyzler op.cit.no.424).^{*} If therefore, as seems likely, Graefe's conjecture is correct, Paul here furnishes a unique instance of the Attic form of a word attested elsewhere only in another dialect. *other dialects /*

123. $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\sigma\iota\nu$: For this sense, cf. 65 sup. with n. ad loc. Paul uses the verb again in the same context of his omitting to

^{*} I am grateful to Professor A.J.Beattie for pointing out these references to me.

describe parts of the church, inf.445, 703.

ἡσθενηκότες: A final reference to the inadequacy of words to do justice to J.'s church, cf. 104 sup. where εὐσθενεῖ λόγῳ is used in the same context, 114 ὥς ἔχει τις ἰσχύος, and similar instances collected in n. ad loc.

124. ἔξεστι ταῦτα προσλαβεῖν, κτλ.: Cf. Nic.Soph. (III.491.29f Spengel) ἡ δὲ (ἐκφρασις) πειράται θεατὰς τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐργάζεσθαι. But Paul's audience could in any case see the new church, cf.Eus.HE 10.4.43f. For προσλαμβάνω, cf. 15 sup., although there the object is personal.

125-29. Paul flatters his audience. The technique is used in the prologues of prose rhetoric and in iambic prologues, with the intention in each case of securing a favourable reception, see Viljamaa p.80f.

125. κρίνει: Graefe and subsequent editors have preferred the present κρίνει to the future κρινεῖ of the ms.

δε: Adversative, introducing a doubt which is answered at 132.

κυαμοτρῶς Ἀττικὸς: Cf. Ar.Eq.40ff νῶν γὰρ ἔστι δεσπότης/ ἄγροικος ὀργὴν κυαμοτρῶς ἀκράχολος, / Δῆμος πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον/ ὑπόκωφον. The scholia on κυαμοτρῶς (Schol. in Aristophanem, Pars 1, fasc.II ed. D.Mervyn Jones, Scripta Academica Groningana, Groningen/Amsterdam 1969, p.16f) suggest that the epithet refers to the dicasts' habit of chewing beans to keep awake in the law-courts, or alternatively to the Athenian practice of using beans as voting-counters and lots in the appointment of magistrates, and implies "venal". Demos, therefore, is a typical example of the kind of Athenian from whom Paul wishes to distinguish his audience. See Fr. ad loc. and the discussion of this allusion by R.C.McCail in PCPS N.S.16 (1970) 79ff, esp. 81, rejecting the suggestion of Alan Cameron (PCPS N.S.15, 1969, 23) that Paul intends an allusion to Simplicius. McCail's interpretation is accepted by H.Blumenthal in Byzantion 48 (1978) 380.

John of Gaza similarly refers to his Attic audience, Descr.1 prol.20 ἄλλ' ὧς θέατρον παιδρὸν ἡττικισμένον, but there the reference to Athens is flattering. For Paul's pejorative allusion, McCail (loc.cit.p.82 n.1) compares Georg.Pisid.Van.Vit.103 (PG.92.1589) πλαστὸς σοφιστῆς, μωρὸς ἡττικισμένος.

126-29. The description of these lines would be equally applicable to secular or ecclesiastical officials (see detailed nn. inf.), and it is reasonable to assume that Paul's audience included both, cf. 81n.sup.

126. εὐσεβεῖς: Piety is not the prerogative of priests alone, but of all good Christians, cf. H.A.Drake In Praise of Constantine (Univ. of California publications: classical studies 15, California 1976) 51f, who argues that the expression χοροὺς ὁσίων καὶ εὐσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν at Eusebius Laud.Const.2.5 (199.29 Heikel) "would be applied to anyone deemed worthy of admission to the Imperial presence" (p.52). Averil Cameron argued (Agathias p.103) that Paul's reference here indicates that Athens was still a byword for impiety in 563, even if Paul does not allude specifically to contemporary pagan philosophy in Athens, but Blumenthal rightly objects (loc.cit. 125n.) that "there is no reason why the allusion must be exclusively to contemporary or even recent circumstances".

συγγνώμονες: "merciful", in their official capacities and so too, Paul hopes, in their judgement of his poem, cf. Proc.Gaz. Pan.1 (491.13f) ὅθεν τολμήσομέν τι καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν, ἀρκοῦσαν εἰς συγγνώμην τὴν προθυμίαν προβεβλημένοι. At 47 sup., Paul uses συγγνώμη to denote J.'s clemency. See McCail loc.cit.79f.

127. οὖν καὶ, κτλ.: The echo of line 2 brings the poem back to its starting-point at a formal level; so the question of lines 130-32 corresponds to that of 1-3. Cf. also the echo of line 10 at the beginning of the second prologue (84). McCail (loc.cit.p.80 n.2) would hesitate to interpret this line as a precise reference to the combined secular and ecclesiastical character of the audience.

ἐφήδεται: LSJ cite exx. of this compound only from prose and, for its use in a good sense, only Aristaen.1.12 ἐφήδομαι τοῖς τροποῖς εὖ μάλα συμπρέπουσι τῇ μορφῇ .

128f. οἱ τὰς πόλεις, κτλ.: The description is applicable to bishops as well as magistrates in view of the clergy's power in secular administration at this time, see McCail loc.cit.n.sup., and cf. also now G.Dagron in DOP 31 (1977) 19ff.

οἱ τὰς ἡνίας/όλων ἔχοντες: "The language of reins and driving is standard in late Greek for any form of public office, especially provincial governorships", Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just. praef.25; see the exx. there collected.

129. καὶ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων: in a final explicit reference (cf.n.inf. on 132f) to the theme introduced at 69 (see n. ad loc.), Paul reminds his audience that they have power over λόγοι (such as his) as well as over πράγματα .

130-34. The lines form a concluding transition to the poem proper, following the precept of Menander Rhetor, 369.13ff ἡ τρίτη δὲ τοῦ προοιμίου ἔννοια...προκαταρκτικὴ γενέσθω τῶν κεφαλαίων (Menander's two preceding sections of the prooemium are both concerned with suggestions for auxesis). See Viljamaa op.cit.p.83f. In a final show of hesitation, Paul further compliments his audience, picking up the Athenian allusion of 125. The rhetorical question and answer of 130ff formally balances that with which the poem opened (1-3).

130. βαδίζειν τοὺς στίχους: On βαδίζειν, see n.sup. on 67. Paul's use of the verb here is similar to that of Jo.Gaz. and Chor. locc.citt., both of whom use it in connection with λόγοι. Paul writes στίχους instead in order to exploit the ambiguity of the noun: the verses march like ranks of soldiers.

131. ἐκδημαγωγηθέντας εἰς παρρησίαν: "cajoled to outspokenness by demagogic harangue". This striking line ("gesucht" in Fr.'s

opinion, see his n. ad loc.) marks the climax of Paul's argument. In ἐκδημαγωγηθέντας, Paul disparages the techniques which he has used (102ff) to arouse his own τόλμη. The compound occurs elsewhere only in D.H., e.g. 5.61.2 ὑφ' ὧν ἐκδημαγωγηθέντες ὅσοι τοῦ Λατίνων μετεῖχον γένους κοινῇ τὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀναιροῦνται πόλεμον, 7.56.2 ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων ἐκδημαγωγούμενος (ὁ δῆμος), cf. 4.32.3, 7.4.5, 7.25.4. Here, as at 115 and 121, παρρησία refers to Paul's τόλμη in describing S.Sophia. But in coupling it with ἐκδημαγωγέω, Paul suggests at the same time the associations of licence which the term acquired with the decline of democracy, cf. Isoc.8.14 δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, κτλ., id.7.20 ...ὥσθ' ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν δημοκρατίαν, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν δὲ παρρησίαν ἰσονομίαν, κτλ., and see Scarpat op.cit. (in n. sup. on 52f) 46ff. This is the interpretation of McCail loc.cit.p.81.

132f. χρῆ τοῦτο πράττειν, κτλ.: The affirmative answer is a paraprosdokian (so McCail, p.81). The emphatic asyndeton here underlines Paul's resolution. The affirmative χρῆ answers the interrogative χρῆ of 130 (ὥσπερ τις ἤχῳ). There may be a hint of the λόγος/πράγμα contrast (cf. 69n.sup.) in πράττειν.../...λόγων: Paul will now undertake a πρᾶγμα.

134. οὐκοῦν, κτλ.: For the explicit statement of transition, cf. inf. 416 οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπὸν προσκαταθήσω τοῦ χρέους, Amb.26 οὐκοῦν πρόσσειμι τῷ σεβασμῷ τόπῳ; A.P.4.3A.43 (Agath.) ἐκ τοῦ Βασιλέως τοὺς προλόγους ποιήσομαι; Laud.Beryt.1.31f (I.95 Heitsch; quoted by Viljamaa p.84). On the use of the verb of motion, see n.sup. on 66f and n. inf. on 311-14.

βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν: Cf. inf.Amb.16 τοῦ μεγίστου βασιλέως, P.Ant.115.b14 παρὰ τὸν βασιλῆα τὸν μέγαν (the similarity to Paul's expression is noted by Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20, 1970, 127), and see the exx. from late prose cited by A.Alföldi, Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe (Mitt.des deutsch.arch.Instituts, röm.abt.49, 1934) 101f, adding Them.Or.4 (I.80.10 Downey), quoted in n.inf. on 244-47.

Lemma

See n.sup. on opening title and lemma (p.19). The word ἀρχή is here added by the scribe J in the right-hand margin.

Παύλου Σιλεντιαρίου, υἱοῦ Κυρίου: See biographical note in Introduction, p.1ff sup.

ἐκφρασις: See n.sup. on opening title and lemma, p.19ff.

τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας: The church of S.Sophia was first called simply ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία. This remained the popular name at all periods, although the name Sophia was in use as an alternative appellation by the first half of the fifth cent., see G.Downey in Harvard Theological Review 52 (1959) 37ff, with the reservations voiced by Averil Cameron, *ibid.* 58 (1965) 161-3. For the popular name, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.66 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλησίας, ἥνπερ μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, Mal.489.19f, Theoph. A.M.6051 (232.28 de Boor), Agath.Hist.5.9.2 ὁ μέγιστος τοῦ θεοῦ νεῶς, *inf.* 324, 414; etc.

135-67. Introduction: statement of theme and invocation of deities.

Today I sing not of the achievements of war, but of the greater peacetime achievement of the building of S.Sophia (135-44). (New) Roma, garland your emperor with hymns, not for his subjugation of the world, but because of the church he has built, a church which has made you (New Rome) more illustrious than your mother (Old Rome), by surpassing the Capitol at Rome (145-56). Not only has the emperor subjected barbarians to his yoke, he has even defeated Phthonos itself (157-63). You too come, Old Roma, and sing with New Roma, rejoicing like any mother to see your child surpass you (164-67).

As in the first iambic prologue (1-80), Paul is concerned to glorify the achievements of J., although here the material is arranged to highlight S.Sophia as the culmination of that achievement. The tone of confidence and optimism which characterised the first iambic prologue (see n.sup. on 1-80), is now heightened to a note of exultation and triumph. The heightened effect, or auxesis of the subject, is achieved by rhetorical and stylistic elaboration. The theme is dramatised by hymnic invocation of goddesses (139 Eirene, 145-67 the appeal to the two Romas to celebrate J.), by apostrophe (152 the Capitol), and by means of extended personification (160ff Phthonos in combat with J.). (With these should be contrasted the explicitly Christian invocation of prophets, apostles and martyrs with which Paul opens the Ambo, inf.30-49). The theme is further elaborated by the use of synkrisis (151-4). The style is likewise elaborate: Paul uses long and complex sentences (e.g. the negative tricolon 135-7, the double negative leading to a positive 147-51, the οὐ μοῦνον...ἀλλὰ καὶ structure of 157-63; the bombastic periphrasis 141-4), resounding compound epithets (particularly in the opening lines 135-44, e.g. τυραννοφόνους καναχήποδα juxtaposed in 137), and poetical proper names (Θυμβριάδος 151,

"Ανθουσα 156). Moreover the strongly dactylic rhythm (especially 135-8, 144-50) increases the effect of excitement.

This elaborate style, and in particular the use of one or more negative expressions to reinforce a positive statement, enables Paul to glorify J's military victories while emphasising that he is concerned with a greater, peacetime achievement. It is regular encomiastic practice to turn from an emperor's achievements in war to those of peace (see Men. Rhet. 372.25ff, 375.5f, and cf., for example, Proc.Gaz.Pan.11, p.502.4ff Bonn), and to rate the latter superior (θαυμασιώτερος, Men. Rhet. 375.10-12). The treatment of the building of S.Sophia as the culmination of J's military achievements obscures the chronological sequence of events: J's church was originally constructed in the first decade of his reign, in the period 532-7, as part of the building programme initiated after the destruction of the city during the Nika Riot, see Stein B-E II.456-60. Only with the mention of the "five-year tear" in 171 and the ensuing narrative (176f, 186ff) of the collapse of the dome, does Paul indicate that he is writing not in honour of J's original building, but for the second dedication of S.Sophia in 562, when it had been restored after the collapse of the dome in 558.

135-7. σήμερον οὐ..., οὐδ'.../...οὐδέ: Cf.1 sup.τῆς νῦν ἡμέρας, and see n. ad loc. Similar use of σήμερον (often the opening word) is common in epideictic and encomiastic contexts, e.g.Il.19.103; Pi.P.4.1; Call.Lav.Pall. 45 (bis), 47; A.P.11.20.5 (Ant.Thess.); Jo.Chrys.Adv. Ebr.3 (PG.50.436.31f; bis); Nonn.D. 19.189, 36.140, al.; Coll.86, 175; Romanos 1 proem.1, 2 proem.2, 5 proem.1; Theoph.Sim.8.12.5 (307.12f de Boor); Georg.Pisid. In Bon.Patr.5 (I.163 Pertusi); Phot.Hom.10.3 (100.21 Laourdas). At ps.Pampr. 3.7ff (I.111 Heitsch), it is followed, although not directly, by a series of negative clauses of increasing length, as in our line, σήμερον ἀμφ'ἐμὲ κῶμος αἰδέεται, οὐχ ὅσον ἀλῶν,/ οὐχ [ὄσ]ον.../...οὐθ'ὄν αἰδέε[ι]/.../(13)ἀλλ' ὅσον, κτλ. Nonnus regularly uses a long series of negative phrases or clauses introduced by οὐ and οὐδέ, e.g. D.32.93ff, 40.478ff, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.οὐδέ VI, and cf. K-G II.293f, sec.535.4b. For a negative

tricolon with a similar line-end to 135, cf. Nonn.D.10.333ff τοῖσι μὲν οὐδ' τρίπος ἦεν ἀέθλιον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ νίκη/ἀνθεμόεν παρέκειτο λέβης, οὐ φορβάδες ἵπποι, /ἀλλὰ...αὐλὸς Ἑρώτων; also Jo.Gaz.Anacr.1.3ff (PLG III.342) Μοῦσά με νῦν θώρηξεν ἐκηβόλος οὐκ ἐπὶ χάρμην, /οὐκ ἐπὶ δυσμενέων νίφα βάρβαρον· ἀλλὰ μενοινὴν/ὑμετέρην σκοπὸν οἶδα τανύσκοπον, κτλ. With these passages from Jo.Gaz. and ps.Pampr., Viljamaa (op.cit., p.107) compares our passage and infra 147-51, 157-63, and observes that such use of antithetical clauses is particularly favoured in prooemia. (In our passage, the expected positive statement introduced by ἀλλά is replaced by the invocation of Eirene, 139). This technique is perhaps rather one manifestation of a grand style thought particularly desirable in prooemia (cf. introductory n. sup.). Paul uses an identical negative tricolon in the peroration of the poem (1019f), which, like the prooemium, is characterised by stylistic auxesis, see n. inf. on 1018-26. In both of these tricola, the first clause is a general statement (here "I do not sing of war") to which the succeeding clauses add precision ("not victory over external foes, nor yet over usurpers", see n. inf. on 136f).

135. σακέων...κτύπος: Cf. inf 263 ἐπεκτύπεον δὲ βοεῖαι, with n. ad loc. on the use of ἐπικτυπέω to denote the sound of beaten shields. Homer uses κτύπος of dull, low-pitched sound, for example, the trampling of horse (Il.10.535), battle-din in general (Il.12.338) and thunder (Il.15.379). The sound produced by the clashing of Homeric ox-hide shields (βοεῖαι 263) would be such a dull thud, rather than a metallic ring. But later poets in any case use the term more widely, see LSJ s.v. and cf. (for example) Nonn.D. 13.156 ξιφέων κτ., 24.270 φορμίγγων κτ., 47.275f κτ. .../ἧ ποδὸς ἧ σύριγγος.

με φέρει: Cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr. 1.1.πῇ φέρομαι ; (= inf.444, 755), of poetic inspiration; ps.Pampr.4.25 (I.119 Heitsch) ἐκ δὲ τεδὸν μέλπειν. φέ[ρο]μαι γένος, and see the metaph.exx.cit.LSJ s.v.φέρω A.II.2.

135f. ἐπὶ νίκην/...ἐπείγομαι: The verb continues the metaphor of φέρει (135). For its construction with ἐπὶ, cf. Hdt.4.135.3 ὁ Δαρεΐος...ἡπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴστρον; metaph., Eur.Antiop.fr.183 Nauck

(ap. Pl. Gorg. 484e) καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπείγεται; passive, Const. ap. Eus. V. Const. 2.68 (68.8 Heikel) ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης ἀνάγκην ἐπειχθεῖς. In epic it is usually constructed with other prepositions, e.g. Il. 23.437, 496 ἐπειγόμενοι περὶ νίκης; Theoc. 7.24 μετὰ, Opp. H. 3.189 μύραιναι μετὰ σάρκας ἐπειγόμεναι φορέονται/πουλυπόδων; Orph. Arg. 71, Nonn. D. 1.510, 17.138, al., all with εἰς. Paul may have been influenced in his choice of preposition here by the Nonnian line-end ἐπὶ νίκη, e.g. D. 10.333 (quoted sup. 135-7n.), 24.105, cf. A.P. 16.371.3 (Anon., 6th cent.); ἐπὶ νίκας, A.P. 6.74.3 (Agath.).

136. ἔσπερον ἢ ἐλίουσσαν: I.e. in Italy or Africa. The first may be a topical reference; for recent events in Italy, see n. sup. on 9 καταστέλλων μάχας. The topicality of the reference to Africa is more doubtful. In the first iambic prologue (16), Paul speaks of Libya as long held in slavery, referring to the Roman liberation of Libya from the Moors from 548 onwards, see n. ad loc. There was, however, a Moorish rebellion, dated by Malalas (495.19ff) to January 563. (Theophanes, A.M. 6055, p. 238.24ff, puts it in December 562, but this is a mistake, arising from his omission, in adapting Malalas, of the latter's first notice for January; hence Theophanes' introductory τῷ δ' αὐτῷ μηνὶ erroneously refers back to December). The 563 rebellion was quickly suppressed by an expedition under J's nephew Marcian, see Bury HLRE II.147f, Stein B-E II.559f (sources Stein p. 560 n.1) and Cameron on Cor. Laud. Just. 1.18f. It is, however, unlikely that Paul, speaking early in January 563, could have known of these events. In this expression and the reference to the Persians in 138, Paul merely reiterates from the first iambic prologue (11-16) the theme of J's world-empire, see n. ad loc. sup. For local ἔσπερος, see LSJ s.v. II, adding Nonn. D. 1.228, 31.103 (both adj.), 30.275 (subst.), and cf. sup. 11 (fem., sc. χῶρα), inf. 887, 923 (both subst.). For ἐλίουσσαν in the same context of world-empire, cf. A.P. 4.3B.42 (Agath.) ἐσχατιὴν δὲ Ἀ. This feminine form is classical, see LSJ s.v., adding Lyc. 1014, 1016.

136f. τροπαίοις/ἀμφὶ τυραννοφόνους: "over tyrant-slaying trophies", i.e. trophies of slain tyrants; cf. 194 inf. αἵμασιν ... ἀνδροφόνους, "the blood of slain men". The epithet τυραννοφόνος indicates that Paul here has in mind victory over the

tyrant or usurper, a topical point, see n.sup. on 24-39 and, for this sense of τύραννος, 36n.sup. For Paul's use of the epithet τυραννοφόνος, cf. A.P.15.50.5f (Anon.) νίκης, /... τυραννοφόνου: this expression refers to the part played by the charioteer Porphyrius in the suppression in 515 of the revolt of Vitalian against Anastasius, see Alan Cameron Porphyrius the Charioteer (Oxford 1973) 127f. The epithet (first in Bianor, see LSJ s.v.) is used elsewhere in 6th cent. epigrams of the emperor, A.P.9.656.1 (Anon.) of Anastasius, 9.779.1 (Anon.) of Justin II (for justification of this appellation of Justin, see A. and A.Cameron in JHS 86, 1966, 24).

The reference to trophies suggests a public celebration of victory. A celebration of this kind had indeed taken place in the hippodrome in Cpl. in 534, when J. revived the Roman tradition of awarding a triumph to a victorious general in honour of Belisarius' victory over the Vandal Gelimer (a τύραννος, see 36n. sup.); in the procession booty and slaves were paraded, including Gelimer himself, see Proc.BV 2.9. Although this type of ceremony was not to be repeated until the reign of Justinian II (see Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84, 1979, 8f on the different celebration of Belisarius' victory in 559), scenes based on the triumph over Gelimer were depicted in art. Procopius (Aed.1.10.16ff) describes the depiction in mosaic on the ceiling of the Chalke of a scene of imperial triumph, in which Belisarius presents spoils to J., while the Vandal and Gothic kings approach as prisoners of war, and the senate rejoices round about, see C.Mango The Brazen House (Copenhagen 1959) 32-4,

who dates the mosaic after 540. Corippus (Laud.Just.1.276ff) describes a similar scene depicted on J's funeral vestment and also refers (3.121ff) to the depiction of the triumph over Gelimer on gold vases, see Cameron ad locc. Allusions to trophies and postures of triumph likewise occur in the literature of the period, e.g. Cor.Laud.Just.praef.1f deus omnia regna/sub pedibus dedit esse tuis, see Cameron ad loc. for additional parallels from art and literature. For Paul's expression, cf. Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (516.2ff) ποιητῶν δὲ παῖδας καὶ ῥήτορας, ἀμφὶ σοὶ κινουῦντας τὴν γλῶτταν, εὐπορεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς τροπαίοις ἄβρύνεσθαι (the final phrase is adapted from ib.1, 489.2). Paul later similarly refers to τροπαιοφόροισι θριάμβους (inf.227, see n. ad loc.) and τροπαιοφόρων...ὕμνων (967). The noun τροπαῖον (cf. inf. 231 and see LSJ s.v.) does not occur elsewhere in epic, but is found occasionally in epigram (e.g. A.P.7.135.3, Anon.; Epigr.Gr.768.11, ib.768a.2, 5, praef. p.xvi) and in Christian prose (see PGL s.v.).

The preposition ἀμφί, when constructed with a dative, may be either local (LSJ s.v.B.I; K-G.I.489, sec.436.II.1; Peek Lex.s.v.III.1) or causal (LSJ IV; K-G.I.490, sec.436.II.3; Peek III.3, cf. Keydell I.62*). Here the sense is primarily causal, but the local associations of the construction continue the metaphor of φέρει (135) and ἐπὶ νίκην/...ἐπεΐγομαι (135f).

137. καναχήποδα ῥυθμὸν ἀράσσω: "I strike out a reverberating rhythm". Graefe's conjecture ῥυθμὸν for the ms. θυμὸν is accepted by Bekker, Fr., and by F.Spitzner, who discusses and rejects alternative conjectures, Observationes criticae maximam partem in Pauli Silentiarrii descriptionem magnae ecclesiae (Erfurt 1823) 4-6. In support of ῥυθμὸν, Graefe (in n. ad loc.) cites inf. 933 ἡμετέρων ἐπέων...ῥυθμόν. An instance of the same

ms. confusion is to be found at Nonn.D.5.96, where Keydell and Peek adopt Scaliger's conjecture ῥυθμὸν Ἐρώτων for the Laurentianus' θυμὸν. (Nonnus elsewhere uses ῥυθμὸν alone to denote music or song, e.g.D.11.112, 19.97, cf. A.P.11.64.2, Agath.). Paul's expression here is modelled on Nonnus' use of ἀράσσω with ἦχον, μέλος, ὕμνον et simil. in the sense "play", "strike out", e.g.D.1.488 κιθάρας ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ἀράσσω, 12.148f δόρπιον ἀρμονίην...αὐλὸς ἀράσσω /..., Φρύγα ῥυθμὸν ἔχων ἢ Δωρίδα μολπὴν, al., see Peek Lex. s.v. ἀράσσω A.II, and cf. also Coll.55 σακέων... κόμπον ἀράσσειν. (On the use of ἀράσσω in general, see n. inf. on 948). Huschke's conjecture ὕμνον, on the analogy of 172 inf.εὐποδᾶς ὕμνους, is rightly rejected in our line by Graefe (in n. ad loc.) because it would involve hiatus.. The use of the epithet εὐπους at 172 to denote metrical feet is, however, parallel to the use of καναχήπους in our line. Elsewhere (Alcm.23.48, Certamen 100, Opp C. 2.431) the latter is applied only to the horse. Paul may have been influenced in the choice of an epithet appropriate to the horse by Nonn.D.41.190, where the sound made by a galloping horse is said to "strike out a birthday tune" (γενέθλιον ἦχον ἀράσσω) for Beroe. The reference to metrical feet here complements the idea of ῥυθμὸν; the latter conjecture is therefore superior to the alternative μῦθον (suggested by Graefe ad loc.), which is not particularly associated with verse, although Paul does use it of his poem, e.g.inf.177, 185, 312, 314. The expression κ. ῥυθμὸν aptly describes the galloping dactylic rhythm which predominates in this introductory section and enhances its triumphant note, see n. sup. on 135-67. The ms. carries the alternative ἀράξω in the margin, but the present is certainly correct after φέρει (135) and ἐπείγομαι (136).

138. Μηδοφόνων, κτλ.: "Let the glories of Mede-slaying works remain unproclaimed today". The line breaks the anticipated structural pattern: the series of negatives (135-7) would normally culminate in a strong positive ἀλλά, cf. 147-50 inf., and see n. sup. on 135-7. It marks the transition to the positive statement of theme (141-4) which follows the invocation of Eirene, see Fr.'s n. on 135-44. The reference to Persia, the eastern limit of J.'s empire, completes the

allusion to the bounds of empire begun in ἔσπερον ἡὲ Λίβυσσαν (136), see n. ad loc. It also neatly changes the subject from war (135-7) to peace (139), since a Fifty-Year Peace with Persia had recently been concluded (Dec.561, see 9n.sup.), although Paul's reference to Μηδοφόνων...κλέα...ἔργων is exaggerated, see n.sup. on 13-15.

The expression κλέα ...ἔργων (cf. κλέα μόχθων 1014 inf.) is a reminiscence of Il.9.189 κλέα ἀνδρῶν, cf. ib.524, Od.8.73, Theoc.16.2; κλέα φωτῶν, h.Hom.32.18, A.R.1.1, A.P.2.378 (Christod.); also κλέα τε μεγάρων, A.R.4.361. Paul avoids the hiatus of the Homeric expression by the judicious repetition of σήμερον from 135, thereby emphasising the unity of 135-8. (Elsewhere κλέος is used only in the singular). The epithet Μηδοφόνος is applied to J. in an epigram (A.P.16.63.4, Anon., μάρτυρα M.) on his equestrian statue erected in the Augustaeum (in 544, according to Mal.482.14, Theoph.A.M.6036, 224.13; cf.Proc. Aed.1.2.1-12), cf. ib.62.1 (Anon.; same subject) ὦ βασιλεῦ Μηδοκτόνε. Elsewhere Μηδοφόνος is used in reference to the Greco-Persian wars of the classical period, Peek GVI 1466.6 (mid.-3rd cent.B.C.); Epigr.Gr.931.4 (Roman period); A.P.7.243.2 (Loll.Bass.); Plut.Mor.349c; Nonn.D.27.300; A.P.16.118.1 (Paul Sil.), ib.233.7 (Theaet.Schol.). Paul's fondness for -φόνος compounds, manifest in 137-8, is further demonstrated at A.P.11.60.2 (ἀνδροφόνον, cf. inf.194), ib.5 (ταυροφόνων).

For μένω with predicative adj., cf.sup.113. Nonnus uses this construction with μίμνω, e.g.D.30.20, 31.183, al., see Peek Lex. s.v.I.5, and cf. A.P.16.72.7 (Anon., 6th cent.). The adj. ἄβόητος is rare, but for its use with κλέος in the same sense, cf. Peek GVI 1550.2f (167/6); also Nonn.Par.12.173 of πίστις, 18.62 πορείην.

Wilamowitz's conjectured δ' after Μηδοφόνων is unnecessary: Paul often uses asyndeton for emphatic or dramatic effect, e.g. sup. 3, 24, 132; inf.176, 226, 231, 232.

139-44. The invocation of Eirene marks a new beginning, after the

rejection of military topics, see n.sup. on 135-67 on the encomiastic practice of turning from military to peacetime achievements. J.'s church of S.Sophia is an appropriate symbol of his peacetime achievements, being the architectural masterpiece of the re-building programme instigated by J. in Cpl. after the destruction of much of the centre of the city in the Nika Riot of 532, see Stein B-E II.452, 456ff; Proc.Aed. Bk.1. The church of S.Eirene was destroyed with S.Sophia and also re-built by J. (Proc.Aed.1.2.13). The Nika Riot did not, of course, mark the end of urban rioting and incendiarism in Cpl., see Alan Cameron Circus Factions (Oxford 1976), e.g. 276f, 89ff on riots in the period between 532 and 562.

139. Εἰρήνη πολύολβε, κτλ.: The invocatory opening originates in Homer's appeals to the Muses (Il.1.1, Od.1.1), and the technique continued to be used in late poetry, e.g. Opp.H.3.1ff, 9ff, C.2.1ff; Nonn.D.1.1, 25.1; Coll.1ff; Tryph.1ff; Musae.1; Cor.Laud.Just.1.8ff with Cameron ad loc. and Stache on 1.12; Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.1, 2.1; inf.Amb.30ff. Honorific appellations are characteristic of hymn, prayer or invocation, both pagan and Christian, e.g. Il.1.37ff, al.; Call.Dian.225f, Lav.Pall.43, al.; Orph.Hymn 10.1ff, 12.1ff and passim; Clem.Alex.Paed.Hymn 1ff, 11ff, al. (I.291 Stählin); Synes. Hymn 1.145ff (p.11 Terzhagi), 4.7ff (p.27), 60ff (p.28), al.; Nonn.D.41.143ff (where Beroe is called πολίων τροφός); Jo.Gaz.Descr. 1.19; Cor.Laud.Just.4.134ff; Anon. Akathistos Hymn passim (p.29ff Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica). With our line, cf. Opp.H.2.680 νῦν γάρ σε, Δίκη, θρέπτειρα πολλῶν, A.P.11.380.1 (Mac.Cons.) παρθένος εὐπατέρεια Δίκη, πρέσβειρα πολλῶν. Dike similarly cares for cities because she is the sister of Eirene, see Hes.Th.902, Pi.0.13.6ff and esp. Orph.Hymn 43.1f ὦραι θυγατέρες Θέμιδος καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος, /Εὐνομίη τε Δίκη τε καὶ Εἰρήνη πολύολβε, also ib.32.15 δὲ δ'εἰρήνην πολύολβον, Hymn Curet.40 (p.161 Powell) (ὁ) φίλολβος Εἰρήνη. This association between Eirene and wealth or prosperity is ancient: Pindar (loc.cit., line 7) calls Eirene τάμι'ἀνδράσι πλούτου, cf. Bacch.fr.4.61f Snell-Maehler and Paus.1.8.2, 9.16.2 on a statue in the market-place at Athens of Eirene nursing the infant Plutus.

Eirene is also called ταμίη at Dioscoros 5.32 (Heitsch I.135) and σαόπολιν at Nonn.D.41.395. Active πολύολβος ("rich in blessings/prosperity") occurs first in Sappho, see LSJ s.v.II, and cf. also Orph.Hymn 40.20 πλοῦτον, 63.1 of Dikaiosyne, al.; Procl.Hymn 1.40 φᾶος (of the Sun); and perhaps ps.Pampr. 3.154 (Heitsch I.116) [Δήμητερ πολ]ύολβε, (suppl. Arnim). The sense "wealthy" is more common (LSJ s.v.I, also Nonn.D.5.223, 33.254, A.P.9.153.2, Agath., etc.). For the form τιθηνήτειρα, cf. A.P.9.19.5 (Arch.), 16.296.1 (Ant. Sid.; attr. Ant.Thess. by Gow-Page); Nonn.D.7.4, 20.30, al.; Jo. Gaz.Descr.2.241, all in eadem sede. The solemn slowness of this line, achieved by the use of spondees and polysyllabic words and by the repetition of the long -η-/ -ει-sound, is in deliberate contrast to the galloping dactylic rhythm of 135-8, cf. Fr.'s n. on 135-44. The ms. εἰρήνης was corrected by Du Cange.

140. ἣν πλέον, κτλ.: "whom our lord has embraced more than Victory of the lovely helmet". The claim could scarcely be made of J.'s reign as a whole, but Paul is writing under the influence of the recent peace treaty with Persia (see 138n. sup.). The pax Romana became a favourite theme for panegyrists in the ensuing years, cf. Cor. Laud.Just. praef. 1ff with Averil Cameron ad loc., p.118f; A.P.4.3B.1-47 (Agath.) with A. and A. Cameron, JHS 86 (1966) 23f*.

πλέον εὐπῆλῃκος...Νικήης: Victory is here called εὐπῆλῃξ because Paul is thinking of Victory in war, cf. inf. 981. But at 970f Νίκη is associated both with military achievements and with "labours in protection of the city" (ἀστυόχοις...μόχθοις, cf. inf. 141 πλίσσούχοισιν...ἄεθλοις), as in the prologue victory (τὸ νικᾶν, 84) is said to be the partner of J.'s labours in general (cf. 10 sup., although in the following passage, 11-16, Paul is thinking of military victory). The helmet is not a regular attribute of Victory in imperial art, see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Victoria III, col. 851ff, esp. 853 (ii); occasionally, however, she is depicted wearing a helmet (loc.cit. fig. 7469), more often holding one (fig. 7471) or with her foot on one (fig. 7472). See further nn. inf. on 970-72, 981f. The epithet εὐπῆλῃξ occurs first at A.P.6.120.5 (Leon.)

* B.Baldwin (BZ 70, 1977, 298-301 and BZ 73, 1980, 334ff) rejects the Camerons' arguments and would retain the traditional Justinianic dating for Agathias' prologue.

Ἀθηναίης; cf. Babr.65.1a of a peacock; Nonn.D.13.197 Ἀθῆναι, 32. 264 Μορρέος, al. Paul uses it again inf. 299 οἴκου, 529f καλύπτρη, both referring to the dome of S.Sophia. Nonnus regularly constructs πλέον with genitive of comparison, see Peek Lex.s.v.VI.

ἄναξ: The Homeric word is preferred in the hexameters to the δεσπότης of the iambics (117). The former is common in 6th cent.poetry, see Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40 and cf., for example, A.P.16.335.1, 348.3 (both Anon.).

ἡγκάσσατο: For this verb metaphorically used in a similar context, cf. A.P.4.3B.11 (Agath.) φίλην ἡγκάζεο Ῥώμην. In both Paul and Agathias the sense is rather "embrace" (cf. Euph.in PSI 1390.C.1.9; Nonn.D.8.347, 12.385, al.; inf. 375) than "lift up in the arms" (Il.17.722; cf. Call. fr. 236.1 ἀπὸ...ἡγκάσασθαι). So Hesychius glosses ἡγκάζοντο· ταῖς ἡγκάλας περιελάμβανον. Spitzner (op.cit. in n. on 137, p.6ff) was the first to argue for the restoration of the ms. reading ἡγκάσσατο, which was adopted by Bekker. Du Cange and Graefe both wrote ἡγάσσατο. (Graefe and Spitzner were both working from the apographum Gothanum of the Codex Palatinus, see Spitzner p.3. This carried the reading ἡγκάσσατο, Spitzner, p.7).

141.δεῦρο: Adhortatory, as often. The adverb may stand alone, see LSJ s.v.I.2C and cf. Orph.Hymn 72.1 δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ'; Musae.124 (if the transmitted text is correct). Usually, however, it is accompanied either by a prepositional expression implying motion (e.g.Theoc.27.11,13; Orph.Hymn 54.7; Nonn.D.11.147; Musae.248) or, more often, an imperative (see LSJ s.v.I.2a; also A.R.4.759; Call.fr.726; Theoc.27.46; Opp.H.4.237; Nonn.D.15.283, 29.58, Par.4.28f, 11.158, 20.124; Musae.142, 271; inf.169, Amb.46) or first person plural subjunctive (see LSJ s.v.I.2b; also A.R.3.25; Theoc.1.21; A.P.4.3B.55f, Agath.). It is likely that Paul intended this last construction here, and that ἀείσομεν (143) should be construed as a short-vowelled Homeric subjunctive, like ἴομεν 313 inf. See Chantraine, Grammaire homérique I.454f, sec.216 on the frequent use of the short-vowelled subjunctive with sigmatic aorists, and Keydell I.46* on this form in Nonnus. (So Du Cange rendered the verbs ἐπαυχῆσαντες 140, and ἀείσομεν 143 with the subjunctives praedicemus,

celebremus). Hence it is preferable to follow Du Cange, Graefe and Bekker in punctuating with a comma after δεῦρο, as opposed to Fr.'s colon: the whole passage 139-44 is a single grandiloquent period in which Paul announces his theme.

πολισσοῦχοισιν ἐπαυχήσαντες ἄεθλοῖς: "exulting in city-preserving toils", i.e. restricting our encomium to J.'s labours for the city. Agathias, in introducing his theme, uses the same metaphor of ἄεθλος (A.P.4.3B.57) and ἄγων (ib. 55, cf. 142 inf.), as well as the same construction with δεῦρο (see n. sup.); Agathias, however, uses the metaphor in reference to his own work, as Paul does sup. 102, see n. ad loc. But at 116ff, Paul justifies undertaking the ἄγωνία (102) of describing S.Sophia on the grounds that even greater enterprise was necessary for J. to build the church. So at A.P.1.10.74, 75 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἄεθλος denotes Anicia Juliana's building of churches*. In Homer ἄεθλος, usually at the line-end as here, is frequently used of the contests of war (see LSJ s.v. ἄθλος I, and cf., for example, Il. 3.126), but it is also used more generally of struggle or toil, e.g. Il. 8.363 of the labours of Heracles, cf. A.R.1.1318; Opp.H.2.504 of Odysseus' wanderings, ib. 3.2 ἄγρευτῆρας ἄεθλους, of fishermen; Nonn.D.25.218 of Dionysus' exploits, contrasted with those of Heracles. For S.Sophia as a benefit to the city, cf. 119f sup. Paul similarly uses πολισσοῦχος in connection with J.'s achievements infra 798 ἔργα πολισσοῦχων...βασιλῆων, detailed (799f) as hospitals and churches, and 982 κοιρανίης...πολισσοῦχοισι λεπάδνοις, more generally of J.'s world dominion, see n. ad loc. The epithet (a poetic variant of πολιοῦχος) is regularly used in classical authors of the protecting deity of a city, its patron et simil., later of emperors, see LSJ s.v. πολισσοῦχος, πολιοῦχος and cf. Call.Lav.Pall. 53 τὰν Παλλάδα τὰν πολιοῦχον; A.R.2.846 τόνδε πολισσοῦχον, of Idmon; Opp.H.4.4 κάρτιστε πολισσοῦχων βασιλῆων (of Marcus Aurelius); Nonn.D.3.262 θεαίνης (Hera), 47.463 Φοίβου (also πολιοῦχος, e.g. 18.224); Tryph. 432, 444, both of Athene (both forms); A.P.2.358 (Christod.) δημοβόροισι πολισσοῦχοισιν Ἰώων, ib.9.482.5 (Agath.) Ζήνωνα πολισσοῦχον βασιλῆα; also PGL s.v. for πολιοῦχος in Christian contexts.

* This epigram was inscribed in the church of S.Polyeuktos in Cpl. at the time of its reconstruction by Anicia Juliana, probably in the period A.D.524-27, see C.Mango and I.Ševčenko in DOP 15 (1961) 243ff..

For its use with a non-personal noun, cf. Isyll.16 (p. 133 Powell) πολιοῦχος...ἀρετὰ τε καὶ αἰδώς; Nonn.D.34.358 ἐνδόμυχον κλόνον... πολισσοῦχοιο κυδοιμοῦ. The compound ἐπαυχέω ("exult in"; cf. inf. 983) is rare, only S. Ant.483, Ar.Av.629, both c.dat.rei, (also S. El.65, see LSJ s.v.2); Nonn.D.48.869 ἄρτιγάμοις ἀγόρευεν ἐπαυχήσας ὑμεναίοις, 32.209 c.dat.pers., also 11.188. The verb is glossed by Hesychius and Suidas. In our line a present participle might have been expected, but Nonnus uses only the aorist participle.

142. παντὸς ὑπερκύδαντος, κτλ.: "the house which surpasses every most glorious contest". The metaphor of ἄεθλος (141) is reiterated in ἀγῶνος (see n. sup.) The idea of S.Sophia as the culmination of J.'s achievements has occurred several times in the prologue, 70, 101, 118; cf. also Romanos 54 κγ'1ff μεγάλα ὄντως καὶ φαιδρὰ καὶ ἄξια θαυμάτων καὶ ὑπερβεβηκότα/ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀρχαίους βασιλεῖς ἔδειξαν νῦν/οἱ ἐν τῇ παρόντι τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐσεβῶς τὰ πράγματα διέποντες, of the re-building of Cpl. after the Nika Riot. For ὑπέρτερος c.gen. in this sense ("above", i.e. "superior to"), see LSJ s.v.I.3, adding A.R.3.988f οὐ γὰρ ἄνευθεν/ὑμείων στονόεντος ὑπέρτερος ἔσομ' ἄεθλου, al.; Theoc.12.22; Nonn.D.16.89, 42.367, al., Par.10.105, 13.74; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.168; A.P.1.10.12, 46 (Anon., 6th cent.), ib.5.258.5 (Paul Sil.) and infra 307; also Agath.Hist.3.1.3 (quoting Pi.I.1.2); P.Masp.67002.I.7 (6th cent.). The use of οἶκος to denote a temple goes back to the classical period (see LSJ s.v.I.3) and is common in Christian contexts (see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1β, PGL s.v.3). Paul uses ὑπερκύδης again inf. 303 of Christ, 446 of the central area of S.Sophia. The epithet is used by Homer (Il.4.66, 71 ὑπερκυδάντος Ἀχαιοῦς) and Hesiod (Th.510 Ὑ.Μενοίτιον), but occurs elsewhere only in lexica (e.g. Hesych.s.v. ὑπερκυδάντας) and commentaries discussing its formation (locc.citt. Schmidt ad Hesych.s.v.). For modern etymological discussion, see Chantraine, Dict.étym. s.v.κύδος, Dérivés nominaux 4, Frisk Gr.etym.Wörterbuch s.v.κύδος. Graefe (ad loc.) suggested that the ms. bears a marginal note ζητεῖ at this point because of the rare epithet.

143. εὐιέροις ὕμνοισιν ἀείσομεν: For the dative with ἀείδω, cf. inf.155, Nonn.Par.4.109 θεὸν...ἀείδομεν ἔμφορνι μῦθῳ, D.2.81f φιλοθρήνοισι δὲ μολπαῖς/αἶλινα φοῖβος ἄειδε δαΐζομένων ὑακίνθων; also inf.Amb.46f δεῦρο,...εὐαγγέεσσιν ἀοιδαῖς/...μέλος πλέξασθε, Descr.335f παννυχίους...ὕμνους/ᾠσπασίως ἐβόησαν ἀσιγήτοισιν ἀοιδαῖς; These datives indicate the manner of singing: it is the epithet rather than the noun which adds a new idea to the sentence, and the dat. expression does service for an adverbial one. They should be classed as sociative, quo declaratur, quae condicio vel actio rem quae narratur comitetur, Keydell I.59*, see the exx. ibid.60* of the wide use of such datives in Nonnus D. The epithet εὐίερος has the general sense "holy", rather than the more technical "fit for sacrifice", see LSJ s.v., and for our sense, cf. also Theoc.Ep.4.5; A.P.6.231.2 (Phil.); Orph.Hymn 7.2, 12 and passim; Procl.Hymn 7.33; inf.Amb.117, 175; Psell.In Orac.Chald. (PG.122.1136C). On ἀείσομεν, see n.sup. on δεῦρο 141.

143f. ὧ ὑπο μούῳ, κτλ.: "beneath the majesty of which alone every divinely-inspired, glorious, high-roofed work has cowered low". The clause reiterates in more graphic and bombastic terms the substance of 142. Procopius (Aed.1.1.27) describes how S.Sophia physically towered above the other buildings of Cpl., ἐπῆρται μὲν γὰρ ἐς ὕψος οὐράνιον ὅσον, καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομημάτων ἀποσαλεύουσα ἐπινένευκεν ὑπερκειμένη τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει,...ῥαΐζομένη δὲ, ὅτι αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς πόλεως) οὕσα καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἀνέχει ὥστε δὴ ἐνθὲνδε ἡ πόλις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποσκοπεῖται, cf. ib.42. In No.XII ap. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica, S.Sophia is described as (ε'3f) τεχνικὴν ἅπασαν ὑπερανέχον/ἐπιστήμην ἀνθρώπινον ἐν τοῖς δώμασιν. Cf. Evagr.HE 4.31 (180.12ff Bid.-Parm.) on the height of the dome of S.Sophia; Mic.Thess, Descr.S.Soph.1 (ed. Mango-Parker, DOP 14, 1960, 235.7-9; 12th cent.) μέγιστος οὕτω κατὰ τὰ ὄρη μεταρσιούμενος καὶ πάντα κάτω προλείπων ὅσα τέχνη λαβοῦσα χεῖρας δημιουργεῖ; also A.P.1.10.52 (Anon.) νέρθεν ἀναθρώσκων καὶ αἰθέρος ἄστρα διώκων, on Juliana's church of S.Polyeuktos (perhaps felt by J. to rival his own building works, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.4.283), and the boast of A.P.9.656.1f (Anon.) οἶκος Ἀναστασίῳ.../μῦνος ὑπερτέλλω πανυπείροχος ἄστεσι γαίης, ib.18, quoted 153n. inf.

ὧ ὑπο μούνῳ/...κατώκλασε. This is the first of several instances in Paul of ὀκλάζω and compounds. The basic meaning of the simple verb is to crouch or squat down, of men or animals, see LSJ s.v. But in late epic, ὀκλάζω and compounds are frequently used in the context of human beings bowing down in submission, obeisance or entreaty, cf. 161 inf. of Phthonos before J., 245 of Roma before J.; Epigr.Gr. 1028.53 (Hymn to Isis) κύρος ὑποκλάζοις'; Opp.C. 4.194 ὁ δ' ὀκλάζει κατὰ γαίης, βαλλόμενος... ἄκκαϊς; Nonn.D. 22.375f ὅς δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ/ὄρθιος ὀκλάζων (supplication), 24.234 Κρόνον... ὑποκλάζοντα κεραυνῷ al., Par. 4.96 κύμβαχον ὀκλάζοντα, attitude of prayer; Jo.Gaz.Descrip. 2.330f δεξιτερῷ ποδὶ πῆξε καὶ ὀκλάζουσιν ἐλέγξας/ἔσβεσε νικῆσας ἄλογον φύσιν (of Kosmos); A.P. 4.3B.4 (Agath.) ἐποκλάζουσα δὲ γαίῃ (of Persia before Roman power). This idea of submission or obeisance is present in our line. (Paul also uses ὑποκλάζω/ὀκλάζω of the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia, inf. 198, 275, see nn. ad locc.; other contexts 251 with n. ad loc., 735, A.P. 5.279.2). The compound in κατα- is rare, only Opp.C. 3.473, Strabo 3.4.15 (med.), both of animals; metaph., Anon. in Rhet. 233.17, Bas.Sel. Or. 40.2 (PG. 85.456A). Hesychius glosses κατώκλαξας (corr. Ruhnken e κατακᾰέξας), ἐπὶ πτέρναν ἐκάθισας. The simple and compound forms of the verb are sometimes constructed with the dative (e.g. inf. 161, 251 med., other exx. quoted sup.), but Paul's construction with ὑπό is unparalleled. The preposition here carries both local (LSJ s.v. B.I.2, Peek, Lex. II.1) and causal/instrumental force (LSJ B.II.1, Peek II.2) and also suggests subjection (LSJ I.3, II.2). The line-end ὧ ὑπο μούνῳ is in the Nonnian manner, cf. D. 7.112 ἦ ἔνι μούνῳ, 31.280 ὧ ἔνι μούνῳ, al., Par. 5.175 ὧ ἐπὶ μούνῳ; also A.P. 10.76.5 (Paul Sil.) ἦς ἐπὶ μούνης. Nonnus allows hiatus in such expressions (other exx., Keydell I.41*), although he does not use Paul's collocation with ὑπό; compare, however, Call.Del. 166 ὧ ὑπὸ μίτρῃ. Ludwig (op.cit. p.20) notes the rarity of hiatus in Paul, comparing inf. 284, 676, 843, Amb. 160. Ludwig also (p.27) corrects Fr.'s accentuation of ὕπο to paroxytone, in line with other exx. cited, cf. H.W.Chandler, A Practical Introduction to Greek Accentuation (1st ed., Oxford 1862) sec.910.

144. πᾶν κλέος ὑψορόφοιο...θέσκελον ἔργου: The expression κλέος ...ἔργου is periphrastic for "glorious work", on the analogy of poetic expressions like ἵς ἀνέμου, θεῶν σέβας, see K-G. I.280f, sec. 405 d, and cf. inf. 986 σέβας...γαλήνης, with n. ad loc. The familiarity of the Homeric expression θέσκελα ἔργα (Il.3.310, Od. 11.374, 610; cf. A.R.3.229; ps.Ap. Met.Ps.45.15; A.P.1.10.64, Anon., 6th cent., ib.7.679.7, Sophron.; sing. O.Lith.78, inf. 238) no doubt accounts for the ms. error θέσκελον ἔργον, corrected ad loc. The epithet is also used more widely in later epic, e.g. A.R.4.657 τεύχεα, Nonn.D.4.50=Coll.126 Ἑρμῆς, Nonn.D.25.377 Πείης...θέσκελον αἰλῆν, al., Par.4.171 λῆια, 5.106 ὀμφῆν, al.; cf. inf.187, 329, 351. It is probably derived from κέλλω (see LSJ, Chantraine *Dict.étym.s.v.*), although perhaps connected by later poets with κελεύω, see LSJ s.v., and cf. Hesychius' gloss (*inter alia*) θεοεικέλα ἢ θεοκέλευστα. The epithet ὑψορόφος is apposite in the context of S.Sophia, the height and diameter of whose dome was probably its most innovatory feature, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.45f, inf. 489ff, 530f. The height was increased in the post-558 restoration, to make the structure safer (Agath. Hist.5.9.3), although Agathias judged it to be less striking in consequence (ibid.5). The epithet is used by Homer of houses or rooms, see LSJ s.v., and cf. A.R.3.285, Peek GVI 1121.7 (? 2nd/1st cent.), Nonn.D.8.2, 18 (both corr. Rhodom. e ὑψι-), Par.19.61; also Coll.121 ὑψορόφοιο φυτῶν...καλύπτρης.

145-67. The invocation of the goddess Eirene to celebrate J. (139ff) is in this passage extended and elaborated by further invocations, first of New Roma or Cpl. (145ff) and subsequently of Old Roma (164ff). The emperor and his capital city were closely associated from the time of the establishment of the cult of Roma and Augustus, and the two were depicted together in art from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards, see S.MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975) 139ff. In the 4th cent., after the establishment of Cpl. as the eastern capital, Roma and Cpl. regularly appear together (see further n. inf. on 151), while Cpl. came to be closely associated with her emperor in the way that Roma had been (MacCormack loc.cit.147ff; cf. E.Fenster, *Laudes*

Constantinopolitanae, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9, Munich 1968, 33f, 51ff, on the expression of this relationship in Themistius, and see further n. inf. on 146). Paul's linking of the emperor with Old and New Roma together is not unprecedented (the three appear together on 4th cent. coins, see, for example, J.M.C.Toynbee in JRS 37, 1947, 142), but F.Dölger (Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner, repr. in Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt, Darmstadt 1964, 93ff) saw this passage as the first developed expression of the ideology of renovatio, which reached its peak in the 12th cent. In this ideology Cpl., the New Rome, and hence young and vital, is contrasted with the ageing and moribund Rome of the West. Dölger compares Cor.Laud.Just.4.138ff (where the idea is suggested much more briefly) and gives later examples. Aspects of this topic are discussed *infra* in greater detail as follows: Cpl. as New Rome, n. on Ῥώμη 145; the garlanding of the emperor by Cpl., n. on στέψον 146; the relationship between the two Romas, 151n.; personification of Roma in literature, 219-54n.

145. ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι: For this collocation, cf. Opp.H.4.4 ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι, κάρτιστε πολιissoύχων βασιλῆων, Nonn.D.31.152 ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι, φίλε κοῦρε, χολῶεο δίζυγι θεσμῷ; on ἀλλὰ with the imperative expressing "a transition from arguments for action to a statement of the action required" (Klotz), see Denniston Greek Particles p.13ff, sec.4.

βασιλῆα φερέσβιον: The epithet is regularly applied to earth or land (e.g. Hes.Th.693; h.Ap.341, h.Cer.450, h.Hom.30.9; A.R. 3.164, 4.1509; Opp.H.1.475; Nonn.D.10.116, al.simil.; ps.Pampr. 3.40, I.113 Heitsch) and to divinities, particularly those associated with fertility or life-giving qualities (e.g. Hera: Emp.6.2; Demeter: Antiph.1, cf. A.fr.300.7, O.Arg.323; Prometheus: A.fr.343.46M (lyr.), cf. A.P.16.87.1, Jul.Aeg.; Helios: Orph.Hymn 8.12, O.Lith.301; Physis: Orph.Hymn 10.12; Eros: Nonn.D.41.30; Chiron: ib.35.61; Christ: Nonn.Par.5.105, al.; Holy Spirit: Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.3.6, PG.37.408). Its use is extended to the Roman emperor by the hyperbole of late panegyric, ps.Pampr.1 verso 23 (I.109 Heitsch), of

an emperor not named in the extant text, identified with Zeno by R.C.McCail, JHS 98 (1978) 40; Dioscorus 1 recto 1(I.128 Heitsch) of Justin II. The epithet is glossed by lexicographers (e.g. Hesych. s.v. δ τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον φέρων καὶ σώζων, ἡ ζωοποιός) and is one of those listed in the Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II.172, col.v, line 123, see n. on μελαγκρήπιδα 261 inf. See further 232n.inf.

$\theta\mu\pi\nu\iota\alpha$: "fruitful". A rare Attic word, adopted by Alexandrian poets and much glossed in lexis (probably deriving ultimately from the Atticists, see Pfeiffer on Call.frr.287, 357), including the $\theta\alpha\tau\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\iota$ Γλῶσσαι of Philetas of Cos (fr.44 Kuchenmüller = Schol. on A.R.4.989). It is used in connection with corn and agriculture (see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.40.391 $\theta\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\nu$, 42.278 $\theta\mu\pi\nu\iota\alpha$ λήια γαίης, al., ib. Par.4.175 σπόρον) and as an epithet of Demeter (Call. fr. 1.10 θ . Θεσμόφορος, of Philetas' Demeter, see Pfeiffer ad loc.; Nonn.D.11.213, 31.39, al., Δηώ, cf. ps.Pampr.3.115, I.115 Heitsch; Hesych.s.v. θ .λείμων; also in inscriptions, see LSJ s.v.2). It is a derivative of Attic $\theta\mu\pi\eta$ (sometimes written $\theta\mu\pi\eta$), sing. "bread-corn", pl. "sacrificial cakes", see Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. $\theta\mu\pi\eta$ and cf. Pf. on Call.fr. 681.1. The lexis also preserve instances of the metaphorical use of the epithet in Sophocles (fr.246 θ .νέφους, glossed μέγα, πολύ, ηὔξημένον et simil., see Pearson ad loc.) and in Callimachus (fr.357 ὕδωρ, glossed τὸ τρόφιμον, καὶ πολύ); for its wider usage, cf. also Lyc.1264 κτήσιν... $\theta\mu\pi\nu\iota\alpha$ ν κειμηλίων; Nonn.D.5. 488 Μῆνη, 26.190 $\theta\mu\pi\nu\iota\omicron\nu$...ἱκμάδα χαίτης (of Phaethon, denoting dew); Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.95 οὐρανίου λαμπτήρος... θ .αἴγλην , 2.21 κέρως θ . (cornucopia). The scholiast on A.R.4.989 who preserves Philetas' gloss goes on to give the further gloss φερέσβιον (on the similar associations of which see n. sup.). In juxtaposing the terms φερέσβιον and $\theta\mu\pi\nu\iota\alpha$ here, Paul may well be indicating his approval of this interpretation of $\theta\mu\pi\nu\iota\alpha$, in the manner of the Homeric glosses of Alexandrian poets, see n. on λῶων 333 inf. for a possible instance of interpretatio Homerica in Paul and Agathias. The effect of the similar epithets applied to Roma and J. is to suggest the natural link between them, see n. sup. on 145-67. On the designation of Cpl. as "fruitful", see further n. inf. on θ .Ἀνθουσα, 156.

Ῥώμη: I.e. New Rome or Cpl., cf. inf.219, 222a, 326 and passim. Constantine conceived his new city, Cpl., as a second Rome, and deliberately modelled it upon the older city, cf. Socr.HE 1.16.1 (I. 102.17ff Hussey) ἴσην τε τῇ βασιλευούσῃ Ῥώμῃ ἀποδείξας, καὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν μετονομάσας, χρηματίζειν δευτέραν Ῥώμην νόμῳ ἐκύρωσεν, Sozomen HE 2.3.1-6 (51.12ff Bidez), Hesych.Mil.Patria 1 (Script.Orig.Cpl. ed. Preger I.1.6f), etc., see F.Dölger loc.cit. 145-67n. sup., 85ff; also A.Erzen in Akten des XI internationalen byzantinistenKongressus München 1958 (Munich 1960) 147 "am offiziellen Gründungsfest vom 11 Mai 330 wurde nicht nur die Gründung der Stadt, sondern auch die Neugründung der zweiten Reichshauptstadt (δευτέρα Ῥώμη= zweites Rom) gefeiert". It has been argued that Constantine did not actually give the city the name "New Rome" (Dölger ibid. 83ff, cf. H.G.Beck in Gymnasium 71, 1964, 168); it was, however, soon described as "New Rome" and so designated in an official document in 381 (Dölger 83ff, Beck 168ff, esp. 171f, cf. G.Dagron, Naissance d'une capitale, Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 7, Paris 1974, 45ff). This name was widely used in Byzantine literature (see 151n.inf. on the different attitude of the West): the Byzantines described themselves as οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι (see, for example, Dölger 77ff) and Αἰσόνιοι, "Italians" (cf. inf. 174 with n. ad loc.). In surveying the praise of Cpl. from the time of its foundation, E.Fenster saw the literature of the Justinianic period as marking a climax (op.cit. 95f), "Das Zeitalter Justinians, des Kaisers, in dessen Denken die Erinnerung an die gloria Romana eine zentrale Stellung einnahm, bedeut zweifelsohne einen, vielleicht sogar den Höhepunkt der byzantinischen Romidee, es bedeutet die Erfüllung des lange gehegten Wunschtraumes, Rom zu heissen und Rom zu sein". Certainly sixth cent. poets regularly refer to Cpl. simply as "Rome", e.g. A.P.9.155.7 (Agath.; quoted 147n. inf.), 9.657.5 (Mar.Schol.), both in apostrophe as in our line; A.P.1.10.43 (Anon., 6th cent.) Κωνσταντῖνον, ἑῆς κοσμήτορα Ῥώμης; 15.47.1 (Anon.) on the charioteer Porphyrius, cf. Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40; 16.32b.2 (Theaet.Schol.); also Prisc.Pan.265 utraque

full
* ref. given
at p. 114.

Roma, i.e. Rome and Cpl.; later, Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers. 3.430, Rest. S.Cruc.49, al.; other exx. from the 4th-12th cents., Dölger loc.cit. n.37, p.93f. Sometimes, however, Cpl. is distinguished from Old Rome, e.g. A.P.1.5.5 (Anon., 5th or 6th cent.) νεοθηλέα Ῥώμην (cf. inf.165); 9.808.1 (Cyr.) νεοπηγέος ἔνδοθι Ῥώμης; 16.56.1 (Anon., on the charioteer Eusebius) Βυζαντιᾶς...Ῥώμη, cf. ib.72.7 (Anon.), 80.1 (Agath.); 16.378.1f (Anon., on the charioteer Uranius) δπλοτέρην τε/Ῥώμην. For Paul's apostrophe of Roma, cf. also Claud.Get.50ff, Stil.1.385, ib.3.1ff, al.; Georg.Pisid.Her.2.1ff; at Sid.Pan.Anth.30ff, apostrophe of Roma (=Cpl.) leads on to the topos of world-empire, as in our passage, see the discussion by Viljamaa op.cit.p.109f, and see further n.inf. on 219-54 on personification of Roma in literature.

146. στέψον, κτλ.: The garland or wreath is an ancient sign of victory (in the games or war, cf. 147ff inf. on J.'s victories, and see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Corona 1529ff); at 970-72 inf., J. is described as being crowned by Nike, see n. ad loc.; for the garlanding of J., cf. also A.P.1.91 (Anon.) Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ ἡγαθέην Θεοδώρην/ στέψεν Ἰωάννης Χριστοῦ ἐφημοσύναις, with Beckby's n. ad loc., and contrast Const.Porph. de Caer. Appendix (497.17f Bonn), where J. is received without garlands (δίχα στεφάνων) on his adventus into Cpl. after the defeat of Zabergan in 559 (see Stein B-E II, Excursus O, p.818f). The offering to an emperor of a crown or garland by a city as a token of reverence or gratitude was a recognised ceremony for which Menander Rhetor prescribes a special form of encomium, περὶ στεφανωτικοῦ, Spengel III.422f, esp.422.30 τοίγαρτοι διὰ τοῦτο στεφανοῖ σε ἡ πόλις, also ib.377.26 with Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (516.1) τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐπ'εὐτυχίαις στεφάνους πλέκειν. Themistius, in expressing the relationship between emperor and capital (see n.sup. on 145-67), uses the image of Cpl. crowning its emperor, Or.14 (I.262.1f Downey) δύο δὲ ὀφειλοῦσης σοι (Theodosius) τῆς πόλεως Κωνσταντίνου στεφάνους, ...κτλ., cf. Or.3 (I.63.9ff), of Constantius II; such a scene is depicted on a 4th cent. cameo, see S.MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975)

148. For Paul's close association of garland and hymn, cf. P.Ant. 115.a10f στέψωμεν ὕμνοις [ἐπιμελή]την Ἀρχέλα[ν]/μόλις γὰρ εὗρεν ἡ π[όλις τὸν] ἄστέρα, κτλ. (a ?6th cent. encomium of a provincial governor, supplemented and discussed by Alan Cameron, CQ N.S.20, 1970,125); Men.Rhet.422.9f ἡ σύμπασα οἰκουμένη τῷ μεγίστῳ στεφανοῦσα στεφάνῳ, ταῖς εὐφημίαις, ib.12f λόγοις τε ἅμα στεφανοῦσα καὶ χρυσῷ τῷ στέμματι; Eus.V.Const.1.1 (I.7.5f

Heikel) τριακονταετηρικοῦς αὐτῷ λόγων πλέξαντες στεφάνους ,
 ...τὴν ἱερὰν κεφαλὴν ἀναστεφόμεν(of Constantine); Synes.Hymn 1.
 8ff (p.7 Terzhagi) βασιλῆι θεῶν/πλέκομεν στέφανον,/.../ἐπέων λοιβάς;
 also the metaphor of Georg.Pisid.Her.1.212ff κοσμοῦσι πάντες σοῦ
 φανέντος τὴν πόλιν,/ἄνθη δὲ συλλέξαντες ἐψυχωμένα /στέφουσιν ὑμᾶς ταῖς
 προσευχαῖς ὥς ῥόδοις.

ἀκηρασίοισι χύδην καταειμένον ὕμνοις:"abundantly clad in pure
 hymns". The participle is probably intended to be proleptic with
 στέψον, "garland him so that he is clad"..., "clothing him".
 Cf. inf. 806 πάντα μὲν ἀγλαίῃ καταειμένα. Elsewhere the participle
 (from καταέννυμι, Il.23.135, cf.Opp.H.2.673) occurs only in the Homeric
 phrase ὄρος/ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλῃ, Od.13.351, 19.431, h.Merc.228,
h.Ven.285, h.Ap.225, and esp.Q.S.13.488 ὄρος...ἄδην καταειμένον
 ὕλῃς. The same form is used at A.R.1.939, 3.830, but there it is derived
 from καθίημι, see LSJ s.v.καταειμένος 2. For χύδην (from χέω) in this
 sense, see LSJ s.v.III, adding A.P.11.158.3 (Ant.Thess.), 16.306.1
 (Leon.Tar.), 10.100.4 (Antiphan.), 12.2.4, 12.200.4 (both Strato);
Orph.Arg.404; Nonn.D.17.54, Par.2.42; inf.Amb.196. With ἀκηρασίοισι
 ...ὕμνοις, cf. sup. 143 εὐιέροις ὕμνοισιν, also inf.Amb. 52, 172.
 The epithet, poetic for ἀκῆρατος, is used by Homer of unmixed wine
 (Od.9.205, cf.A.R.2.1272), cf.h.Merc.72 λειμῶνας ; A.P.12.93.4
 (Rhian.) γυίων ἄνθος ἀκηράσιον; D.P.945 φύλλα...ἀκηρασίων κινναμώμων;
A.P.8.1.4 (attr.Greg.Naz.) φωτὸς, of S.John Chrysostom, 9.753.2
 (Claud.) ἀκηρασίοιο εἰκόνα κόσμου; Epigr.Gr.907.4 (ca.4th cent.)
 σκήπτροις, of secular authority; Nonn.D.3.284 ἀκηρασίων...κόλπων/
 Ἰναχίης δαμάλης; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.18.15 θεσμός; Synes.Hymn 1.676ff (p.25
 Terzhagi)τὸ δ'ἀκηράσιον/.../θεὸς ἢ τὰ θεοῦ.

147ff. οὐχ ὅτι...,/οὐδ'ὅτι.../...ἄλλ'ὅτι: The technique (a
 series of negative clauses building up to a positive assertion) and
 the subject-matter (the achievements of war contrasted with the
 peacetime achievement of S.Sophia) are the same as at 135ff, see
 n.sup.on 135-67. The similarity is closer if the ms. reading (147f
 οὐχ ὅτι...,/οὐδ'ὅτι...) is retained. (Fr.'s apparatus is inaccurate).

All editors have written οὐχ...,/οὐχ..., but there is no reason to prefer this erroneous transcription. On οὐ...οὐδὲ, see n. sup. on 135-7 and for οὐχ ὅτι..., ἀλλ' ὅτι, cf. Nonn.D.19.161, 44.229 (both with μοῦνον, see Peek Lex.s.v.ὅτ(τ)ι II.2a,b). For a similar series in late prose panegyric, cf. Them.Or.19 (I.333.10ff Downey) οὐχ ὅτι..., οὐδ' ὅτι..., οὐδ' ὅτι..., ἀλλ' ὅτι.

147. σὸν ζυγόδεσμον, κτλ.: "he has fitted your yoke-band upon the nations of the earth". For the metaphor of the yoke-band (ζυγόδεσμον or λεπάδνον) to denote the imperium Romanum, cf. inf.159, 948, 955, 982; A.P.9.155.7f (Agath.) σὺ δ', ὦ τέκος, ἄτρομε Ῥώμη,/ βάλλε καθ' Ἑλλήνων σῆς ζυγόδεσμα δίκης (Troy speaking); A.P.4.3B.1f (id.) μή τις ἐπαυχενίοιο λιπὼν ζωστήρα λεπάδνου/βάρβαρος ἐς βασιλῆα βιημάχον ὄμμα τανύσση; metaph. ζυγόδεσμον also at Procl.Hymn 1.31 (pl.), Nonn.D.15.155, 34.206 (both sing.), al. The imagery of harness, reins et simil. is common in the context of government, cf. n.sup. on 128f. The term ζυγόδεσμον is Homeric (Il.24.270), see further LSJ s.v., adding A.P.9.285.3 (Phil.Thess.), Nonn.D.9.268, 43.26, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.347. With Paul's use of ἐφαρμόζω, cf. A.P.9.19.10 (Arch.) δοῦλαν ζευγλαν ἐφηρμόσατο, of Heracles; also Nonn.D.41.298 θάλασσαν ἐφήρμοσε σύζυγι γαίῃ (of a scene depicted in weaving). The verb occurs once in Homer (Il.19.385) of fitting on arms, see LSJ s.v. I.1; it is used transitively in Hesiod and later poetry of fitting one thing onto another, as here, see LSJ s.v.II, with id.Supp1. s.v., adding Nonn.D.41.107f οὐ πόδα χέρσῳ/Κωλιιάδος ῥηγμῖνος ἐφήρμοσεν; PGL s.v.2 and n. inf. on 966. For the line-end, cf. inf. Amb.33, also A.P.9.656.2 (Anon., aet.Anastasii) ἄστεσι γαίης; ἔθνεα γαίης, inf.240, 985, D.P.185, 1129, Nonn.D.13.41, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.proth.34; ἔθνεα γαίαν, D.P.383. Paul reserves the term ἔθνεα for non-Romans or barbarians (240, 981, 985) or non-Christians (Amb.33), cf. LSJ s.v.2b.

148. σὼν ἐτάνυσσεν ὑπέρβια μέτρα θούκων: "he has extended the almighty measures of your throne", i.e. the boundaries of the Roman empire. For the topos, cf. 135ff, and 11ff sup. with n. ad loc. Here the extent is suggested by an accumulation of vague general

phrases (148-9) rather than specific references to west, east and south. Below (229, 242, 277), Paul similarly uses θῶκος/θῶκος of J.'s throne, as the symbol of his sovereignty. The term is used of the seats or thrones of gods and kings from Homer onwards, Il.8.439 θεῶν...θῶκους, Od.2.14 of Odysseus' seat, used by Telemachus, see further LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.667 Hypsipyle's father's seat; Nonn.D.45.249 τῶν μνηστῆρα θῶκων (of Dionysus, à propos of Pentheus' throne), 46.229 τεῶν ἐπιβήτορα θῶκων/Πένθεα (of Cadmus' throne), al., id.Par.6.191 ἑῶν ἐπιβήτορα θῶκων (Christ's heavenly throne); Tryph.570 Hades' throne; A.P.7.587.1f (Jul.Aeg.) θῶκος/Πλουτῆος, 16.336.3 (Anon., charioteer epigr.) ἄνακτορέοιο θῶκου (emperor's seat in the hippodrome); also in the form θῶκος, Agath.Hist.2.26.4, 4.28.7, of the Persian throne. As these examples indicate, Nonnus, like Paul here, uses the poetic plural for sing., and follows Homer in admitting the two forms θῶκος and θῶκος, cf. infra 229 for the shorter form. See further nn.inf. on 339f and 965f. The expression μέτρα θῶκων is formed on the analogy of the Homeric μέτρα κελεύθου et simil. (Od.4.389, see LSJ s.v. μέτρον 3 and cf. also A.R.3.308, Nonn.D.38.243, Par.14.18, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.34, all μ. κελεύθου; Opp.H.1.11 ἄλδς...μέτρα, cf.1.222; Nonn.D.4.277 μέτρον ἄρουρης, "the measure of the earth"). With Paul's ὑπέρβια μέτρα, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.156 ὑπέρτερα μέτρα. The epithet ὑπέρβιος is used in the sense "overweening" in Homer (Il.18.262, Od.1.368, see LSJ s.v.II, adding Nonn.D.2.625, 19.317, Par.8.88, A.P.6.20.1, Jul.Aeg.); the sense "very mighty" is, however, found in Pindar (see LSJ s.v.I) and A.R., e.g.1.151, 3.714, cf.Opp.H.2.559, C.2.491, al., Eudoc.Cypr.1.138 (PG.85837B). The use of τανύω to denote spatial extension is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.II.

149. τέλσα παρ'ἑσχατόωντα: For Paul's use of τέλσα, cf.A.P.6.161.2 (Crinag.) κραναῆς τέλσα παρ'Ἰταλῆς. In Homer, τέλσον denotes the land at the edge of the field where the plough turns, Il.13.707, 18.544, 547, cf.A.R.3.412 (all sing.). It is used in the general sense "edge" at Nic.Th.546 τέλσον ἄλως; so Hesych. glosses it πέρας. καὶ τὰ ὅμοια. Cf. also inf.424, 820 τέλσα μελάθρου. Du Cange wrote ἑλσα; the mistake was corrected by Jacobs, Animadvers.ad Gr.Anth.XII (Leipzig 1803) p.481 and by

Graefe in his edition, see Spitzner, op.cit. p.16f. For ἐσχατόωντα (which "denotes outlying position rather than extreme distance", Gow on Theoc.7.77), cf. Il.2.508 Ἀνθηδόνα, ib.616 Μύρσινος, Call. Del.174 ἀφ' ἐσπέρου ἐ., Theoc.loc.cit. Καύκασον, D.P.65 παρ' ἐ.Γάδειρα, cf.451, ib.135 Τένεδον; also Arat.207 καρῆνυ, Nonn.D.30.82 ταρσὸν ἐς ἐ. The preposition παρὰ may mean "to the region of" (LSJ s.v.C. I.1, K-G.I.511f, sec.440.IIIa α, cf.Nonn.D.21.145, 33.167) or perhaps hyperbolic "beyond" (Il.22.145, see LSJ s.v.C.III.1, K-G.loc.cit. sec.aβ). So Du Cange rendered it ultra.

κατ' ὠκεανίτιδας ἄκτας: For the reference to Ocean as the boundary of J.'s empire, cf.12 sup, 937 inf., and for the adj. ὠκεανίτις in this context, cf. A.P.4.3B.8 (Agath.) ὠκεανίτιδα Θούλην. The adj. is very rare, elsewhere only in late literary Koine, see LSJ s.v., adding Ael.NA 3.23 ὠκεανίτιδας νήσους; Psell.Caes.Luc. 9 (p.185, ed. Boissonade, Nuremberg 1838) ὠκεανίτιδας...πηγάς; (also subst. at V.Georg.4.341 "daughters of Ocean"). Paul's line-end is formed on the analogy of expressions like D.P.565 ὠκεανοῖο παραὶ Βορεώτιδας ἄκτας, cf. 243; Orph.Arg.112 ὑπὲρ Παγασήϊδας ἄκτας, ib.336 ψαμαθώδεας ἄκτας, cf. also A.R.4.631f ἄκτας ὠκεανοῦ. Ludwich (op.cit.p.26) corrected Fr.'s accentuation of ὠκεανίτιδας from paroxytone to proparoxytone, following Graefe, cf. LSJ and Pape-Benseler s.v. and the other instances of the adj. cited sup. Chandler (Greek Accentuation sec.649f, p.184ff) gives no guidance on the accentuation of ὠκεανίτις. Nonnus uses κατὰ with accusative as equivalent to εἰς (D.33.188, 48.172, see Keydell I.65*, Peek Lex.s.v.II.1 and cf. K-G.I.477, sec.433.II.1a), but Paul may intend the sense "over against" (LSJ s.v. B.I.3). Du Cange and Graefe wrote παρὰ, but Graefe suggested κατὰ in his n. ad loc. and the ms. reading κατὰ was restored by Bekker.

150-54. The idea (already familiar, see n. sup. on 142) of S. Sophia as a surpassing achievement is here developed in the suggestion that by building the church J. has made New Rome superior to Old Rome. S.Sophia is now seen as a symbol, like the Roman Capitol

(cf. 152 and see further n. inf. on 152-4), of city and empire. This idea is developed more explicitly at 239ff inf., where Roma, as the climax of her appeal to J. to restore the dome of S.Sophia, argues that neither world-domination nor the re-building of Cpl. as a whole, is a more brilliant symbol of his throne. For a discussion of Paul's poem as a glorification of J.'s reign in terms of the symbolic achievement of S.Sophia, at a time of general unrest and dissatisfaction, see P.Lamma, Ricerche sulla storia e la cultura del VI^o secolo (Brescia 1950) 47ff, and for a wider discussion of the use of poetical ekphrasis in testimony of the Justinianic achievement, see J.Irmscher in Wiss.Zschr.Univ.Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwiss. Reihe, Heft 1, Jg.14 (1965) 79-87. S.Sophia is also regarded as a major symbolic achievement in other types of literature, e.g. Just.Nov.III (A.D.535) praef. (p.19, line 2 Kroll) τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας βασιλείας μητέρα; Anon.Monody on the destruction of S.Sophia, publ. K.Kumaniecki, BZ 30 (1929-30) p.41.18f τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ib. line 30f τὴν εὐκλείαν παντὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ γένους καὶ μετὰ καυχήσεως στέφανον (the latter specifically of the ambo).*

In our passage the symbolic importance of S.Sophia is indicated obliquely by means of a series of three related synkriseis or comparisons, each expressed in a different form: in 151 a general comparison is made between the two Romes using a genitive of comparison; in 152 the Roman Capitol is set against S.Sophia by means of apostrophe, and in 153-4 the synkrisis of 152 is reinforced

* Kumaniecki's arguments for ascribing this monody to Procopius of Caesarea will not now stand: the author of the monody was undoubtedly familiar with Procopius' account of S.Sophia in Aed.1.1, but he was wrong to assume that Procopius' Aed. was not written in 558. On the contrary, Procopius' failure to mention the collapse of the dome indicates that he had written his account before the collapse occurred in May 558, and Stein (B-E II, Excursus V, p.837) would put the publication of the whole work before summer 555. Mercati believed the monody to relate not to the 558 collapse, but to that of 1346, see the editor's note in BZ loc.cit.p.41; this belief is upheld by Stauros Kourouses, who has re-edited the text and ascribed it to the hand of Nicephorus Gregoras, Epeteris Hetaireias byzantinōn Spoudōn 37 (1969-70) 241ff.

by a further synkrisis using quantitative correlative adverbs.

The use of synkrisis is a recognised method of auxesis or elevation of the subject (e.g. Arist.Rhet.1.9.38, 1368a19ff, referring to means of auxesis, κὰν μὴ καθ'αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἐπαινούμενον) εὐπορήσ, πρὸς ἄλλους ἀντιπαραβάλλειν cf. Quint. 8.4.9ff) and the importance of synkrisis, as well as auxesis, in encomium is likewise well-established, e.g. Hermog. ap.Spengel Rhetores Graeci II.14.9f (on synkrisis as a progymnasma or rhetorical exercise) παρείληπται δὲ καὶ ἐν ἐγκωμίῳ κατὰ σύγκρισιν ἡμῶν ἀξόντων τὰ χρηστὰ, cf. Nic.Soph. ibid. III.485.25ff; Men.Rhet. ibid. III.372.21f (on the βασιλικὸς λόγος) τίθει δὲ καὶ σύγκρισιν ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τῶν κεφαλαίων τούτων, cf. ib.377.3f. Paul's synkriseis here are in accordance with the precepts that comparison should be between things of similar nature and magnitude and that it should favour the laudandus, e.g. Theon II.112.26ff πρῶτον δὲ διωρίσθω, ὅτι αἱ συγκρίσεις γίνονται οὐ τῶν μεγάλην πρὸς ἄλληλα διαφορὰν ἔχοντων; Nic.Soph. III.487.17f ...ἀλλὰ τότε ἔσται τὰ ἡμέτερα μεγάλα, ὅταν μεγάλων μείζονα φάνῃ; Men.Rhet. III.377.1f (on the comparison of the present βασιλεία with previous ones) ...θαυμάζων μὲν ἐκείνας, τὸ δὲ τέλειον ἀποδίδους τῇ παρούσῃ. For a survey of the history of synkrisis up to the 4th cent. (with special reference to Gregory Nazianzus), see T.Sinko in Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności wydział filologiczny, Ser.2, Tom.26 (Krakow 1906) 249ff; on the rhetoricians' treatment of synkrisis and the connection of the latter with encomium, see F.Focke in Hermes 58 (1923) 330-39; and on the use of synkrisis in late poetic encomium, see T.Viljamaa, Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the early Byzantine period (Comm.human.litt., Soc.Scient.Fenn., Vol.42, No.4, Helsinki 1968) 114ff.

*excedis magnis
grandia fata tuis
Rutilius Namat.
on Rome*

150. σὸν περὶ πῆχυν, κτλ.: "but because by raising this measureless temple about your arm". The church is like an adornment which adds lustre to Rome's military might. That this is the nuance is clear

from the anaphora οὐχ ὅτι σὸν ζυγὸδεσμον.../οὐδ' ὅτι σῶν...θούκων/.../ ἄλλ' ὅτι σὸν περὶ πῆχυν, where all the nouns are symbols of power. At the same time, the city is conceived as a woman, like Thebes in Nonn.D.25.11ff, see 145-67n.sup. and other nn. there cited, esp. inf.151. That ἀπείρονα qualifies νηὸν rather than πῆχυν is indicated by the regular feminine caesura (see P.Maas Greek Metre, tr.H.Lloyd Jones, Oxford 1962, sec.90, p.62) and by the analogous expression in A.P.9.656.9f (Anon., describing the Chalke, restored by Anastasius in 510) ἔνθεν ἀπειρέσιον μέγεθος περὶ παντὶ τιταίνων/ Αὔσονίης νίκησα βοώμενα θαύματα γαίης, cf. also ib.4, 13 on the great size of the edifice. (The poem was certainly known to Paul, see further nn. inf.); also A.P.9.808.3 (Cyr.) ἀγλαΐη δέ μοι ἀμφὶς ἀπειρεσίη τετάνυσται, of the vista from Maximus' house. Paul has already referred to the physical bulk of S.Sophia, sup. 143f, see n. ad loc. On νηὸν ἐγείρας, see 8n.sup.

151. Θυμβριάδος ποίησε, κτλ.: "he has made you more splendid than your mother on the Tiber". Old Rome is now introduced as the mother of Cpl., by whom she has been outshone. Cpl. was linked with Rome in conception and name (see n. sup. on 145) and the two Romas appear together in art and literature from the fourth cent. onwards. The relationship depicted between the two cities varies according to the historical context of the portrayal or account, and according to whether it was intended for a western or an eastern audience. In art, the superiority of one of the cities may be indicated by her position or attitude, or by the attire and attributes of Cpl., who initially appears as a city Tyche wearing a turreted crown, but is later often depicted helmeted, and hence assimilated to the usual portrayal of Old Roma as a warrior goddess, see J.M.C.Toynbee in JRS 37 (1947) 138ff, and id. in Studies presented to D.M.Robinson II (Missouri 1953) 261ff, and cf. n.inf. on 219-54. Similar variety of attitude occurs in literature: thus Claudian, writing from a western viewpoint, speaks of Cpl. (Ruf. 2.54) as urbs etiam, magnae quae ducitur aemula Romae (cf. F.Dölger, loc.cit. 145-67n.sup., p.89 n.33, E.Fenster, Laudes Constantinopolitanae, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9, Munich 1968, 79f), while the 6th cent. Latinist John

Lydus, although resident in Cpl., refers to Old Rome as τῆς μείζονος Ῥώμης (de Mag.3.28, 116.8 Wuensch); Himerius, on the other hand, honouring a Constantinopolitan, speaks of his city (Or.62 (16).5, 225.39ff Colonna) in terms similar to Paul's, σὺ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμύλου πόλιν μόνη παρήλθες τῷ θαύματι (cf.Fenster op.cit.37ff). On the development of the relationship between the two cities in art and literature in the 4th cent., see G.Dagron, op.cit.145n.sup., 49ff.

Paul's picture of the two cities as mother and daughter also dates back to the 4th cent., e.g.Liban.Ep.972.5 (11.107.16f Foerster) καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ Ῥώμη γε ἡμεῖς, μῆθ' ἢ μήτηρ μῆθ' ἢ παῖς, ... (cf.Fenster op.cit. p.43, and see Dölger op.cit.p.98 on Augustine's western version of this relationship). Cf. also D.P.356 (Ῥώμην) μητέρα πασῶν πολιῶν. Rome is, of course, regularly conceived as a mother in a wider sense, e.g. (late panegyric) Claud.Stil.3.152 matris, non dominae ritu (of Rome's reception of the conquered), id.Get.52 veneranda parens, cf.Sid.Ap.Carm.2.516; Rut.Nam.1.49 genetrix hominum, genetrixque deorum; Prud.Peristeph.2.1f antiqua fanorum parens/iam Roma Christo dedita; Cor.Laud.Just.1.290 altricem imperii libertatisque parentem, with Stache's n. ad loc.; also of Cpl., Them.Or.6. (I.122.23f Downey) μητέρα...τῆς βασιλείας, Sid.Ap.Carm.2.34 imperii genetrix, cf.Anon. de pol.scientia ap. Mai, quoted 219-54n. inf. With Paul's treatment of Cpl. as daughter, cf.A.P.9.155.7 (Agath.) Cpl. as daughter of Troy, and Menander Rhetor's prescription for the praise of a young city (355.7) (φήσεις) ὅτι ἀνθεῖ καθάπερ κόρη ἀκμάζουσα. See further n. inf. on 166f.

On the adj. θυμβριάς, cf. Steph.Byz.s.v.Θύμβρις, ποταμὸς Ῥώμης, ὃς καὶ Τίβερις. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Θύμβριος καὶ θυμβριάς. For Θύμβρις referring to the Tiber, see LSJ s.v., adding A.P.9.219.4 (Diod.Sard.), Q.S.13.337, Himer.Or.62 (16).5 (226.44 Colonna), and other exx. from prose cit.Pape-Benseler s.v.4. For Paul's adj., sometimes written θυβριάς, cf. Epigr.Gr.1046.1 (Marcell., 2nd cent.A.D.; =Cougny 1.264) δεῦρ' ἵτε θυβριάδες...γυναῖκες; Nonn.Par.13.21 θυμβριάς αὐδῇ (e codd. θυμβεᾶς) i.e. Latin; A.P.2.415f (Christod.) ὅν ποτε Ῥώμης/θυβριάς ἄλλον Ὀμηρον ἀνέτρεφε πάτριος ἥχῳ, of Virgil. With Paul's use of φαεινότερην here, cf. inf.242 where φαάντερον is used in the same context (see n.sup. on 150-54); A.P.1.5.5f (Anon., probably

aet.Anastasii) σὺ γὰρ νεοθηλέα Ῥώμην/πόντῳ ἐπαΐξας θήκας παιδροτέρην, on Amantias' church of S.Thomas (but see Beckby's n. ad loc.); A.P.1.10.20f (Anon., 6th cent.) ὅττι τοκῆς /παιδροτέρους ποίησεν ἀρειοτέροις ἐπ' ἔργοις (of Anicia Juliana), ib.9.659.1f (Theaet. Schol.) παιδροτέρους γὰρ/Δομνίνος θαλάμους μητρὸς ἔτευξε Δίκης, 9.210.12 (Anon.) ὃν (Anastasius) καὶ Τραϊανοῖο φαάντερον ἤγαγεν αἰών. Other accounts refer to the light gleaming from S.Sophia, e.g. Romanos 54 κ'5f ὁ δὲ τόπος ὁ ἐκλάμπων παιδρότητα φόβον νῦν ἡπεΐλει· /ἀπῆστραπτε ποτὲ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ κάλλους (of the ruins of S.Sophia and S.Eirene after their destruction in the Nika Riot); Proc.Aed.1.1.30 φαίης ἂν οὐκ ἔξωθεν καταλάμπεσθαι ἡλίῳ τὸν χῶρον, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι, τοσαύτη τις φωτὸς περιουσία ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν περικέχυται, cf. ib.54; Anon.Monody ap.BZ 30 (1929-30) 42.40ff ...καὶ αὖ πάλιν ταῖς οἴκοθεν μαρμαρυγαῖς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ θαυμασιωτέραν ἀπαστράπτει τὴν αἴγλην τῇ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ φωτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ἁκτίνων περιουσίᾳ καταλαμπούσῃ, κτλ.*; metaph., No.XII ap. Trypanis, Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica (on the 562 inauguration of S.Sophia) 5'1ff καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄνω στερέωμα ἡ σεπτὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐμφανῶς ὑπερβάλλει ἐν δόξῃ· οὐ γὰρ διαισθητὴν τοῦ φωτὸς λαμπρόνα προϊσχεταί, /ἀλλὰ τὸν ἥλιον τῆς ἀληθείας/θεϊκῶς λάμποντα φέρει ἄδυτον, κτλ., cf. ib.θ'; also A.P.1.10.54, 69 (Anon.) on Anicia Juliana's church of S.Polyeuktos in Cpl., see n. sup. on 143f.

152-54. The comparison with Old Rome in 150f leads on to a more explicit comparison between S.Sophia and the Roman Capitol. The Capitol is elsewhere regarded as a symbol of the endurance of Rome (e.g.V.Aen.9.446ff), or as an outstanding architectural monument (e.g.A.P.9.656.11, Anon., quoted inf. 152n.). The Capitol, S.Sophia and also the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, on which see further inf., are in late authors sometimes included, although not all together, among catalogues of the seven, or eight, wonders of the world, see RE Suppl. X, cols.1022f and cf. Stache's n. on Cor.Laud.Just. 4.283. But Paul's choice of analogy in 154, between the Christian God and an idol, indicates that he here has in mind in particular

* On this work, see footnote to n. sup. on 150-54.

the rôle of S.Sophia as the centre of the state religion of Christianity in the new Christian capital of Cpl., by contrast with the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the centre of the old Roman pagan state religion, see G.Scheja in Istanbuler Mitteilungen 12 (1962) 46f and cf. Lamma loc.cit. n.sup. on 150-54; (Lamma sees J.'s S.Sophia as symbolising more particularly the victory of orthodoxy). Corippus, in a similar but more explicitly Christian analogy, compares S.Sophia not with the Capitol, but with the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, the first House of God, Laud.Just.4.283 iam Salomoniaci sileat descriptio templi. For an investigation of possible aspects of this relationship, see Scheja loc.cit.47ff, summarised by Stache on Cor.loc.cit.; for other such comparisons, including J.'s celebrated exclamation on entering his new church (ἐνίκησά σε, Σολομών), together with an explanation of the significance of the Solomon analogy in terms of the rivalry between J. and private enterprise in the field of church building, see Cameron on Cor.loc.cit. (Cameron's reference to Eusebius should be corrected to HE 10.4.3). To Cameron's citation of Canticum XII γ'2 ap. Trypanis (op.cit.n. sup.) for the comparison with the temple of Solomon, should be added id. strophe 1δ'-1ε' (cf. n.inf. on 984-6; note also 1ζ'1 where S.Sophia is explicitly described as ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς καθόλου... ἐκκλησίας); Romanos 54 κα'3ff, where the destruction of S.Sophia and S.Eirene in the Nika Riot is compared to the destruction of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem.

152. εἴξατέ μοι, κτλ.: "Make way, I say, renowned Roman Capitol, make way", (lit. "Capitolean fame"). The dramatic effect of the apostrophe (cf.135-67n.sup.) is enhanced by asyndeton. Paul's immediate model is probably A.P.9.656.11 (Anon.; see nn.sup. on 150, 152-54) εἶξον ἀρειοτέροισι, χάρις Καπετωλίδος ἀλλῆς. The only other instance of the adjective Καπετωλῖς appears to be Jo.Lyd.Mag.3.29 (117.9f Wuensch) τόπον διδασκάλοις ἀπονενημένον ἀφορμίσαντός μοι ἐπὶ τῆς Καπιτωλίδος ἀλλῆς, referring to an imperial notification to the prefecture, which promised John financial recompense for teaching

Latin; (the university was housed in the exedrae of the Capitol at Cpl., see Janin, Constantinople byzantine, 2nd ed., Paris 1964, 174ff). For expressions akin to Paul's elsewhere in the context of building achievements et simil., cf. Cor.Laud.Just.4.284 cedant cunctorum miracula nota locorum (of S.Sophia, immediately after the comparison with Solomon's temple, see n. sup. See Stache's n. ad loc. on the cedat formula*); A.P. 9.665.1 (Agath.) εἶξον ἐμοί, Δάφνης ἱερὸν κλέτας (of a seaside park, perhaps the Heraion, see Beckby's n. on 9.663). For the repetition of εἶκω after the bucolic caesura, cf. Coll.171 εἶξατέ μοι πολέμοιο συνήθεος (v.l. συνήθεες), εἶξατε νίκης ; Prop.2.34.65 cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Grai. Nonnus D. has εἶξον/εἶξατε at the beginning of a line (2.620, 12.251) and after the bucolic caesura (8.83, 34.60, 39.66), but he does not repeat the word within a single line. This pattern (first word of a line, often an imperative, repeated after the bucolic caesura) is favoured by Alexandrian and Nonnian poets, e.g. Theoc.1.70 (ἄρχετε); Antagoras 3.1 (ᾧ ἴτε; Powell Collectanea Alexandrina p.121 =A.P.9.147); Anon. ap.Powell op.cit., p.79.18 (ἔσκε(ν)); Nonn.D.11.17 (ἔπρεπε) and inf. 185 (ἴλαθι), 326 (ἔπρεπε), 350 (οἶξατε), 806 (πάντα), 993 (χεῖρα), 998 (λιτὰ). For the aorist imperative of εἶκω with μοι ethic dative as here, cf. Il.24.716 εἶξατέ μοι οὐρεῦσι διελθέμεν (so interpreted by Leaf and Monro), Nonn.D.9.235, 10.130, 11.186, 12.245; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.118.213. The use of εἶκω in synkrisis is as old as Pi.I.1.5f τί φίλτερον κεδνῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς;/εἶξον ὠπλωνίας, cf. Cougny Appendix ad Anth.Pal.3.162.7f εἶξατ' ἐμῶν τεκέων δυάδι, Κλέοβίς τε Βίτων τε. For plural φῆμη in this sense, cf. Pi.O.7.10 ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὃν φᾶμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί and see LSJ s.v.I.3. I have found no other instances in late poetry.

153f. τόσσον.../ὅπποσον: Cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.10.5f (PG.37. 1027A) ὀπλοτέρη Ῥώμη, τόσσον προφέρουσα πολήων,/ὅσσάτιον γαίης οὐρανὸς

* Curtius' good discussion of this phenomenon in Latin, referred to by Stache, is now available in English, E.R.Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (tr.W.R.Trask, paperback edition, London and Henley 1979) 162ff.

ἄστεροεις. Similar correlative expressions occur elsewhere in synkriseis in poetic encomium, e.g. Theoc.17.66f τίοις δέ με τόσσον ὅσον περ /Δῆλον ἔτίμησεν κυανάμπυκα φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων, cf. ib.24f, 38f; A.P.12.195.1ff (Strat.) ἄνθεσιν οὐ τόσσοισι...χλοᾶουσι/λειμώνες,.../ὅσσους εὐγενέτας,...παῖδας ἄθρήσεις; P.Argent.480 recto 7ff (I.79 Heitsch) οὐ γὰρ ὅσος στεινωπὸν ὑπ[ὸ π]τύχα θερμοπυλάων/Μῆδος Ἄρης ἤχησεν ὑπ[ὸ σ]τρατιῇσι Λακώνων,/τόσος ἔμοῦ βασιλεῦσ[ιν ἐ]πήιεν ἀντιβολήσων ; and ps.Pampr. 2.3f (I.111 Heitsch), where there may be a contrast between Christian and pagan as in our expression, see R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 53. For τόσσον...ὅππῶσον in synkrisis, cf. Call.fr.64. 1f Pf., Nonn.D.37.647-9, 47.367, A.P.5.264.7 (Paul Sil.). Paul's expression puts J. on a parallel with God, an analogy made more explicitly in the first iambic prologue 46f, cf.2.

153. ἔμῳ βασιλεῦς: The possessive adj. with βασιλεῦς or σκηπτοῦχος is encomiastic language, cf. Call.Ap.26, A.P.10.25.5 (Ant. Thess.), ps.Ap.Met.Ps.102.1 = 103.1, P.Argent.480 recto 9 (I.79 Heitsch; quoted in n.sup.), A.P.4.3B.54 (Agath.), inf.1027, all with βασιλεῦς; A.P.2.405 (Christod.), 9.656.19 (Anon.), Epigr.Gr.1064.2f, inf. 156, 214, 513, 584, Amb.297, al., all with σκηπτοῦχος.

ὑπερήλατο θάμβος ἐκεῖνο: "overtopped that wonder". Cf.A.P.9. 656.10 (Anon.) Αὔσον' ἡς νίκησα βοῶμενα θαύματα γαίης, ib.18 μεγάλην μοῦνος δ' ὑπερέδραμον ἴλιν, also ib.2, quoted sup. in n. on 143f; sup.70 θαυμάτων ὑπερβολῇ. The terms θάμβος and θαῦμα (also sup. 68, 71) are often used in late poetry in the context of building achievements, e.g. Epigr.Gr.1068.1 θάμβος ὁμοῦ καὶ θαῦμα παρερχομένοισιν ἐτύχθην, of a pagan temple converted for Christian use, ib.706.2, and other exx. collected by L.Robert, Hellenica 4 (1948) 66ff; Const. Rhod. Descr.S.Apost.90 (ed. Legrand, Rev.ét.grecques 9, 1896, 39) τρίτον δὲ θαῦμα καὶ περίβλεπτον κλέος; also A.P.1.10.70f (Anon., 6th cent.) γραφίδων ἱερῶν.../...μέγα θαῦμα, of a depiction of Constantine at the west end of the church of S.Polyeuktos. For θάμβος in the sense "object of wonder", "marvel" (LSJ s.v.2) in late poetry, cf. also Opp.H.1.236, C.2.393, al.; Nonn.D.30.16, 38.17, Par.4.251; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.170 and 202 inf. with n. ad loc.

Literal ὑπεράλλομαι is Homeric (Il.5.138, 20.327, cf. Opp.H.3.104), but it is otherwise rare in epic. For its use in prose, see LSJ s.v. and id.Suppl. s.v., adding Agath.Hist.5.3.9, and for Paul's metaphorical use, cf. LXX Si.38.33 and other exx. from patristic writers cit. PGL s.v.

154. εἰδῶλοιο...ἀρείων: "superior to an idol". The comparative ἀρείων may have been suggested by A.P.9.656.11 (Anon.) εἶξον ἀρειοτέροισι, see 152n.sup. and cf. also Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.48 (PG.37.442) τί γὰρ Θεότητος ἄρειον;, A.P.1.10.21 (Anon.; quoted 151n.sup.). Nonnus has several instances of ἀρείων with comparative genitive, e.g. D.16.182, 25.104, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. II, cf. Par.8.165, 13.75, 15.82; Opp.C.2.301; A.P.10.76.5f (Paul Sil.). This sense of εἶδωλον is Biblical (see LSJ s.v.IV and cf. Hatch and Redpath, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.) and common in patristic writers (see PGL s.v. and compound formations in εἶδωλο-). For its use in poetry, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.123 (PG.37.979), ib.2.2.7.54 (col.1555); ps.Ap.Met.Ps.105.40, 72, al.; Eudoc.Cypr.1.44 (PG.85.833C), 2.5 (col.845A), al.; A.P.1.19.8 (Claud.), ib.1.10.72 (Anon., 6th cent.); inf. Amb.39. Paul's word εἶδωλον specifically suggests a pagan idol or god (such as Jupiter, worshipped on the Capitol, cf. 152 sup.).

155f. The invocation of New Rome in 145f is reiterated in less extravagant and less dramatic language, providing an interlude before a further rhetorical elaboration of the theme of J.'s achievements (157-63).

155. ἔνθεν: Causal (either relative, like ὅθεν 6 sup., see LSJ s.v. ἔνθεν II.2, Peek Lex.s.v.II.1, or demonstrative, as here, see LSJ s.v.I.3, Peek Lex.s.v.II.2). So often in late poetry, e.g. Call.Jov.11, 44, Del.253, 314, A.R.1.1138 (all in aetiologies); A.P.7.425.9 (Ant.Sid.); Nonn.D.13.275, 40.57, Par.4.174, 19.53; Coll. 367, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.154; A.P.7.592.5 (Anon.; attr. Jul.Aeg., Reiske, Stadtmüller et alii), 9.631.5 (Agath.), 10.76.5 (Paul Sil.); inf.959, 1018.

μελιφθόγοισι χορείαις: "in honey-voiced measures". For the dative with αἶδω, cf. 143 sup. with n. ad loc. In classical Greek, χορεία denotes "dance", properly choral dance, see LSJ s.v., noting esp.Pl.Leg.2.654B χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησῖς τε καὶ ᾠδὴ ξύνολόν ἐστι; cf. Suidas s.v.χορείαν· οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν μετὰ ᾠδῆς ὄρχησιν, κτλ. For this sense in later poetry, cf. A.R.2.714; Theoc.27.26; GVI 742.2 (2nd/3rd cent.); Orph.Hymn 55.21; Nonn.D.5.88, 28.328, al., Coll.4 (all three dat.pl.); Musae.191, 277; A.P.4.3B.15, 86, 6.74.5 (both Agath.), ib.6.57.7 (Paul Sil.). In our line, Paul is thinking primarily of song (cf. Du Cange dulcisonis carminibus), although the idea of accompanying celebratory dance is not excluded, cf. A.P.4.3B.56 (Agath.) παίγνια κινήσωμεν ᾠδοπόλοιο χορείης (introducing his Cycle of poems); inf.Amb.46f (also in opening invocation) δεῦρο, χοροῦς στήσασθε καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ᾠδαῖς/σύνθροον ἡμετέροισι μέλος πλέξασθε χορείαις, where the term apparently denotes Paul's poetry, see Fr. ad loc. (p.298), who quotes in comparison Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.9 ὄφρα χορεύων οὐρανίην ἀνυμνήσαιμι γενέθλην. At 333 and 344 inf., sing. χορεία means "choir", see nn.ad locc., but at 288 the sense "dance" is preferable, see n.ad loc. Du Cange erroneously wrote χορείοις. The epithet μελίφθογος is elsewhere extant only in Pindar, cf. esp.I.6.9 ᾠδαῖς, also O.6.21 Μοῖσαι, I.2.7 Τερψιχόρας.

156. χρυσοχίτων Ἀνθουσα: Anthusa is a name for Cpl., used also by Georg.Pisid. Bell.Avar.66. The earliest attestation of this name occurs at Jul.Honor.Cosmogr.32 (Recens B; p.42 ed. Riese Geogr.Lat.Minores, Heilbronn 1878), if this work is correctly dated to the 4th cent., see Riese in Hermes 12 (1877) 143f. It has also been suggested that a reference to the name Anthusa lies behind the use of the expression florentissima urbs to denote Cpl. in C.Th.XV.2.4 = CJ.XI.43.2 (A.D.389?), C.Th.VII.8.14 (A.D.427) and CJ.XII.40.9 (1) (A.D.444), see, for example, Du Cange Constantinopolis Christiana (the second part of his Historia Byzantina, Paris 1682) ch.III (p.30) and J.Strzygowski in Analecta Graeciensia (Graz 1893) p.143. An explanation of the name in similar etymological terms is given by Steph.Byz. s.v. Συκαί (p.590.18f Meineke; see M's n. ad loc.) ἡ πόλις αὕτη παρὰ τὸ γεννικῶς ἀνθεῖν Ἀνθουσα. With this may be compared the regular portrayal of Cpl. as a city Tyche, often bearing a cornucopia, cf.151n.sup. and see Toynbee in JRS 37 (1947) 136. According to Malalas, however, (320.17ff, 322.6ff; cf.Chron.Pasch.528.16ff) the name was given by Constantine to the Tyche of Cpl., cf. Eustath. ad D.P.803 (p.253.25f Bernhardt), who says simply that Constantine gave the name to the city. The evidence of Malalas is indirectly supported by John Lydus who (de Mens.4.30, 89.19f Wuensch, ib.4.75, 126.16f) connects Anthusa with the use of Flora (Φλώρα) as a name of Rome, the latter being explained (ib.4.73, 125.3ff) as the sacral name (ἱερατικὸν ὄνομα), one of the three names given to Rome by Romulus at the time of its foundation. Lydus' connection of Flora with Rome is corroborated by the fact that the feast of the so-called Templum Urbis in Rome coincided with that of the Floralia (28th April), see H.Nissen Das Templum (Berlin 1869) 200f, D.Lathoud in Échos d'Orient 24 (1925) 181f. It is a plausible assumption that Constantine not only modelled his new city on Rome (see 145n.sup.), but also transferred to it a name for Rome (although it has been correctly observed by A.Frolov in Rev.de l'histoire des religions 127, 1944, p.62 n.1, that the Latin equivalent of Ἀνθουσα is strictly Florentia rather than Flora).

On the rôle of the Tyche in Constantine's dedication of Cpl., see further Strzygowski loc.cit. 143ff, Lathoud loc.cit.180ff, Frolov loc.cit.61ff; R.Janin, Constantinople byzantine (2nd.ed., Paris 1964) 24-6; G.Dagron, Naissance d'une capitale (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 7, Paris 1974) 29ff. Whether or not Lydus' account is the true one, the de Mensibus (probably published by 540, see Der Kleine Pauly III.col.801) may well have been the source from which Paul gleaned the name Anthusa, a recherche equivalent for Ὀμπνία Πώμη (145), and one which likewise suggests fruitfulness (according to the analysis of Steph.Byz., cf. n. on Ὀμπνία 145) and links the two Romas (according to Lydus). (On the reading of Lydus in the 15th cent. and consequent use of the name Anthusa, see J.Bernays in Hermes 11, 1876, 129ff). The ms. reading in our poem was first vindicated by Meineke ap. Kortüm des Silentarius Paulus Beschreibung der h.Sophia und des Ambon (supplement to W.Salzenberg, Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel, Berlin 1854) p.36; Du Cange, Graefe and Bekker printed αἴθουσα. Graefe considered ἄνθοῦσα (sic) to be possible (f.non male de tota urbe, n. ad loc.), but did not know it as an historical name for Cpl. The passage also puzzled Spitzner, see op.cit.17ff. The correct accentuation is probably proparoxytone, see Chandler, Greek Accentuation sec.175, p.50. This accentuation is generally adopted by editors of texts in which the term occurs; Fr.'s Ἄνθοῦσα is found elsewhere only in the Bonn edition of the Chron.Pasch., loc.cit.sup.

The epithet χρυσοχίτων occurs again, inf.599 μηνὶ χρυσοχίτωνι, θεοῦ κατὰ μύστιν ἑορτῇ, of the Feast of Epiphany (6th January), where χρυσοχίτων probably refers to the rich gold-embroidered robe worn by the consul in his inaugural procession on January 1st, see Fr.'s n. ad loc. (following Du Cange) and cf. R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 58; for literary evidence for the consular robe, cf. Cor.Laud.Just. 4.124 with Cameron ad loc. Since Paul's poem was almost certainly recited early in January (see n. sup. on 1 τῆς νῦν ἡμέρας), the allusion here is probably the same. At Pi.fr.195 Snell-Maehler, the epithet is similarly applied to a city (Thebes), and in Peisander ap.Jo.Lyd.de Mag. 3.64 (155.10 Wuensch)

Λυδοῖ χ. refers to the gold-woven tunics of the Lydians; cf. ps. Pampr. 1 recto 13 (I.110 Heitsch) with McCail loc.cit.58f; also A.P.6.102.6 (Phil.Thess.) χ. ἑλάην, of the ripe fruit, Orph.Lith.720f κόκκον.../... χρυσοχίτωνα, μελαγχροῖην, ἐρίτιμον, where, however, Hermann and Abel follow Tyrwhitt, who argued that the reference is to pepper and emended ῥυσοχίτωνα (Abel ῥυσοχίτωνα).

τεὸν σκηπτοῦχον: Cf. n. sup. on 153 ἐμὸς βασιλεὺς. Paul uses σκηπτοῦχος substantivally of J. throughout the poem (238, 282, 326, 921, etc.); σκ. is substantival once in Homer (Od.8.47, also Il.14.93 predicate; elsewhere with βασιλεὺς), cf. Orph.Hymn 15.6 (of Zeus), al.; Opp.H.3.1 (of an emperor, probably Marcus Aurelius), al.; Nonn.D.26.18, 30.21 (both of Deriades), al., Par.3.80 (God); Tryph.267 (Priam); Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.168 (Aion); Diosc.1 verso 7 (I.129 Heitsch; of Justin II); also Prisc.Pan.270 sceptifer (voc., of Anastasius). For its use with genitive, see n. on 174 inf. For a discussion of the nature of the σκῆπτρον, see Reiske's n. (II.667f Bonn) on Const. Porph.de Caer.2.15 (575.16 Bonn).

157-60. The theme of J.'s military conquests is reiterated in a negative expression, as at 135ff and 147ff, but here it is not, as before, a foil for his peacetime achievements, but for his crowning victory, that over Envy itself, see 160-63n.inf.

157. καὶ γὰρ: Explanatory, Denniston, Greek Particles 108f, sec.2.

ἐν ἔντεσι χεῖρα κορύσσω: Cf. Nonn.D.27.99 πρηστῆρι μαχήμενα χεῖρα κορύσσω, ib.2.5. (In Homer the verb is usually passive or middle when this is the sense, see LSJ s.v.I.1). Paul replaces Nonnus' instrumental dative with ἐν and dative, a usage as old as Homer, see Fr.p.115 and cf. Chantraine Grammaire homérique II. 102, sec.144; K-G.I.465, sec.431.3a, ib.542 Anm.1; Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.195.1, p.157 and other references there cited, n.2.

158. ῥινοτόρῳ δοῦλωσεν, κτλ.: "enslaved innumerable barbarians

with his shield-piercing spear". The accusative ἀπείρονα βάρβαρον is probably collective singular (Du Cange translated infinitos barbaros), cf. Il.24.776 δῆμος ἀπείρων, simil.A.R.2.675, ib.1.893 ἀ.λαὸν. In Attic, and in later prose, ἡ βάρβαρος = ἡ β.γῆ, see LSJ s.v.βάρβαρος I.1 fin., and cf. D.H.1.23.1, Paus.9.29.7, Liban.Or.11.103 (I.470.1f Foerster), etc., while Homer has ἀ.γαῖαν, Od.1.98, 5.46, cf. A.R.1.1323, D.P.323, inf.240. In the present context, however, λόφον κλίνειε (159) and πτήξειε (160) suggest that a personal reference is intended. The dative expression ῥ. αἶχμη is probably instrumental: the spear is the instrument of enslavement. It might be rendered "enslaved to his...spear" (cf. 955 inf. with n. ad loc.), but this would anticipate the sense of the dative in 159. The only other instance of active δουλόω in late poetry appears to be Nonn.D.34.201 ἄστεα δουλώσας Κιλίκων ὑψηνοῖσι νίκη: there the dative might be considered instrumental ("by means of"), but should probably rather be classified as comitative/sociative ("in a..."), see in general Keydell I.59*ff. Passive δουλόω, often with accompanying dative, is more common; in some cases the dative denotes, as in our line, the instrument of enslavement, e.g. Nonn.D.7.276f ἔρωτοτόκῳ δὲ φαρέτρῃ/βρονταίῃς βαρύδουπος ἐδουλώθη κτύπος ἡχοῦς, Par.8.84f οὐ τινος ἀνδρῶν/αὔχένα δοχμῶσαντες ἐδουλώθημεν ἱμάσθῃ, cf. D.25.193, A.P.9.641.4 (Agath.), both with dat. of παλάμη. Elsewhere the dative noun is abstract, Nonn.D.3.330 Μοιριδίου κλωστήρος ἐδουλώθησαν ἀνάγκη, cf. 45.237, or personal D.17.126 Σατύροισιν ἐδουλώθησαν ἀνάγκη. The dative αἶχμη is Graefe's correction: the grave accent in the ms. reading αἶχμην (sic) may indicate (as suggested by Ludwig op.cit. p.2) that an original final iota has been corrected to nu; Du Cange wrote αἶχμην (sic). (Fr's apparatus is incorrect, as observed by Ludwig loc.cit.). Confusion over the case of αἶχμη may have arisen from an attempt to provide a noun to support βάρβαρον, which does in fact qualify αἶχμη inf. 250, cf. Nonn.D.36.43 μάρμαρος αἶχμη, both at the line-end. The epithet ῥινότοπος is applied by Homer to Ares, Il.21.392, cf. Hes.Th.934; Nonn.D.45.288 θύρῳ, 21.87 νάρθηκι (Dindorf, ῥινοτόμῳ L).

159. ὄφρα τεοῖς, κτλ.: "so that they bowed their untamed necks to your yoke-straps". The construction here is modelled on Nonnus' use of ὄφρα with aorist subjunctive or optative as equivalent for classical ὥστε + infinitive, see Keydell I.77*, Peek Lex.s.v. ὄφρα IV. Paul several times uses unaccompanied datives in expressions analogous to this line, infra 231 Καρχηδῶν γόνυ δοῦλον ἑμοῖς ἔκλινε τροπαίοις, 955 ὑμετέροις ἐθέλοντα λόφον δοῦλωσε λεπάδνοις, 989f αὐχένα.../οὐρανίοις ἔκλιναν ἐπιχθονίοις τε θοώκοις, Amb.38 καὶ οὐκ ἐκλίνετε κωφοῖς/αὐχένας εἰδώλοισι, A.P.5.234.4 αὐχένα σοι κλίνω, Κύπρι; passive inf. 239f, see n. ad loc. Cf. also Nonn.D.48.280 αὐχένα σοι κλίνουσας ἄγω...Αὐρην, where the position of σοι suggests that it goes with κλίνουσας, but it may also be taken with ἄγω; (αὐχένα κλίνω is used without dative at Jo. Gaz.Descrip.1.258; passive A.P.5.248.4, Paul Sil.). The bowing of the head, neck or knee is a sign of submission or obeisance, and similar language is used in Christian contexts of the attitude of prayer, sometimes with a following dative (e.g. τῷ κυρίῳ), see the exx. collected by Soph.Lex.s.v. κλίνω 1, Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v. κλίνω 1, PGL s.v.κλίνω A1, ib. s.v. γόνυ; also NT Ev.Luc.24.5, Ev.Jo.19.30 (of Christ on the Cross), cf. Nonn.Par 19.160, ib.4.103, all with accusative only; Georg.Pisid.Hex.1899ff (PG.92.1578) κάμψον δι' αὐτοῦς τῷ θεῷ τὸν αὐχένα,/.../κλῖνον δι' αὐτοῦς εἰς τὸ βῆμα τὰ σκέλη. In our present expression the dative may suggest the idea that the neck is offered ready for the yoke-strap to be bound on, cf. A.P.4.3B.1 (Agath.) ἐπαυχενίοιο...λεπάδνου. Since it appears that yoke-straps passed beneath the neck (e.g. Pollux Onom.1.147 τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ῥυμῶν ἀπηρτημένα, ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐχένας τῶν ἵππων ἐλιττόμενα, λέπαδνα), it is not strictly accurate to combine ὑπὸ with κλίνω in this metaphor, as does Nonnus, Par.8.76 ὑπεκλίνοντο λεπάδνοις, cf. inf. 981f ἔθνεα Νίκη/...ὑπέθηκε...λεπάδνοις. This consideration does not arise in the related expressions at A.P.4.3B.6 (Agath.) Αὔσονίοις ἄκλητος ὑποκλίνοιτο ταλάνοις and A.P.16.203.1 (Jul.Aeg.) κλίνας αὐχένα γαῦρον ὕφ' ἡμετέροισι πεδίλοις; Cor.Laud.Just.3.387f (regna) ardua sub nostris

flectentia colla triumphis/suscepere iugum. The term λέπαδνον is (like ζυγόδεσμον 147 sup.) Homeric, Il.5.730, 19.393 (both plural), see further LSJ s.v., noting its metaph. use at A.Ag.218; for metaph. use similar to Paul's, cf. also Nonn.D.40.271, al., Par.4.248, al., and see further n. on ζυγόδεσμον 147 sup. The term λόφος, used by Homer both of men (Il.10.573) and animals (Il.23.508), is appropriate to Paul's metaphor, cf. Eustath. on Il.23.508 (301.46ff ed. Lips.) λόφος δὲ ἐπὶ τε βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἡμιόνων τόπος τοῦ τραχήλου, ᾧ ἐπιτίθεται ὁ ζυγός; cf. S.Ant.291f οὐδ' ὑπὸ ζυγῷ/λόφον δικαίως εἶχον, metaph. of men, and, in the same context as Paul, A.P.4.3B.5 (Agath.). Elsewhere in later poetry it is usually applied to animals, e.g. A.R.3.1317, Call.fr.21.3, Nonn.D.6.110, 20.126, al. Homer similarly uses ἄδμης of animals (Od.4.637), as well as maidens (Od.6.109, 228; cf. A.R.1.672, 811, 3.4, Nonn.D.6.106, 47.236).

160. θέμιδος πτήξειε τεῆς ζυγόν: For the image of the ius Romanum (here continuing the idea of λεπάδνοις 159), cf. A.P.9.155.7f (Agath.) σὺ δ', ᾧ τέκος, ἄτρομε Ῥώμη (=Cpl.),/βάλλε καθ' Ἑλλήνων σῆς ζυγόδεσμα δίκης. The yoke image is, of course, commonly used in the context of slavery, see LSJ s.v. ζυγόν I.2 and cf. Nonn.D.27.198, 33.253, al., A.P.2.401 (Christod.), Cor.Laud.Just.3.388 (quoted in n. sup.), etc. With πτήξειε here, cf. 239 inf., where καταπτῆσσω is used in the same context. For the construction with accusative, see LSJ s.v. πτήσσω II.3, adding A.P.12.141.4 (Meleagr.), Opp.H.1.152, A.P.5.268.1 (Paul Sil.).

160-63. ἀλλὰ καὶ, κτλ.: The anticipated contrast of J's over-riding achievement in re-building S.Sophia (cf. 139-44, 150-54), is here replaced by a graphic account of J's defeat of Phthonos, described in terms of an epic duel. Later in the poem, similar evil forces (195 Telchines; 221 Βασκανίη and Μέγαιρα; 273 α δαίμων ἀντίβιος; see nn. ad locc.) are blamed for the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia. In the light of these passages, the defeat of Phthonos here may be said to symbolise J's triumphant re-building

of the church, which is itself a symbol of his triumphant régime, cf. n.sup. on 150-54 and see further below. The power of Phthonos is explicitly accredited with physical destruction at A.P.9.153.7 (Agath.) on Troy; Const.Rhod.Descr.S.Apost.105 (ed.Legrand, Rev.des études grecques 9, 1896, 39) on the burning of the church. Phthonos is associated with hostility to prosperity or good fortune as early as Pindar (e.g. P.11.29, see LSJ s.v.; a late example is A.P.16.353.1, Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), and is already personified at Pi.O.8.55 μὴ βαλέτω με λίθῳ τραχεῖ φθόνοιο. This idea is embodied in early classical theology in the concept of the φθόνοιο θεῶν, see LSJ s.v. φθόνοιο I.2 and E.R.Dodds The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley 1951) 29ff. By a further development under the influence of Christianity, Phthonos came also to be associated with the malignity of the Devil or πονηροῦ δαίμονα, often designated ὁ μισόκαλος, see G.J.M.Bartelink in Vigiliae Christianae 12 (1958) 37ff. According to Christian doctrine, the Devil envied mankind as being made in God's image, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.60ff (PG.37.443), Thdt.Affect.3 (PG.83.896A), Romanos 11 1α'5ff, other exx. Bartelink loc.cit.p.40 (with n.10), PGL s.v. διάβολος B.7a; cf. also PGL loc.cit. 7b for exx. of the Devil as envy personified. Christian writers frequently refer to Phthonos as a cause of evil to men, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.14.58 (PG.37.760), ib.2.1.10.8 (col.1027), 31 (1029), al., all of personal troubles; Greg.Nyss.V.Mos. (PG.44.409Bf) Phthonos, the cause of human troubles from Eve onwards, approached Moses also; Phthonos is personified at id.Pulch. (PG.46.865B) ὅπως αὐτὴν ὁ φθόνοιο τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀφήρπασεν, also ibid., ὁ δὲ φθόνοιο ξίφους δίκην πλάγιος ἐμπεσὼν τὴν ἐλπίδα διέκοψεν, both on the premature death of Pulcheria; Eustrat.V.Eutych. 32 (PG.86 (2).2312C) ὁ φθονεροῦ καὶ μισόκαλος δαίμων, jealous of the prosperity of Christians, causes Eutychius' deposition as patriarch. The links of Phthonos with both pagan and Christian thought make the concept attractive to writers like Paul who are concerned to

maintain a classical atmosphere and reluctant to speak in explicitly Christian terms, cf. Averil Cameron in Historia 15 (1966) 477f on the use of Phthonos in Procopius' Wars. In late writers, Phthonos (or its absence) is often mentioned, as in Paul, in encomium of the Roman emperor or empire, e.g. Aristid.Or.26.65 (II.109.17ff Keil); Liban.Or.59.151f (IV.285.13ff Foerster); Diosc.1 verso 2,3 (I.128 Heitsch); Theoph.Sim.8.12.6 (307.18 de Boor); Georg. Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.239ff, 3.443f, and esp. Cor.Laud.Just.1.60 quisquis erit vestrae per se cadet invidus aulae, ib.171 non caret invidia regni locus, where it is likely that behind the general statement there lies an allusion to contemporary signs of popular discontent, and in particular to a plot in 566 against the emperor, see Cameron ad locc. (Stache ad 1.171 gives further exx. of Phthonos/invidia in connection with the emperor). Since Paul has devoted a large section of the iambic prologue (24ff) to discussion of the failure of a similar plot in 562, his account of the defeat of Phthonos here may likewise be seen to allude to J.'s defeat of plotters envious of his throne. (This idea was suggested by Meineke, ap. Kortüm's appendix to W.Salzenberg, Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel, Berlin 1854, p.36). It is another manifestation of the triumph of J.'s régime, which is the overall point of the introduction of the idea of Phthonos, see sup. Personified Phthonos is well-established (see exx. sup. and cf. Nonn.D.8.34ff, 105ff), but Paul's description of J. slaying Phthonos with a shower of arrows may well derive from a conflation of Call.Ap.97ff, where Apollo is depicted slaying the serpent Python with his arrows (esp.101f τὸν μὲν οὐ κατήναρες ἄλλον ἐπ'ἄλλω/βᾶλλον ἄκὺν ὁῖσιν, cf.162f inf.), and ib.105ff where the god banishes Phthonos with a kick; see n.sup. on 54f for another reminiscence of Call.Ap.

161. τετριγῶς ὑπέροπλα: "shrieking insolently". The verb is used by Homer (frequently in perfect with present sense as here) of the sound made by the souls of the dead (Il.23.101, Od.24.5) and of animal sounds (e.g. Od.24.7, of bats, compared with noise

made by souls; other exx. LSJ s.v., adding Opp.H.5.583); also of creaking or grinding sounds (LSJ s.v.2, adding Tryph.321). So the dying Phthonos emits an animal cry, like that of those already dead. In view of the reference to Telchines (195 inf.) as jealous forces (see n. sup.), Paul may here have in mind Callimachus' expression (fr.1.1) Τελχίνες ἐπιτρύζουσιν ᾠοιδῇ: both τρίζω and τρύζω denote inarticulate sound, and there is evidence for their confusion in mss., e.g. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.58.35; at D.3.13, Nonnus uses τρύζω of the swallow, whereas Homer uses τρίζω of birds, Il.2.314, cf. Luc.Tim.21. Homer uses adverbial ὑπέροπλον in the expression ὑπέροπλον εἶπεῖν, Il.5.185, 17.170 ("insolently"), cf. Coll.324 κυδιῶν ὑπέροπλον, and, for Paul's plural, Tryph.331 κυδιῶν ὑπέροπλα (both "exceedingly"). Elsewhere it is used adjectivally, both in the Homeric sense (see LSJ s.v.I, adding A.R.2.4. superlative, ib.2.110; Nonn.D.14.318, 20.404, al.) and in the sense "mighty" (of creatures), "overwhelming" (of conditions; see LSJ s.v.II, III, adding Opp.H.4.518, al., Orph.Arg.808, Tryph.622, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.292). In reference to Phthonos, it is likely that Paul intends the pejorative sense, as in Homer, A.R. and Nonnus.

μέλας φθόνος: The colour is associated with death in Homer (e.g. Il.2.834) and in the tragedians with Ἐρινύς (A.Th.993, Eum.52), ᾗτα (A.Ag.769), Hades (S.OT 29, E.Hipp.1388) etc., see LSJ s.v. III.1. In Christian writers, it is frequently associated with the Devil, sin et simil., see PGL s.v. μέλας, μελανία 1, μελανωπός, μελάνωσις, μελαχίτων.

ῥακλασε τόξω: "sank down beneath the bow". For ῥακάζω in the context of defeat in battle, cf. Opp.C.4.194f ὁ δὲ ῥακάζεν κατὰ γαίης/βαλλόμενος... ῥακκαῖς, of a defeated warrior; Nonn.D.29.260 Ἀστραῖος δεδόνητο, Μάρων φύγεν, ῥακλασε Ληνεύς, ib.30.32, al., A.P.16.105.5f (Anon.) καὶ αὐχένα θῆρ ὑπὸ χερσὶν/δαμνόμενος κρατερᾷς ῥακλασεν εἰς ὀπίσω of the bull of Marathon, killed by Theseus, and other exx. of similar uses collected in n. sup. on 143f. The dative τόξω, Graefe's correction for the ms. τόξων, accepted by all

subsequent editors, is certainly correct. The dative is here used after the simple verb, as it is used elsewhere after the compounds in ὑπό and ἐπί, e.g. Nonn.D.24.234, A.P.4.3B.4 (Agath.), both quoted 143f n.sup., cf. inf.251 (mid.), and also the similar dative with δοῦπησε at A.P.4.3B.27 (Agath.), quoted in n.inf. on 162f. The ms. variant τόξον may be an attempt to make the construction here parallel to πτήξειε...ζυγόν (160), but there is no parallel for an accusative after ὀκλάζω in this sense, cf. also Fr.'s objection in his n. ad loc.

162. ἄστυόχου βασιλῆος: The epithet (cf. πολισσοῦχος 141 sup.) is found first in Nonnus, D.26.10 ἀνάκτων, 47.577 Ἑρης, cf. A.P.16.36.3 (Agath.) μερίμνης, ib.9.764.6 (Paul Sil.) τείχεος, inf.971 μόχοις, 977 καμάτοις, Amb.299 γαλήνης (of J.). Homer has the proper names Ἄστυόχη (Il.2.513) and Ἄστυόχεια (Il.2.568; mistakenly glossed by Suidas, ὄνομα πόλεως). Cf. also IG 5 (2). 77 (Tegea).

162f. ἐπασσύτεροις δὲ βελέμνοις, κτλ.: "and, lacerated by a shower of arrows, thudded down". There may be a reminiscence of Callimachus in this expression, see n.sup.on 160-63 (fin.). For the instrumental dative with ῥωγαλέος, cf. Il.2.416f ἔκτορεον δὲ χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐξαι χαλκῷ ῥωγαλέον ("rent with the bronze" Murray), Nonn.D.47.154 (χιτῶνα) ῥωγαλέον πληγῇσιν ἀμοιβαίῳ σιδήρου. The term is elsewhere applied only to inanimate things (often at the line-opening), Od.13.435, al. ῥάκος ἥδὲ χιτῶνα / ῥ, cf. Nonn.D.36.154; Od.17.197f, al. πῆρην / πυκνὰ ῥ; Orph.Arg.402 στιβάδεσσι; Man.6 (3).435 πέπλους; Nonn.D.2.309 σακέων, 48.79 ῥ. κενεῶνας... ἀρούρης, Par.6.49 φορβῆς. It would be possible to take the dative with δοῦπησε, cf. A.P.4.3B.27 (Agath.) Βόκτριος ἡμετέροισι Γίγας δοῦπησε βελέμνοις, Nonn.D.7.363 ἑοῖς σκυλάκεσσι δεδουπότα, 23.68 δεδουπότα θήλει θυρῶ, al. In Homer, δουπέω is regularly used of the thud of a corpse, frequently coupled with πεσών in the expression δοῦπησεν δὲ πεσών, e.g. Il.4.504. Paul here neatly varies this expression, δοῦπησε, πεσών δὲ. Homeric ἐπασσύτερος (e.g. Il.4.427, Od.16.366) is used elsewhere

in late poetry of weapons, cf. esp. Nonn.D.22.346 ἑπασσύτεροισι βελέμνοις in eadem sede, also ib.29.12 ἰῶν, al.; Opp.H.3.573f δοῦροις, 4.538 αἶχμαῖ, 5.327 ἄκωκαῖς, al.; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13. 16 (PG.37.1228) βάλλοντες ἑπασσύτεροισιν ὁῖστοῖς, ib.146f (col. 1239) ἑπασσύτεροισι κακοῖσι/βαλλόμενοι, βάλλοντες (both of bishops). The connective δὲ in this expression and the next may be intended to recall Homer's use of short clauses loosely connected by particles, since both language and subject matter are here also strongly reminiscent of Homer.

163. πεσὼν δ' ἐβάθυνε κονίην: Cf. Il.17.315 ἐν κονίῃσι πεσὼν, Od.18.98 ἔπεσ' ἐν κονίῃσι, etc. The verb βαθύνω is more common in the passive (e.g. inf.644), but cf. Il.23.241 βάθυνε δὲ χῶρον ἅπαντα, Nonn.D.47. 239 ἐβάθυνε πέδον...ταρσῶ, of a dog, and see further LSJ s.v. There is no need to take up Graefe's suggestion (ad loc.) that ἐβάθυνε should be read. Paul may have been influenced by Nonn.Par.6. 47-49 where ἑπασσύτερων, βαθυνομένῃσιν and ῥωγαλέης appear in successive lines, although there is no similarity of context.

164-67. As the climax and conclusion of the opening invocation of Roma (=Cpl.), "Latin Rome" is invoked to come and sing in harmony with her daughter. Lamma (op.cit.p.61) may be right in seeing this as a final triumphant allusion to J.'s conquest of the barbarian west, see 9n. sup. on the final collapse of the Gothic strongholds in Italy in 561-2, and cf. A.P.4.3B.1ff (Agath.) for the idea of conquered nations paying homage to J., esp. 15ff σύννομον Ἀδρυάδεσσιν ἀναπλέξασα χορείην/φασιάς εἰλίσσοιτο φίλῳ σκιρτήματι νύμφη, /καὶ καμάτους μέλψειε πολυσκήπτρου βασιλῆος. With Paul's panegyric invocation of Old Roma to celebrate New Roma, cf. Georg.Pisid. Rest.S.Cruc.49ff, where Constantine is summoned to applaud his successor Heraclius for restoring the Holy Cross, φάνηθι, Κωνσταντῖνε, τῇ Ῥώμῃ πάλιν /κρότει τὸ τέκνον, πῶς λαβὼν πεφυρμένην/ ἔδειξε τὴν σὴν οὐσίαν σεσωσμένην.

164. καὶ...δὲ: "a natural enough combination, the former particle denoting that something is added, the latter that what is added is distinct from what precedes", Denniston Greek Particles p.199; for καὶ...δὲ (separated), more common in prose than in verse, see *ibid.* 200-202.

πρεσβυγένεθλε Λατινιάς...Ῥώμη: Both epithets are rare: πρεσβυγένεθλος (=πρεσβυγενής, Il.11.249) occurs only at Orph.Hymn 4. 2, voc. of Ouranos (although Old Rome is often called πρεσβύτις et simil., e.g. Agath.Hist.5.6.5; cf. Evagr.HE 5.19, 214.26 Bid.-Parm.); the form Λατινιάς is not elsewhere attested, but cf. Nonn.D.41.160 Λατινίδα δέλτον, Par.19.102 Λατινίδι...ἰωῆ, A.P.2.303 (Christod.) Λατινίδος...Μούσης, Theoph.Sim. 4.14.2 (178.17f de Boor) Λατινίδος ἀρχῆς.

165. σύνθροον ἀείδουσα, κτλ.: Cf. inf.Amb.47 σύνθροον ἡμετέρῃσι μέλος πλέξασθε χορείαις ; Nonn.D.3.67 σύνθροον ἐσμαράγησε μέλος βητάρμονι παλμῶ (this opening half-line is used without following dative at ib.3.237, 41.184); and for σύνθροος c.dat., ib.26.203, 45.187; also ib.1.506 θῆλυ μέλος πλέξωσιν ὁμόθροον ἄρσενι μολπῇ. At A.P.9.308.3f (Bianor) αὐτίκα μιν κιθάρῃ λιγυαχέει δέξατο δελφῖν/ σύνθροον (of Arion), σύνθροον derives from Planudes, while the Codex Palatinus has σύνθρονον; most editors and LSJ follow Planudes, but Gow-Page prefer σύνθρονον. The same confusion occurs in our line: the ms. reads σύνθρονον with a deletion sign above the first nu. Graefe wrote σύνθροον by conjecture, since his source, the apographum Gothanum of the ms., read σύνθρονον see Spitzner *op.cit.*p.17,n.2. For μέλος ἀείδω, cf. Nonn.D.27.304 and also ib.11.301, 20.87 ὕμνον ἀείδω, al.simil. The accusative usually denotes the subject of song, see LSJ s.v. ἀείδω II and cf. 143 sup. with n. ad loc. The epithet νεοθηλής is Homeric (Il. 14.347 ποίην), also used of animals, and metaph. as here, see LSJ s.v., adding Nic.Th.94 καρπὸν; A.P.4.1.53 (Meleagr.) ἔρπυλλον; D.P.843 παρθενικαῖ (compared with νεβροῖ); Opp.C.2.357 ἄμνους, 3.491 κοῦρον, al.; Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.865B) ἄνθος (metaph. of Pulcheria), al.;

Nonn.D.12.335 βότρυας, 42.306 ὄμφακα. It is already applied to Cpl. at Laud.Beryt.81 (I.97 Heitsch) Κ[ωνστ]αντινιάδος νεο[θη]λέ[ο]ς [ἐν χθονὶ Ῥώμης (4th cent.; cf. ib.53, p.96, νεοκτιμένης] ἀπὸ Ῥώμης); A.P.1.5.5 (Anon., probably aet.Anastasii) ν.Ῥώμην in eadem sede (see 151 n.sup. for another possible reminiscence of this epigram); cf. also A.P.16.72.5 (Anon.) εὐνομίας ἐριθηλέος (on J.). For other appellations of New Rome, see 145n.sup.

166f. The suggestion that the daughter Cpl. surpasses her mother Rome is reiterated from 151 (see n. ad loc.), but here extended in the idea that the success of offspring gratifies the parent. Similar ideas are to be found elsewhere in late poetry, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.2.9 (PG.37.402) Πατρὸς γὰρ κλέος ἐστὶ πᾶϊς μέγας (of God and Christ); and notably in the context of building achievements, A.P.1.10.11f (Anon.) κῦδος ἀεξήσασα πολυσκήπτρων γενετήρων / πάντα γάρ, ὅσσα τέλεσεν, ὑπέρτερα τεῦξε τοκῆων, ib.20f ὅτι τοκῆς / παιδροτέρους ποίησεν ἀρειοτέροις ἐπ' ἔργοις, cf. ib.75, on Anicia Juliana's church of S.Polyeuktos, A.P.1.12.7ff (Anon.) on the benefactions of the same lady to the church of S.Euphemia (on Anicia Juliana, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.4.283 and cf. n. sup. on 152-54); A.P.9.659 (Theaet.Schol.) on Domninos' re-building of the Great Praetorium, under Justin II. The introduction of this theme, and particularly the generalising, gnomic tone of the final clause (with which Meineke, loc.cit. 156n.sup., compared τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων, Il.16.457, 675, al.) has the effect of concluding this opening hymnic section on a remote and quiet note, a technique used by Paul elsewhere, cf. inf. 182-84, 207-13, 956-58.

ἔρχεο καγχαλῶσα, κτλ.: Cf. A.P.5.234.5 (Paul Sil.) δέξο με καγχαλῶσα, σοφὴν ὅτι Παλλὰδα νικᾷς (to Aphrodite), which verifies Du Cange's correction of the ms. ἔτι το ὅτι; Enc.duc.Romani 2.22 (I.122 Heitsch) Θήβη καγχα[λῶσα, in eadem sede. For the participle, cf. Od.23.1, 59 (both at the line-end), and see LSJ s.v. for the use of καγχαλῶ in Alexandrian and later poets (not in Nonnus).

παῖδα δοκεύεις/μητρὸς ὑπερτέλλουσας: Homer uses δοκεύω in the sense "watch narrowly" (see LSJ s.v.1), but the weakened sense "see" is found in Nonnus D. and elsewhere in later poetry, see LSJ s.v.3, Peek Lex.s.v., esp.III, for Nonnus' frequent construction of it with accusative and predicative participle as here (e.g. D.2.51, 7.88). With Paul's use of ὑπερτέλλω here, cf. A.P.9.656.1f (Anon.) οἶκος Ἀναστασίῳ.../μοῦνας ὑπερτέλλω πανυπεῖροχος ἄστεσι γαίης and see 152n.sup. for another reminiscence of this poem. The verb is not common: first in Hdt. (3.104) of the sun, it is constructed with the genitive, as in our line, by Euripides, see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.33.292 ὑπερτέλλοντα δὲ Ταύρου/Μῦρτιλον (of constellations), and noting its use by Paul of the stone over Tantalus' head at A.P. 5.236.5 (cf.E.Or.6).

168-85. Transition from invocation to account of the collapse and restoration of the dome. Priests, don white robes and join my celebratory hymn (168-72). J. has brought joy in place of the sorrow caused by the collapse of the dome (173-77). Look kindly on my poem, J.: it may recall a time of sorrow, but that has now given place to a joy which is the more overwhelming because it follows upon sorrow (178-85).

The transition from invocation of deities (135-67) to narrative of the collapse and restoration of the dome (186-310) is achieved by a further invocation to celebratory song, but this time directed to the priests in Paul's audience (168-72); this leads on to a direct appeal to J. (177-85; see further *ad loc.*), probably also present, but not directly addressed since the first iambic prologue (1-80; see n.sup. on lemma after line 80). The immediate occasion is thus recalled (picking up σήμερον 135) and the narrative of events which led up to it follows naturally, and is indeed anticipated in the allusion of 176f. Although the two iambic prologues also refer to the occasion of the poem (e.g. 1f, 74-80, 81-89), the present passage explicitly indicates for the first time that Paul is writing at the time of the second encaenia, after the collapse of the original dome (cf. sup. 1n., 135-67n). An exultant tone is here maintained by the development of the theme of change from dark to light, sorrow to joy and the increase of happiness which that brings.

168. ἄνδρες, οἷσι μέμηλε, κτλ.: Paul has already alluded to the clergy among his audience, sup.87f (the patriarch Eutychius), 88f, 126ff; cf. 81n.sup. For the expression of this line and the next, cf. A.P.11.63.1f (Mac.Cons.) ἄνδρες, οἷσι μέμηλεν ἀπήμονος ὄργια Βάκχου, / ἐλπίσιν ἡμερίδων ῥίψατε τὴν πενίην, where the phrase ὄργια Βάκχου is derived from Nonn.D.44.219 μέλει δέ μοι ὄργια Βάκχου. For οἷσι μέμηλε, cf. also A.R.1.355, Call.fr.75.34, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.63.4.

Similar are Call.Lav.Pall. 137f ἄλλὰ δέχεσθε/τὰν θεόν, ὦ κῶραι, τῶργον ὅσαις μέλεται; Eudoc.Cypr. 2.1f (PG.85.845A) ὅσοις δὴ Χριστοῦ πολυμνήτοιο μέμηλε/πίστις μυστιπόλος; ps.Ap.Met.Ps. proth.13 ἀνδράσιν, οἷσι θεὸς μέλεται καὶ δῶρα θεοῖο, cf.Coll.229; also inf. 758 μυστιπόλοι...ὅσοις τόδε θεσμὰ κελεύει. For the asyndeton in invocation, cf.139 sup., simil.152 sup.

θεουδέα θεσμὰ: In the Od. (6.121, al.), θεουδής is used only of people in the sense "god-fearing", as if from θεός and δέος, cf.A.R.2.1180, 4.1123, al.; Nonn.D. 40.235, al. But late poets also apply the epithet to things in the sense "holy", as if equivalent to θεοειδής (cf. also θεσπέσιος), see LSJ s.v. and id.Suppl. s.v., and cf. Orph.Lith. 374 πέτρον; Nonn.Par. 1.100 ἀρούρης, 4.168 λήϊα; inf. 296, 676, 916, 979, 1016; so Hesychius glosses the term θεῶ ἀρέσκων. In Nonn.D., when θεουδής is applied to inanimate substantives, it always admits the earlier sense, cf. n.inf. on 342.

169f. The priests are invoked to tear off grief like a sombre garment and put on white robes. For a similar combination of imagery, cf.Georg.Pisid.Res. 1-3 (PG.92.1373A) λευχειμονοῦσα νῦν προῆλθεν ἡ κτίσις, /τὸ γὰρ σκοτεινὸν ἐκδιδύσκεται χρέως, /λευκὴν δὲ φωτὸς ἀμφιέννυται χάριν, cf.ib.41f (col.1377B).

In the imperial period, white robes were regularly worn on occasions of festival or celebration, e.g.D.C.75.1.4 on Septimus Severus' entry into Rome; Marc.Diac.V.Porphyr. 47 (39.14f Grégoire-Kugener) on the procession of dignitaries after the baptism of Theodosius II: the robes gleam, ὥς νομίζεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ χιόνοιο πεπληρωῶσθαι; Const.Porph.de.Caer. 1 Appendix (498.1 Bonn) on J's adventus of 559 (cf.Stein B-E II.818f); Cor.Laud.Just. 4.330 on Justin II's inauguration as consul (further exx. are collected by Cameron on ibid. 234); Theoph.Sim. 4.16.7f (184.22ff de Boor) where the bishop Dometian expounds on the symbolic importance of wearing white for the festival celebrating the recovery of Martyropolis from the Persians (A.D.590/1). That the clergy might wear white

on a ceremonial occasion is suggested by the mosaic in S.Vitale, Ravenna (consecrated in A.D.547, Stein B-E II.459), which depicts J. with Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna, and entourage: the clergy wear white robes with wide sleeves and a single vertical dark stripe running from each shoulder to the ground; (the archbishop also wears additional vestments). But H.Leclercq (Dict.d'archéol. chrét.et de liturgie III.2999ff) shows that, although white was common, other colours might also be worn. It seems, moreover, that a white robe might be worn all the time, since an anecdote in Cyril of Scythopolis' Life of Euthymius indicates that the patriarch of Jerusalem could always be distinguished by his white robe, see P.Devos in Anal.Boll.98 (1980) 33ff. (For a ceremonial occasion he might well don additional vestments). Monks, on the other hand, normally wore black or dark garments, like mourners, according to Historia mystagogica 21 (ed.J.Brightman, J.Th.S. 9, 1908, 262.18ff), cf.Liban.Or.30.8 (III.91.12 Foerster) οἱ δὲ μελανειμονοῦντες οὗτοι. Hence Paul's exhortation might be literally applicable at least to a part of his audience. The main point of it, however, is the general association of white dress with joyous celebration. (White robes are also commonly associated with angels, saints, martyrs, visionary beings et simil., e.g. Romanos 58 ε'6 of martyrs, other exx. PGL s.v. λευχειμονέω and associated terms).

Paul's metaphor of casting off grief like sombre clothing recalls NT Ep.Rom.13.12 ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκοτός, ἐνδυσώμεθα δὲ τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ φωτός. Such metaphorical clothing language is common in the Bible (e.g.NT Ep.Gal.3.27, Ep.Eph.4.22-24, Ep.Col.3.9f, 1Ep.Th.5.8) and in later Christian writers, see H.Piesik, Bildersprache der apostolischen Väter (Diss., Bonn 1961) 55f, who sees the OT as the source of this imagery (but see also n.inf.) and gives exx. from the Apostolic Fathers. To these may be added Greg.Naz.Or.44.6 (PG.36.613A) τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπορρίψαντες; Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.869A); Romanos 6 γ'6, 44 ζ'6 πᾶσαν τὴν αἰδῶ τῆς καρδίας ἀπέρριψε, al.; sup. 94 (with n. ad loc.). The imagery of darkness and light is likewise

common in NT, e.g. Ev.Jo.1.4ff, 3.19ff, Act.Ap.26.18, Ep.Eph.5.8; cf. (for example) Procl.Hymn 4.6; Greg.Nyss.Melet. (PG.46.852B-C); Romanos 6 15'1f, 10 5'3f, al.; Sophr.H.Or.4 (PG.87.3305D) on Christ's resurrection (quoted 181n.inf.). Cf. 182-84 inf. with n. ad loc. Paul repeats the dark/light contrast in the same context, inf.322-25, 904f; cf. also inf.Amb.35f on the light-bringing apostles.

169. δεῦρό μοι: See n. sup. on 141, and for the ethic dative, cf. Nonn.D.11.147, Musae.248, etc. I take μέλπομεν (172) as short-vowelled subjunctive ("let us sing": cf. Du Cange concinamus), like αείσομεν 143.

ἄχλυόεσσαν ἀπορρίψαντες ἀνίην: Cf. A.R.2.884 ἀπορρίψαντες ἀνίας, Enc.Duc.Roman.4.8 (I.123 Heitsch) ἀπορ[ρίψαντες ἀνί]ην (suppl. Keydell), Nonn.D.40.215 ἀπορρίψαντες ἐνυῶ, all at the line-end; inf.248 ῥίψον ἄχος; Il.9.517 σε μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα, cf. 16.282; other metaph. exx. are quoted in n.sup. The verb ἀπορρίπτω is used of a garment at Pi.P.4.232, cf. Nonn.D.23.61, 45.50, al. The form ἄχλυόεις, first extant as a v.l. in an epigram ap.Hdt.5.77 (= A.P.6.343.3), is used by Alexandrian and later poets, see LSJ s.v., adding Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.206 (PG.37.985) ὄψιος; Nonn.D.24.166 ζόφος, 47.330 ὄρφνη, Par.1.11 κόσμῳ, 10.75 δαίμων al.; Musae.3 γάμον; and esp. Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.247 ἀχλυόεντας ἀνειρύσασσα χιτῶνας in eadem sede, of Night.

170. χιονέους ἔσασθε, κτλ.: This construction of middle ἔννυμι with accusative and dative is Homeric (see LSJ s.v.II), as is plural ἄψα ("limbs"), see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.2.199, 3.676; Opp.H.2.294, C.2.259, al.; Nonn.Par.11.23 (not in D.); A.P.5.255.16, 264.8, 286.8 (all Paul Sil.). For χιονέος applied to clothes, cf. Asius 13.3, Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.78 (both with χιτῶσι(ν)), Nonn.Par.20.56 χιονέους σπινθῆρας ἀκοντίζοντα χιτῶνος. For γεγηθότες (various cases) in eadem sede in present sense (as always in tragedy, see LSJ s.v.) and often absolute as here, cf. D.P.1078, Opp.H.1.462, C.2.436, Nonn.D.3.44, 42.274, al., Par.4.232, 10.12.

171. δᾶκρυ δὲ, κτλ.: Cf. Nonn. D. 8.205 δᾶκρυον εὐποίητον ἄποψήσασα προσώπου; A.P. 5.66.5 (Rufin.) ἄποψήσασα δὲ δᾶκρυ. The use of ὀπωπῇ in the sense "eye" is late (see LSJ s.v. II.2), but common in poetry of the imperial period, see the exx. collected by Kost on Musae. 101 and cf. inf. 285. The form πενταέτηρος is Homeric, of oxen, Il. 2.403, 7.315, Od. 19.420; of a boar Od. 14.419. The dome of S. Sophia collapsed on Tuesday 7th May 558 (see Stein B-E II. 460 and 186-92n.inf.) and the church was re-dedicated on 24th December 562 (see Stein loc.cit., inf. 315-53 with n. ad loc., esp. 327-30, and cf. Du Cange's commentary on Paul Sil., sec. 6, p. 66f Bonn). This is the first explicit indication that Paul is writing on the occasion of the second encaenia of J's church.

172. μέλψομεν...εὐποδᾶς ὕμνους: On μέλψομεν, see n. sup. on δεῦρό μοι 169. For the accusative, cf. Clem. Alex. Paed. Hymn 54ff (I. 292 Stählin) ὕμνους ἀτρεκεῖς/βασιλεῖ Χριστῷ, /.../ 58 μέλπωμεν ὁμοῦ; ps. Synes. Hymn 10.16 (p. 64 Terzhagi) μέλψω ᾠοιδᾶν; Nonn. D. 19. 82 μέλπων πάτριον ὕμνον, 17.332 αὐλὸς ἐμέλπε φόνου μέλος. The accusative is cognate (cf. LSJ s.v. μέλπω I.2), like that after ἀείδω 165 (see n. ad loc.), since both verbs have the sense "sing about" when constructed with a direct object (see LSJ s.v. μέλπω I.1 and cf. 142f sup. for ἀείδω). Paul uses εὐπους in a musical context at A.P. 6.54.6 μέλος...εὐποδὸς ἁρμονίας; elsewhere it is used literally of the feet of men, animals, etc., see LSJ s.v. and cf. n. inf. on 260.

εὐφήμοις ὑπὸ χεῖλεσιν: The preposition ὑπό is used in place of a simple instrumental dative, as elsewhere in Paul, see Fr. p. 115, and cf. Chantraine Grammaire homérique II. 140f, sec. 208, for the Homeric usage. Such periphrastic use of ὑπό is not uncommon among post-classical authors, e.g. A.R. 2.26 λέων ὑπ' ἄκοντι τετυμμένος; A.P. 5.74.2 (Rufin.) (στέφος) ὑφ' ἡμετέραις πλεξάμενος παλάμαις; Nonn. D. 10.120 τρομεροῖσιν ὑπ' ἵχνεσιν ἤλατο πόντι, 13.499 τοὺς δὲ λίγα κροτέοντας ὑπ' εὐρύθμῳ χθόνα ταρσῷ, al., see Peek Lex. s.v. ὑπό II.2. (NT writers, on the other hand, never construct ὑπό

with dative, see Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.203, p.166). In late writers, εὐφημος and cognate terms often carry connotations of praise as well as good omen and holiness or reverence, cf. Nonn.D.19.106f ἔπεφθέγγαντο δὲ λαοὶ/εὐφήμοις ἑπέεσσιν (at a musical contest), ib.Par.12.58 εὐφήμοις στομάτεσσιν ἀνέκλαγε σύνθορον ἡχώ (Palm Sunday); Agath.Hist.1.13.7 ἐν εὐφημίᾳ πολλῇ τὸν Ναρσὴν ἐποιοῦντο; see further LSJ s.v.III, PGL s.v.3,4.

173f. οὐρανίων ᾤξεν, κτλ.: The asyndeton may indicate that the following lines (perhaps as far as μερίμνας 175?) are intended as an example of the εὐποδᾶς ὕμνους; cf. Il.22.393f and scholia ad loc.(V.340.93ff Erbse) where the lines, which were obelised by Aristarchus, are criticised as being unsuitable for Achilles (schol. a), cf. schol.b (p.341.2ff) and Eustath.1275.21, quoted by Erbse.

The reference to the gates of heaven recalls the chronographers' report (Mal.495.13ff, Theoph.A.M.6055, 238.19ff de Boor, quoted inf. 315-53n.) that at the second encaenia of S.Sophia the procession sang ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης (LXX Ps.23 (24).7,9). It is likely that Paul is referring to the singing of this psalm at 347f inf., μολῶν δ' ἐπὶ θέσπιδας αὐλᾶς/δῆμος ἅπας ἐπέβωσε χαρίσιον (see n. on 348), where there follows an explicit analogy between S.Sophia and heaven. This analogy is also implied in the passage inf. 286ff (see 286-88n.), and here, in the metaphor of J.'s opening the heavenly gates, although this metaphor also suggests the state of heavenly joy which the reconstruction of S.Sophia has produced on earth, as described in the next two phrases 174f ὅλαις δ', κτλ. The former idea is common in Byzantine literature in the form of a comparison between the dome and the vault of heaven, e.g. Greg. Naz.Or.18.39 (PG.35.1037A) οὐρανῷ δὲ ἄνωθεν καταστράπτοντα, πηγὰς δὲ φωτὸς πλουσίαις τὰς ὄψεις περιαυγάζοντα, ὥσπερ ἀληθῶς φωτὸς οἰκτῆριον, on the church at Nazianzus; cf. inf. 490f, 530f and see C.Mango and J.Parker in DOP 14 (1960) 241, E.Baldwin Smith, The Dome (Princeton 1950) 79ff, esp.85ff. But S.Sophia is also elsewhere compared more generally with heaven, e.g. Romanos 54

κγ'6ff ὁ οἶκος δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας/ἐν τοσαύτῃ ἀρετῇ
οἰκοδομεῖται,/ὡς τὸν οὐρανὸν μιμεῖσθαι ; No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen
Early Byz.Cantica, ε'5f οὐρανός τις ἐπίγειος καὶ ὁράται καὶ κηρύσσεται/
καὶ μορφώματι καὶ λατρείᾳ θεοῦ; Cor.Laud.Just.4.285ff inclita praeclarum
duo sunt imitantia caelum,/consilio fundata dei, venerabile templum/et
Sophianarum splendentia tecta novarum./principis haec, haec aula dei
(Corippus elsewhere compares the imperial palace/court with heaven,
3.244, cf. 179 with Cameron ad loc.); Psell.Monody in S.Soph. (PG.122.
912A) τὸν κόσμον ἡμῶν, τὸν οὐρανὸν, κτλ. (this work is also wrongly
attributed to Proc.Gaz. at PG.87(3).2840); Mich.Thess.Descr.S.Soph.
4 (ed.Mango-Parker, DOP 14, 1960, 237) line 92ff, esp. 97f τάχα δὲ
μιμεῖται καὶ οὐρανὸν; Anon.Monody in S.Soph.ap.BZ 30 (1929-30) p.41.
28f τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς διαυγέστατον καὶ κατ'άσπερον οὐρανόν (on this
work, see footnote to n.sup. on 150-54).

The term κληῖθρον is Attic (see LSJ s.v. κλειῖθρον), but is not to
my knowledge found elsewhere in late poetry (although cf. Agath.Hist.
1.10.7) where κληῖς is, however, common, see n.inf. on 350f. For
Christians, the keys of the gates of heaven are associated with the
apostle Peter (NT Ev.Matth.16.19 καὶ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας
τῶν οὐρανῶν; cf. PGL s.v. κλεῖς and inf.788), but it is unlikely that, in
using κληῖθρα here, Paul intends to suggest an analogy between J. and
Peter. It is true (i) that the NT reference to Peter's guardianship
of the keys of heaven was one of the texts on the basis of which
the bishops of Rome argued for their supremacy in the Church (see
Eva C.Topping in Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 2, 1976, 9, and
in general, on the attitude of the eastern Church to Peter earlier
in the 6th cent.), and (ii) that by 562, when Paul wrote, the papacy
was controlled by J. (see Stein B-E II.674f on the papal election
of 561). Hence Paul's reference might be interpreted as a polemical
allusion to J., God's Vice-gerent on earth, as the ultimate head
of the Church, but this seems over-subtle.* Paul's reference here
is more simply understood in the light of later allusions (inf.
320f, 328) to the opening of the doors of S.Sophia on the occasion

* For another application to the emperor of imagery associated with
Peter, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.2.171 with Cameron ad loc.

of the second encaenia, here implicitly likened to the opening of the gates of heaven, see sup. In a pagan context, the gates of heaven are opened by the Seasons, e.g. Nonn.D.2.703f (Διὶ) ἐρχομένῳ δὲ οὐρανίας πετάσαντο πύλας ὑψάχενες ἦραι, cf. 13.23f.

174. Αὐσονίων σκηπτοῦχος: Cf. inf.346. The Byzantines thought of themselves as Ῥωμαῖοι, successors of Roman power and called their capital Cpl. "New Rome" (see 145n.sup.). So poets regularly use the term Αὐσόνιοι ("Italians"), e.g. A.P.4.3B.6 (with Beckby's n. ad loc.), ib.32 (Agath.), A.P.9.803.1 (Anon.), 16.350.6 (Anon.); cf. inf. 240, 277, al. and see A.A.Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40. On σκηπτοῦχος, see n.sup.on 156 (fin.); for its use with genitive, see LSJ s.v.1 fin., adding Nonn.D.12.39, 34.62, al., Par.18.162.

174f. ὅλας δ' ἐπέτασεν, κτλ.: "he has spread wide the doors of joy to all our festivities". Cf. 904 inf. πᾶσι μὲν εὐφροσύνης ἀναπέπταται εὐδίου αἶθρη, of the lights of S.Sophia. In our line, ἐπέτασεν is parallel to ῥῖξεν (173) and εὐρεῖαν continues the metaphor. The verb πετάννυμι is regularly used of doors, e.g. Il.21.531, Od.21.50; Procl.Hymn 7.7 (metaph.); Nonn.D.2.704 (quoted sup.), 13.23f (both c.dat. as here), Par.7.159 (metaph.); Tryph.238, inf.328; it appears in this sense with the noun omitted at Theoc. 16.5f τίς.../ἡμετέρας Χάριτας πετάσας ὑποδέξεται οἴκῳ, see Gow ad loc. Paul's metaphor here is clear after ῥῖξεν...κλήθρα πυλῶν (173).

175. εὐφροσύνην..., ὅλας ἥμβλυσε μερίμνας: In a pagan context, this language would appropriately describe the effects of wine, cf. Hor.Epod.9.37f curam...iuvat/dulci Lyaeo solve, id.Carm.1.7.31 vino pellite curas; Nonn.D.17.80 οὐ λύουσι μερίμνας (of milk, contrasted with wine), 47.132 οἶνος..., βροτέης ἄμπαυμα μερίμνης, cf. 17.74, al.simil.; 7.89f ἄμπελον.../εὐφροσύνης κήρυκα, 17.42 εὐφροσύνης δοτῆρα (Dionysus), al.simil., cf. A.P.4.3B.86 (Agath.), 7.329.4 (Anon.), 11.63.4 (Mac.Cons.), and see 311n.inf. on the epithet λαθικηδῆς. Paul uses a similar expression inf.247 εὐφροσύνης...ἄκηδέος; for εὐφροσύνη of the joy brought by the new S.Sophia, cf. also inf.332, 677, 904, (quoted in n.sup.). Apart from its associations with the pleasures

of wine, however, the term is also used of joy or well-being in life, frequently, as here, in contrast to the suffering or care which is so often experienced, e.g. Od.10.465, 23.52, al.; A.R.4.1037, 1167; A.P.9.26.10 (Ant.Thess.); Procl.Hymn 7.48; Orph.Hymn 69.13, al.; Nonn.D.7.10; and of Christian joy, NT Act.Ap.2.28, 14.17, al.; Nonn.Par.8.182, al.; Greg.Nyss.Hom.6 in Eccl.4 (PG.44.708B), Eustrat.V.Eutych.30 (PG.86.2309A), al., see further PGL s.v. For ἡμβλυσε μερίμνας, cf. Emp.fr.2.2 πολλὰ δὲ δεῖλ' ἔμπαϊα, τὰ τ' ἀμβλύνοῦσι μερίμνας (explaining why perceptions are not a reliable guide to truth), ib.fr.110.7 where the final half-line recurs in the context of alternatives to Emp's. system of the universe; Agath.Hist.1.16.3 τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀμβλύνει (the effect of reversal on those accustomed to success); Opp.H.1.300 of blunting the strength of disease; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.287 φῶς ἀμβλύνασα (of autumn), and other exx. of metaph. usage quoted by LSJ s.v. ἀμβλύνω I. (The verb does not occur in Nonnus). Paul uses it literally of the edge of the sickle inf. 315, see n. ad loc. At 386 inf., the expression παραπλάζοντα μερίμνας is used of capitals, supporting arches. Elsewhere (e.g. inf.923, 1016) Paul uses plural μερίμνα in a general sense of that which preoccupies the mind, but here and at 251 it denotes specifically the sorrow caused by the collapse of the dome, a theme developed 176f.

176f. ἐξότε γὰρ, κτλ.: Romanos similarly describes the popular feeling on the destruction of the original church in the Nika Riot, 54 10'7ff. καὶ τὸ πένθος ἦν κοινὸν πάσῃ τῇ πόλει./ ἔκειτο χαμαὶ ὁ θρόνος τῆς ἐκκλησίας; the same theme is expressed more extravagantly at Anon.Monod.in S.Soph. ap. BZ.30 (1929-30) p.41.9ff (on this work see footnote to 150-54n. sup.). But Procopius argues (Aed.1.1.22, also in the context of the Nika destruction), that, had any Christian been shown what J's church would be like, he would have prayed for the immediate destruction of the old one.

ἐξότε: Not uncommon in late poetry, see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.23.25, 38.91, al., Par.8.126, 10.78, al.; A.P.5.296.1,

7.583. 5 (both Agath.), A.P.5.268.3, 283.3, 288.1 (all Paul Sil.).

δοῦπησεν.../κῆδος ἔην ἀλίσστον ἀνὰ πτόλιν: The language is Homeric and anthropomorphic: the verb δουπέω is commonly used of the thud of a victim in combat falling to the ground (cf. 163 sup., with n. ad loc.), while κῆδος denotes mourning or funeral rites, see LSJ s.v. I.2b; in Homer it is frequently plural, but for this sense in the singular, cf. Il.4.270, al., A.R.2.240 ἀδινδὼν κ., 858 ἄτλητον κ., al. With Paul's use of ἀλίσστον here, cf. Il.24.760 γόον, ib.2.420 πόνον = A.R.2.649. (Nonnus uses neither κῆδος nor ἀλίσστος). For ἀνὰ πτόλιν, cf. A.R.1.653, 838, al., Nonn. D.44.125, 47.34.

ἑρισθενῆς ἔργον ἀνάκτων: The epithet is usually applied to gods or men, see LSJ s.v. For Paul's use, cf. GVI 1983.9 (3rd cent. A.D.) ἑ. ἔρμα πολῆος, A.P.9.808.6 (Cyrus) ἑ. θεμέθλοις; also inf. 535 τοίχος ἑρισθενέτης. The plural ἀνάκτων probably means J. and Theodora together, since the name of the empress was inscribed in S. Sophia together with that of J., see 714f inf., and, for similar use of the plural, cf. inf. 270, 554, 798, 802, 810. At 980, however, ἀνάκτων refers to J. alone, see n. ad loc. and Fr.'s nn. here and on 980. Other writers similarly use the plural to denote emperor and empress together, e.g. Romanos 54 κβ'8, cf. Eva C. Topping in BZ 71 (1978) 25, n. 24; other exx. collected by R.C. McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 43.

177-85. The reference to the collapse of the dome in 176f prepares the way for a narrative of the catastrophe, but Paul here breaks off and inserts a new prooemium, following Menander Rhetor's precept (III.372.14ff) that each new section of the encomium be introduced by a prooemium. This prooemium takes the form of a direct appeal to J. to look favourably on Paul's poem, and it thus marks the climax of the series of invocations which have occupied the hexameters so far. In theme, it is linked with the second iambic prologue (81-134, cf. also 68-70), since it is likewise a

captatio benevolentiae and uses the τόλμη-language (τολμήεντι 178, 185) of rhetorical auxesis (see nn.ad locc.citt.sup.). But in its rhetorical grandiloquence and stylistic elaboration, the passage is characteristic of the hexameters (cf.n.sup. on 135-67): the argument is expounded with the aid of paradeigmata (182-84, see further ad loc.), while the style of the opening and closing lines (177-79, 185) is refined by the use of anaphora (ἴλαθι..., / ἴλαθι..., / ἴλῃκοις), hyperbaton (ἴλαθι μύθῳ, / ἴλαθι τολμήεντι) and the resumption of the opening words (ἴλαθι μύθῳ, / ἴλαθι τολμήεντι, μεγασθενές) in chiastic order in the last line (ἴλαθι τολμήεντι, μεγασθενές, ἴλαθι μύθῳ).

177f. ἴλαθι μύθῳ, / ἴλαθι τολμήεντι: For ἴλαθι in auxesis of encomium, cf. Diosc. 5.14 (I.134 Heitsch; = id. 21.24, p.147) ἴλλαθί μοι τρομέοντι (note also τολμήεις, ib. line 11); simil. Synes. Hymn 1.113ff (p.10 Terzhagi) μάκαρ, ἴλαθί μοι· / πάτερ, ἴλαθί μοι, / εἰ παρὰ κόσμον, / εἰ παρὰ μοῖραν / τῶν σῶν ἔθιγον. For Paul's construction with dat.rei, cf. Nonn. D. 19.309f ἀλλὰ σὺ Βάκχαις / ἴλαθι καὶ Σατύροισι καὶ οἰνοδότῃσιν ὀπώραις; elsewhere with dat.pers., Call. Dem. 138, fr. 638; Epigr.Gr. 818.17, 835.a3, 1023.7; Greg. Naz. Carm. 1.2.14.119 (PG. 37.765); ps. Ap. Met.Ps. 56.1; A.P. 5.86.1 (Claud.), 6.87.4 (Anon.), Nonn. D. 19.175, 20.269, al. Absolute ἴλαθι / ἴληθι (sometimes repeated) is found in poetry in appeal to deities or persons of power from Homer onwards, see LSJ and id. Suppl. s.v., adding A.R. 2.693 bis; GVI 2040.7 (1st/2nd cent.); Epigr.Gr. 725.7, 1024.2; Opp. C. 1.22; Procl. Hymn 7.40; Nonn. D. 2.157, 161; A.P. 1.19.11 (Claud.), 1.36.1 (Agath.), 2.143, 144 (Christod.); 5.301.5 (Paul Sil.), 6.40.1 (Mac.Cons.), 11.400.1 (Luc; = Epigr. 11) bis; see also PGL s.v. For similar repetitions in Paul, cf. 152 sup. with n. ad loc. On τόλμη-language in rhetorical auxesis, see n. sup. on 68-70. The epithet τολμήεις is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.; used also in late poetry, Opp. C. 4.210, H. 1.356, al.; Maneth. 2 (1).171; Nonn. D. 23.188, 27.66, al., Par. 3.94, 9.89, al.; Tryph. 433; A.P. 1.34.2, 5.289.7 (both Agath.).

178. μεγασθενές ἦρανε γαίης: Alexandrian poets use ἦρανος in

the sense "guardian", "keeper", A.R.2.513 μῆλων...ἥρανον (Aristaeus), Hermesian.7.16 (p.98 Powell) Μουσαῖος Χαρίτων ἥρανος, ib.22 Ἡσίοδον πάσης ἥρανον ἱστορίης, Simm.13.2 (p.113 Powell) ἥραν' ἁλίων μυχῶν (Doris). Later glossographers recognise also the sense "ruler", which would be appropriate in our context, cf. Hesych. s.v., βασιλεὺς, ἄρχων, σκοπὸς, φύλαξ, Etym.Magn. 436.28 βασιλεὺς, ἢ βοηθός; Suidas cites our line in its gloss on ἥρανος. The compound ἐπιῆρανος is more widely attested in the sense "helping", "ruling" et simil., see LSJ s.v.II. Etymologists distinguish ἐπιῆρανος used in these senses from Homeric ἐπιῆρανος, "pleasing", "acceptable" (Od. 19.343, LSJ s.v.I), which is semantically associated with ἐπίηρος, ἦρα, see Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. ἥρανος, Frisk, Gr. etym.Wörterbuch s.v. ἥρανος, ἐπιῆρανος 1 and 2. The epithet μεγασθενής is applied to J. at A.P. 1.98.2 (Anon.), cf. inf.326. For its use in choral lyric and tragedy see LSJ s.v., and cf. also A.R.1.181; Opp.C. 3.430; Epigr.Gr. 831.1 (2nd cent.); Orph.Hymn 12.1, 13.2, 50.5, al.; Procl.Hymn 6.2, 14, 7.3.

179. ἱλήκοις ἐπέεσσι: Probably "may you pardon my verses", see further n. inf. This is the usual sense in Nonnus, who uses optative ἱλήκω to mitigate a potentially insulting statement (cf. Peek Lex. s.v.), e.g. D. 30.287 ἱλήκοι Διὸς εὐχος, ἀδελφεὸν οὐ σε καλέσω (Athene to Dionysus), 48.361 ἱλήκοι τεὸν εἶδος· ἐγὼ σέο μᾶλλον ἄρειών (Aura to Artemis). For this sense, cf. Coll. 250, A.P. 5.73.3 (Rufin.), 5.299.10, 6.74.5, 16.36.2 (all Agath.); 16.363.3 (Anon., on the charioteer Faustinus); probably also Opp.C. 1.78 where the verb is used in appeal to the deities of sea and woodland for the poet's preference for the theme of hunting, with which cf. id.H. 1.73 where it occurs in the poet's appeal to Poseidon to favour his poem on fishing. The verb is sometimes constructed with dat.pers. (Epigr.Gr. 818.11, Opp.H. loc.cit.), but not elsewhere with dat.rei.

καὶ εἰ τεὸν οὖας ὀρίω: "even if I provoke your ear". The ear

was traditionally the seat of memory, cf. V. Buc. 6.3f Cynthius aurem/vellit et admonuit, with Conington's n. ad loc. Paul's reference to the collapse of the dome will recall unhappy memories. Agathias records that, in seeking to repair the damage caused by the great earthquake of December 557, J. was particularly concerned about S. Sophia (Hist. 5.9.2 ἐπεφρόντιστο δὲ οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὁ μέγιστος τοῦ Θεοῦ ναῶς). But the collapse of S. Sophia was merely the climax of the widespread panic and misery caused by the earthquake itself, during which many people died (Agath. Hist. 5.3.10), see the vivid account of Agathias, Hist. 5.3-5, esp. 5.5.4 οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἦν ἐν τῇ τότε ὁ μὴ λίαν δεδιώς καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένος. The chronographers record (e.g. Mal. 489.9f, Theoph. A.M. 6050, 232.2ff) that at this time J. put aside his imperial στέμμα for thirty days. On conflation of these events in Agathias, see n. inf. on 186-92.

On the distinction between εἰ καί (cf. inf. 241 with n. ad loc.) and καὶ εἰ, see Denniston Greek Particles p. 299ff, and cf. LSJ s.v. καί B.8. The condition here may be described as an "extreme case" (Denn. p. 301, sec. ii), since Paul is asking for pardon despite the fact that his words may remind J. of things which he would prefer to forget, and hence make him disinclined to mercy. For the poetic nom./acc. form οὐᾶς (from οὐᾶ), cf. Simon. 38.20P.; A.P. 7.409.3 (Ant. Sid.); Opp. C. 2.407, 3.92, 505; Orph. Hymn 19.14; Procl. Hymn 2.14, 7.52; Nonn. D. 25.426, (τεὸν οὐᾶς in eadem sede), 16.362, Par. 18.53, 125; Jo. Gaz. Descr. 2.155; A.P. 16.244.2 (Agath.); and, in similar context, Synes. Hymn 5.75f (p. 46 Terzhagi) ἐπ' ἐμοῖς ἴλαον οὐᾶς/τάνυσον χοροῖσιν ὕμνων.

180. βαιὸν ὅσον: "a little". Cf. A.P. 12.227.2 (Strat.) βαιὸν ὅσον παραβᾶς εὐθὺ μεταστρέφομαι. For this use of ὅσον, cf. Theoc. 1.45 τυτθὸν δ' ὅσον ἄπωθεν, with Gow's n. ad loc., citing Opp. H. 4.191; Jo. Gaz. Descr. 2.197 τυτθὸν ὅσον κατὰ βαιὸν ἄέξεται (of Iris); see also LSJ s.v. ὅσας I.6. Adverbial βαιὸν is found elsewhere in late poetry, e.g. A.R. 2.86 στάντε δὲ βαιὸν ἄπωθεν; Opp. H. 1.295 βαιὸν θαρσήσαντες, C. 2.470 δόχμια γὰρ κλίνας βαιὸν κερδέντα μετῶπα, al.; Nonn. D. 22.288 βαιὸν, ὅσον χροὸς ἄκρον

ἀμύξαι, /μηρὸν ἐπιγράψαντα, 37.355 βαιὸν ὑποφθάμενος, al.; Coll.
 110 βαιὸν ὀδεύων; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.296 βαιὸν ἀποιοχομένης; A.P.5.237.
 11 (Agath.) βαιὸν ἵνα κνώσσοιμεν, ib.294.8 (id.) βαιὸν ἀειράμενος,
 7.579.5 (Leont.) βαιὸν ἐπιζήσας, 9.808.10 (Cyrus) βαιὸν ὑπερκύψας;
 cf. inf.942, 968.

180f. μεγάλων γὰρ, κτλ.: In justification, Paul argues that the present joy has obliterated previous sorrow, cf. Romanos 54 κγ'4f ἐν χρόνῳ γὰρ ὀλίγῳ ἀνέστησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν, /ὥς καὶ λήθην ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς πάσχουσι πάντων τῶν δυσκόλων, of J.'s rebuilding of S.Sophia after the destruction of the Nika Riot. For this use of χάρις with genitive, see LSJ s.v.IV and cf. Nonn.D.7.18, 34.96. The use of ἐπέρχομαι of events or conditions is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.I.2.

181. κατηφέα κέντρα: "pangs of gloom". With Paul's use of κατηφής in this context, cf. inf. 204 κατηφεῖη βεβολημένος, 215f οὐδὲ κατηφῆς/ἡρεμέειν τέτληκεν, of J.; Anon.Monod.in.S.Soph.ap BZ 30 (1929-30) 41.12f καὶ κοινὴ σκυθρωπότης καὶ στυγνότης καὶ κατήφεια ἕκασταχοῦ περιειλήφει τὰς πόλεις (on this work, see footnote to n.sup. on 150-54); also Agath.Hist.2.16.6 ἄνδρες δὲ σποράδην ὀλίγιστοι ἀνεφαίνοντο σκυθρωποὶ τε ἄγαν καὶ κατηφεῖς καὶ ὥσπερ τελεώτατα τῷ σφετέρῳ βίῳ ἀπειρηκότες (describing the survivors of the tidal-wave which destroyed Cos in 551), and, in association with death, A.P.16.365.2 (Anon.) on the death of the charioteer Constantine, Theoph.Sim.8.12.5 (307.14 de Boór) of the funeral of the emperor Maurice, cf.Eus.V.Const.4.69 (I.146.16 Heikel), Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.864D), etc. The term carries associations not only of dejection, but of darkness or dimness, see LSJ s.v.2, and cf. Greg.Naz.Or.24.5 (quoted inf. 182-84n.), Nonn.D.1.303f ἄστεροπὴ δ' ἤχλυσε, .../μαρμαρυγῇ σελάγιζε κατηφεί λεπταλέον πῦρ, Tryph.32 φέγγος ὑποκλέψασα κατηφέος ἡματος Ἡῶς (in mourning for her son Memnon), inf. Amb.35f πᾶσαν ἐφαιδρύνασθε κατηφέος ἄντυγα κόσμου/τυφλὸν ἀμειδίτοιο νέφος σκεδάσαντες ὁμίχλης (of the apostles), and 215, 319, 1000 inf. with nn. ad locc. This latter idea is not as prominent here as it

is (for example) at inf.319, Amb.35, but κατηφής does pick up the imagery of 169f, where sorrow and darkness are similarly associated; so κατηφής is used in a contrast like that of 169f sup. at Sophr.H. Or.4 (PG.87.3305D) τὰ κατηφῆ καὶ σκυθρωπὰ καταλύσαντα, καὶ τῶν χαροποιῶν ἡμῖν τὴν αὐγὴν ἐκπετάσαντα (of the Resurrection), cf. Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.864C). The adjective properly refers to people and denotes downcast expression (Od.24.432, A.R.3.504, 4.1344, Nonn.D.12.128, 37.483, al., see further LSJ s.v.), but Paul's use of it with κέντρα (as equivalent to κέντρα κατηφείης) is similar to the usage of Nonnus D., where it is frequently applied by association to things, e.g.5.429 σέο παῖδα κατηφεί κεῖθε κονίη, 11.464f ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκρῶ/...πλοκαμίδα κατηφεί τάμνε σιδηρῶ. This metaph. use of κέντρα is common, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. (plural exx. only) Nonn.D.40.568 κ.πόθοιο, Par.11.69 κ.μερίμνης, Musae.87 κρυφίοισι...κ., A.P.5.302.12 (Agath.) ἀστόργου κέντρα παλιμβολίης; sing. inf.217 κέντρον ἀνίης. The alliterated κ-sound suggests the nagging prick of the goad.

Ληθαίοις ἐκάλυψε...ῥεέθοις : For the use of καλύπτω, cf. Nonn.D. 23.76f ἀναινομένῳ δὲ ῥεέθρῳ/κτεινομένους ἐκάλυψε καὶ ἐπλετο τύμβος Ἰδῆσπης, and ibid. 79, 27.104 Βάκχων ἐχθρὰ κάρηνα ῥοαῖς ποταμοῖο καλύπτων, al. For the reference to Lethe, cf. inf.237. The adj. Ληθαῖος (either "of forgetfulness" as here, or "of Lethe", see LSJ s.v.) occurs first in Alexandrian poetry, Call.Del.234 πτέρον (of Sleep); Lyc.1127 σκότῳ; A.P.9.279.1 (Loll.Bass.) ὀκάτοιο; Orph.Lith.197 of the stone ἀνακτίτης; Procl.Hymn 4.8 ληθαίοις ὑπὸ χεύμασιν; Nonn.D.3.327 στροφάλιγγι, 17.3 ᾄταις, al., Par.14.96 αὔραις. The arrangement of the words reinforces the sense: the κ.κέντρα are literally surrounded by the Ληθαίοις... ῥεέθοις.

182-84. The point of 180f is amplified by the addition of two commonplace examples (παράδειγματα) to illustrate that joy is indeed the greater when it has arisen out of sorrow. The same point is made by the same means at 207 infra. On this technique, cf.

Men.Rhet.368.21f δέχεται δὲ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἐκ παραδειγμάτων ἁορίστων ἀπίστως ἀξήσεις, and see also 150-54 n.sup. on the use of synkrisis in auxesis. The use of commonplace is similarly recognised by rhetoricians as a means of auxesis, e.g. ps.Long. περὶ ὕψους 11.2 τοῦτο δὲ (i.e. αὐξησης) εἴτε διὰ τοπηγορίαν, εἴτε δείκωσιν...γίνοιτο; Rhet.ad Herenn.2.30.47 amplificatio est res quae per locum communem instigationis auditorum causa adsumitur, on the use of amplification in conclusions (not necessarily confined to the end of a speech) with specific reference to judicial oratory: there follows a list of ten appropriate commonplace formulae.

The examples which Paul chooses are of a type standard in contexts of salvation/preservation, cf. Od.23.233ff Odysseus as welcome to Penelope as land to shipwrecked sailors; E.Andr.891ff ὦ ναυτίλοισι χεῖματος λιμὴν φανεῖς / Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ; A.Ag.899f γαῖαν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα, / κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χεῖματος, / ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος (Clytemnestra on Agamemnon's return), with Fraenkel ad loc., who cites (*inter alia*) E.fr.316. 1f Nauck καλὸν μὲν φέγγας ἡλίου τόδε, / καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦμα ἰδεῖν εὐήνεμον, A.P.5.169.1f (Asclep.) ἦδ' ὃν θέρους διψῶντι χιῶν ποτόν, ἦδ' ὃν δὲ ναῦταις / ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν Στέφανον, also Theoc.18.26ff (all three in priamel); A.R.3.815 καὶ τέ οἱ ἥελιος γλυκίων γένητ' εἰσοράσθαι (Medea, after contemplating suicide); Liban.Or.13.16 (II. 68.18ff Foerster) Julian's preservation described in the image of the Dioscuri rescuing his storm-tossed ship; Himer.Or.47 (3). 2 (190.19f Colonna) τινὲς δὲ χειμῶνας καὶ νεφέλας φεύγοντες λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν ἠρώσθησαν ἥλιον, cf. also *ibid.*, line 16f; Jo.Chrys.Saturn. (PG.52.413ff) πολὺν ἐσίγησα χρόνον...· ἀλλ' οὐ ῥαθυμία τινὶ καὶ ὀκνῶ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὰς ταραχὰς καταστέλλων, τὰ κύματα κοιμίζων, τὸν χειμῶνα διορθούμενος, τοὺς ναυαγοῦντας ἀνιμώμενος, τοὺς γινομένους ὑποβρυχίους πρὸς λιμένα καὶ γαλήνην χειραγωγῆσαι σπεύδων; Roman.44 18'6ff ὥσπερ ἡ ἀχλὺς τὸν ἀέρα σκεπάζουσα / τὴν ἡλιακὴν οὐκ ἀμβλύνει λαμπρότητα, ὥσπερ νέφος ἀπελαύνεται ὑπ' ἀνέμου διωχθέν, / τοῦ ἡλίου δὲ μετέπειτα καταλάμπουσιν αὐγαί, / οὕτως καὶ ἡ δουλεία παρελεύσεται αὕτη, κτλ. (Joseph's words); Cor.Laud. Just.2.327ff mollior ut ventis quotiens venit aura remotis /

fluctivagum pelagus, quod tempestate movetur, / mansuetis planatur aquis, tunc solis honore / omnia clara silent tranquillis aequora ripis (not here in the context of salvation, but of the calming of the crowd in the hippodrome). Particularly similar to Paul is Greg.Naz.Or.24.5 (PG.35.1176A) ἐπεὶ γλυκὺ μὲν ἥλιος μετὰ νέφος, ὡς τέως συνεκαλύπτετο· γλυκίον δὲ τὸ ἔαρ, ὅτι μετὰ χειμῶνος κατηφείαν· ἡδίον δὲ μειδιῶσα γαλήνη, καὶ θάλασσα ἠπλωμένη, καὶ ταῖς ἄκταις προσπαίζουσα μετὰ πνευμάτων στάσιν, καὶ ὠδίνοντα κύματα, of the appeal of the sudden conversion of S.Cyprian. (Nautical imagery, such as the voyage of life, is very common in the Cappadocian Fathers, see, for example, M.Guignet, S.Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique, Paris 1911, 144f; J.Nimmo Smith, Romanos the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric, unpubl.Edinburgh Univ. thesis, 1971, 23ff. For more general exx. of light/dark imagery, see n. sup. on 169f).

In Paul, the generalising character of these parallels has an effect similar to that of 166f sup., in lowering the tone before a new section, like the synkriseis of 207-13, 956-58 inf.

182. καὶ φῶς, κτλ.: The καὶ links the first example with the second, "both... and", as usual. The parallel examples at 207 are likewise introduced with gnomic asyndeton, cf. 115 sup. The expression φῶς ἡελίοιο is Homeric, Il.18.61, Od.21.226, al., cf.A.R.4.1019. The comparative form φαάντερος (from φαεινός, cf. Od.13.93 φαάντατος), is first extant in Callimachus, fr.238.16, cf.Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1. 199(PG.37.985), Nonn.D.40.384, 45.126, A.P.9.210.12 (Anon., aet. Anastasii), inf.242, Amb.293; but φαεινότερην is used sup.151. (Spitzner, op.cit.p.26, is surely right to attribute Graefe's φανώτερον to a printer's error).

183. χειμερινὴν μετὰ νύκτα: Cf.Emp.84.2 χ.διὰ νύκτα, Pi.0.6. 100f ἐν χ./νυκτὶ, Tryph.615f ὑπὸ νύκτα/ χ.

ἡμερόεσσα γαλήνη: The epithet here has the sense "lovely", because "longed for", as in the Homeric expression ἱ.γῶος (Od.10. 398), cf.LSJ s.v. ἡμερος 1; so D.P.234 πρῶτοι δ'ἡμερόεντος

ἐπειρήθησαν ἀρότρου, Orph.Hymn 40.9 βίον ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖς
πολύολβον ἀνεῖσα (Eleusinian Demeter), Nonn.D.12.145 ποτόν (wine),
15.338 ὀιστοῦ, al., inf.978 ἁκουήν, of the patriarch Eutychius.

184. ἄνδρας ἁλιπλάγκτους...μᾶλλον ἰαίνει: Ms. θυμὸν, marg.
γρ.μᾶλλον. Fr. follows Graefe and Bekker in printing μᾶλλον in
the text. This is probably correct: (i) if θυμὸν is read,
ἄνδρας ἁλιπλάγκτους must be emended to dative plural (Du Cange)
or genitive singular (Wernicke, see Spitzner, op.cit.p.26);
(ii) the familiarity of the Homeric phrase θυμὸν ἰαίνω would make
this an easy error of transmission (cf.Il.24.119, Od.15.379,
h.Cer.65, 435, A.R.2.306, Theoc.7.29, infra 891; more frequently
in the passive, see LSJ s.v.I.3); (iii) the analogy of 182f
suggests that a comparative is required. The epithet ἁλίπλαγκτος
is found first in Sophocles, Aj.695 Πάν, cf. Epigr.Gr.1033.15
(3rd cent.B.C.) ἔχῃς; A.R.2.11 κέκλυθ'ἁλίπλαγκτοι (subst.); Opp.H.1.
439 γενέθλης (fish), 1.734 κυνᾶς (dog-fish), 4.582 μακάρων; Orph.Arg.
1295 πορείης, cf. 1349; Nonn.D.3.245 μεληδόνοσ; A.P.6.65.7 (Paul
Sil.) Τρίτωνος.

μετὰ κύματα: Cf.Nonn.D.περιοχή 77 μετὰ κύματα λεύσσεις/Δηριάδην,
περιοχή 71 = 35.361 μετὰ κύματα λύσσης.

186-213. The collapse of the dome. The foundations of the church were strong, but the dome collapsed; the whole city shook, the earth groaned and the sky grew dark (186-92). But Christ prevented anyone from being killed by the dome's collapse (193-97). Nor did the church collapse altogether, but only the great eastern arch and part of the dome, which thus presented an amazing spectacle (198-203). Everyone was grief-stricken: do not upbraid me for recalling this grief, since our present joy is increased as a consequence of it. Men's grief was greater than that caused by natural disasters of fire and flood (204-13).

The narrative is enlivened, in a manner now characteristic, by the apostrophe of Christ (193ff), whose good offices are contrasted, in a similarly characteristic blend of Christian and pagan, with the malicious Telchines (cf. Phthonos 160ff sup., and see 195n. inf. Note the judicious placing of the two opposed forces at either end of the sentence 193-95). The account concludes (205ff) with the same justification for recalling grief as at 180ff, but here elaborate similes in the epic manner (208ff) are used to emphasise the depth of despair which ensued.

186-92. The account opens dramatically (ἡδὴ) with the collapse of the dome, picking up the reference of 176 sup., see n. inf. on 198-203 on the precise area of the collapse. The δ' of 188 is in immediate contrast to the μὲν of the opening line (since ἐτίναξεν is transitive): hence the punctuation of Graefe and Bekker is preferable to that of Fr., i.e. comma rather than colon after ἄντυξ (187), and probably colon instead of comma after μελάθρου (so Bekker). In lines 189-92 Paul apparently slides into a more general description of the earthquake which precipitated the collapse of the dome. This transition may be indicated by the

change of subject in 189, although the series of parallel δὲ-clauses which follow on from that of 188 might suggest that Paul is still describing the tremendous impact of the collapse of the dome. This reiterated δὲ is perhaps intended to give the flavour of Homeric narrative to the account, cf. 162f sup. with n. ad loc. If it is right to take 189-92 as a general description of the earthquake, then Paul is conflating events for dramatic effect, just as Agathias does in his account in the Hist., see A.Cameron, Agathias (Oxford 1970) Appendix C, p.142. The great earthquake which damaged S.Sophia lasted from 14th-23rd December 557 (Agath. Hist. 5.3-9; Mal. 488f; Theoph. A.M. 6050, p.231.14ff; Anon.ap.J.A. Cramer, Anecdota graeca parisiensia II, Oxford 1839, p.113.31ff*; Mich.Syr. IX.29, II.245f Chabot; cf. Stein B-E II.758). The dome, however, did not collapse until the following May (Tuesday 7th at the fifth hour), whilst repair work upon the cracks caused by the earthquake was in progress (Stein B-E II.460; Anon.ap.Cramer p.114.14. Theophanes, A.M. 6051, p.232.26, gives the day and the month, Malalas 489f the correct year, see Cameron loc.cit.n.4). A modern analysis of the structural problems of the design of S.Sophia suggests that the earthquake of 557 was not in fact the primary cause of the collapse, but that "it merely sought out an inherent weakness" in the design, see R.Mainstone in Architectural History 12 (1969) 39ff, esp.46.

186. ἤδη μὲν: For the opening, cf. inf. 315 ἄρτι μὲν, and for μὲν introducing a new section, inf. 354, 806, Amb. 148, 297, al.

σθεναροῖσιν ἐπεμβεβαῖα θεμελίοις: "mounted upon mighty foundations", since the main body of the church remained firm. The point is frequently emphasised, e.g. inf. 198f, 265f, 272ff, also 369 of the great eastern arch, 452f of the four main piers; cf. Trypanis,

* On this source, see 1n.sup., footnote **.

Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica (Wiener byz. Studien, Band V, Wien 1968) XII ζ'6 ἐν ἄρρεύσῳ γὰρ εὐδοκίᾳ θεοῦ τεθεμελίωται ὁ ναὸς τῆς <θεοῦ> Σοφίας; also elsewhere in ekphrasis of buildings, A.P.1.10.51 (Anon., on the church of S.Polyeuktos) προβέβηκε βαθυρρίζοισι θεμέθλοισι, A.P.9.808.6 (Cyrus) ἡμετέροις δ' ὑπένερθεν ἐρισθενέεσσι θεμέθλοισι, cf. ib.2, on Maximus' house. Paul uses similar expressions with ἐπεμβαίνω inf. 367f, 406f, Amb.62, cf. Tryph.41 Ἰλίου ἄκλινέεσσιν ἐπεμβεβαῦτα θεμέθλοισι, Opp.C.3.280 κείνοισιν ἐπεμβεβαῦτα πεδίλοισι, also ib.1.510, H.4.339f. The verb more commonly governs a genitive when used in this sense, e.g. Il.9.582, A.R.2.1144, 4.1681, Nonn.D.2.701, 48.310, Par.21.15, Proc.Aed.1.1.27 αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς πόλεως) οὔσα καὶ ἐπεμβαίνουσα, of S.Sophia rising above the rest of Cpl.; cf. 308 and 935 inf., where the noun ἐπεμβάς is constructed with a genitive, see nn. ad locc. Paul uses the form θέμειλα (=θεμείλια, inf. 269, see n. ad loc.; θέμεθλα) at the line end, inf. 189, 198, 369, 453, 753, Amb.278; it occurs only in late poetry, pl., Epigr.Gr.1078.3; sing., Call.Dian.248, A.P.14.115.1 (Anon., Byz.), 9.649.1 (Mac. Cons.), inf.275 (if the ms. reading is correct, see n. ad loc.). For σθεναρός (once in Homer, Il.9.505 Ἄτη), see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.4.543 Ἄλλον; A.P.12.200.2 (Strato) ἀντίθεσιν; Opp.H.3.306 βραχίονες, C.1.100 ὤμων, al.; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.23.18 βασιλεὺς, 67.40 κλισίην, al.; A.P.9.799.2 (Anon., Byz.) πίστιν; not in Nonnus.

187. σφαίρης ἡμιτόμοιο...θέσκελος ἄντυξ: "the vault of the hemisphere", i.e. the dome. Paul uses a variety of periphrases for the dome, see Fr.'s list, p.124, n.3, adding 267 κορυφῇ περίμετρος, 299 εὐπήληξ οἶκος, 509 σφαῖρα ἡμίτομος. Fr. notes that the historians Agathias (Hist.5.9.4) and Procopius (Aed.1.1.45 σφαιροειδῆς θόλος) also avoid the chronographers' word τροῦλλος, Lat. trulla (Theoph.A.M.6051, 232.28, Mal. 489.19). Evagrius, in his account of S.Sophia (HE 4.31, 180.6ff Bid.-Parm.), similarly prefers θόλος (180.12) and ἡμισφαῖριον (180.14f, 181.4). Agathias' studied vagueness (Hist. loc.cit. τὸν ἐν μέσῳ ὑπερανέχοντα εἴτε κύκλον εἴτε ἡμισφαῖριον εἴτε ὅτῳ δὴ οὖν ὀνόματι παρ' αὐτοῖς [the

architects] ἐπικεκλημένον) suggests that there was no recognised expression for "dome" which was acceptable to his literary taste (cf. A. Cameron, *Agathias*, Oxford 1970, 80), in spite of the fact that θόλος (Proc. and Evagr. locc. cit. sup., Proc. Aed. 1.1.56, 1.8.13, 1.10.9, Evagr. HE 2.3, p. 40.20 Bid.-Parm., etc.) has Homeric authority (Od. 22.442, 459, 466). For a detailed study of this term, see F. Robert, *Thymélè* (Paris 1939) 46ff, and cf. Du Cange *Comm. in Paul Sil.*, sec. 33, p. 90f Bonn. Paul's σφαῖρα ἡμίτομος (cf. 483 inf.; *simil.* Jo. Gaz. Descr. 1.119 σφαίρης ὑψιπόροιο *in eadem sede*) is a poetic variation of the historians' ἡμισφαίριον; the epithet ἡμίτομος is not uncommon in late poetry, Mosch. 2.88 ἄντυγος (of a bull's horns, or the horns of the moon, see Bühler's n. ad loc.); Greg. Naz. Carm. 1.1.3.38 (PG. 37.411A) of Eve, cut from Adam's rib; Nonn. D. 37.107 (λίθος) ἡμιτόμου κύκλοιο φέρων τύπον, εἰκόνα μήνης, 37.469 βοείης, al.; Eudoc. Cypr. 1.61 (PG. 85.833D) ἡμιτόμους πρησθεῖσα νεφροῦς (v.l. πρησθεῖσαν ὀφρεῖς) πυρί (of a virgin tormented by a demon); Georg. Pisid. Sev. 612 (PG. 92.1668A) of God, not dissected by incarnation. Homer uses ἄντυξ ("edge or rim of anything round or curved", LSJ) of the rim of a shield or a chariot-rail (see LSJ s.v. I); but in later poetry it is frequently used at a cosmic/universal level, e.g. of the vault of heaven, Greg. Naz. Carm. 1.1.17.67 (PG. 37.444), A.P. 8.1.3 (attr. Greg. Naz.), Nonn. D. 1.210, al., Par. 3.66; of the zones or orbits of heavenly bodies, Nonn. D. 2.616, 38.322, al., Jo. Gaz. Descr. 2.116, A.P. 9.807.3 (Anon., 7th cent.); of the earth/universe, Nonn. D. 41.302, al., ps. Ap. Met. Ps. 45.17, al., inf. Amb. 35; other exx. LSJ s.v. II.3. At 338 inf., Paul too has οὐρανίας ἄντυγας, "vaults of heaven", to which at 348f the church is compared, οὐρανίας δὲ ἄχράντους ἐδόκησεν (sc. ὁ δῆμος) εἰς ἄντυγας ἵχνια θέσθαι. It is no doubt with its cosmic associations in mind that he here uses ἄντυξ of the vault of the dome, which is itself later specifically likened to heaven, 490f, 530f, see further n. sup. on 173f. For this use of ἄντυξ, cf. A.P. 1.10.70 (Anon.) ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος ἀλλῆς, of the location of a depiction of Constantine, probably in the vaulting of the narthex of the church of S. Polyeuktos. Later in the poem, Paul uses ἄντυξ in

other architectural contexts, in the sense "arch", 370, 398, 516, 536, 682; cf. 458 rainbow likened to arch (a similar comparison is made in the anonymous Syriac hymn on the church of S.Sophia at Edessa, verse 7, transl.C.Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, New Jersey, 1972, p.58. Jo.Gaz. uses ἄντυξ of a rainbow, Descr.2. 176); of the circular cornice on which the dome rests, 403, 481, 483, 813, 864, 869; of the projecting curve formed by the east end of the church 419; of external curves 613; of the architrave of the ambo Amb.192. On the vague use of architectural terms in post-classical writers, with a discussion of σφαῖρα and ἄντυξ, see G.Downey, TAPA 77 (1946) 22-34. (Downey takes ἄντυξ here to refer to the cornice on which the dome rests, p.28, but a more general reference to the dome as a whole is preferable in the context). For the epithet θεσκελος, see 144n.sup.

κατήριπε: This intransitive use of the strong aorist of κατερείπω in the sense "fall down", "collapse" is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.II. The perfect is used in the same sense of the collapse of a wall at Il.14.55, quoted by LSJ. Cf. also A.R.4.1686 πρυμνόθεν ἑξαγεῖσα κατήριπεν, of a half-hewn pine, Nonn.D.38.21 καὶ πολὺς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατήριπε πυρσὸς ἀλήτης, of bolts falling from heaven, ib.162 διωτῇ στροφάλιγγι κατήριπεν εἰς μέλαν ὕδωρ, of the boy Phaethon in play (cf.Theoc. loc.cit.LSJ), inf.975 of the collapse of the Devil.

188. ἔτίναξεν ἐδέθλια πάντα: Cf.Anon.Laud.Beryt.50 (I.96 Heitsch) καὶ σέο πάντα τίναξε θεμεῖλια, of the earthquake which destroyed Smyrna in A.D.178. The form ἐδέθλιον (=ἔδεθλον, ἔδαφος) is not found before the Alexandrian period; plural: Call.Ap.62, A.R.4.630, Nonn.D.13.369, 29.342, al., inf.Amb.159; singular: Call.fr.12.4, Del.228, Nonn.D.3.258, 48.33, al., Par.4.215, A.P.9.656.20 (Anon., aet.Anastasii), inf.Amb.174.

μυστιπόλου...μελάθρου: "of the house of holy mysteries", i.e.S.Sophia. Du Cange assumed that the reference is to the

patriarchal palace (aedisque patriarchalis), which was indeed close to S.Sophia (see n.sup. on lemma after line 80), but this is unnecessary. Certainly μέλαθρον often means "house" or "palace" (see LSJ s.v.II.1, PGL s.v.2 and cf. Nonn.D.46.63, 68, al., A.P.16.41.5, Agath.), but it is also used of a shrine, temple or church, Pi.P.5.40, Call.Ap.2, Nonn.Par.2.95, A.P.1.10.63 (Anon., 6th cent.). Likewise substantival μυστιπόλος (which occurs only in late Greek) regularly denotes one who solemnizes mysteries, i.e. a priest (pagan or Christian), e.g. Epigr.Gr.824.5, 957.2; Orph.Hymn 48.6, 49.2, al.; Nonn.D.12.19, 65, 13.189, Par.1.65, 9.161, al.; Eudoc.Cypr.2.261 (PG.85.856B); A.P.9.806.4 (Anon.) of Sergius, patriarch of Cpl. A.D.608-39; inf.758, cf. 362f θώκους/μ., of the synthronon of S.Sophia. As an adjective, however, it is also used more generally of that which is connected with mysteries, "mystic", "holy", e.g. Epigr.Gr.822.8 δαΐδας, 823.6 ἡμασι; Orph.Hymn 25.10 προνοίαις, 79.12 τελετάς, al.; Nonn.D.24.39 αἰοιδῆς, 40.296 νάρθηκας, al., Par.7.50 ἑορτῆς, 11.225 Ἱεροσολύμων; Eudoc.Cypr.2.2 (PG.85.848A) (Χριστοῦ) πίστις; A.P.2.115 (Christod.) φόρμιγγι; inf.585 βίβλοις.

189. πάντα δ' ὑπεσκίρτησεν, κτλ.: Cf. Agath.Hist.5.3.3 (on the earthquake of 557) ἅπαντα εὐθὺς ἐκ βάθρων αὐτῶν ἔδονεῖτο, *ibid.* sec.9 πῇ δὲ κίονες ἐν ὑπερώῳ τινὶ δωματίῳ ἰδρύμενοι ἀνηκοντίζοντο τῇ βίᾳ τοῦ βρασμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐχομένους οἴκους ὑπεραλάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πορρωτέρω, καθάπερ διασφενδονηθέντες, ἐκ τοῦ μετεώρου κατεφέροντο καὶ ἅπαντα διερρήγνυνον. Paul's ὑποσκιρτάω is very rare, and only elsewhere attested in prose (Ael.NA 7.8, Philostr.Imag.1.9, 14, ps.Greg.Nyss.Ep.26, PG.32.1093A), but there is no reason to follow Graefe in writing the more common compound ἐπισκιρτάω (A.P.5.103.3, Rufin., 12.10.1, Strato; Nonn.D.40.239, 41.192, al., Par.13.84, Musae.277). The preposition ὑπό is more appropriate to the context than ἐπί, and the anaphora πάντα δ' ὑπεσκίρτησεν..., / γὰρ δ' ὑπεστενάρχιζεν... is then a deliberate effect (cf. n.inf. on 1018-26 for the use of rhyming line-ends). Nonnus similarly coins the compound ὑποσκαίρω at D.8.21 instead of his usual ἐπισκαίρω (D.24.123,

44.249, al.). Both βάθρα and θεμείλων mean "foundations"; for the latter, see n.sup. on 186, and for βάθρα in this sense, see LSJ s.v.3, adding Nonn.D.41.266, Agath.Hist.5.3.3 (quoted sup.), ib. 5.9.2; cf. also Orph.Hymn 23.5f ὅς κλονέεις Διοῦς ἱερὸν βάθρον , ἥνικα πνοιᾶς/έννουχίοις κευθμῶσιν ἔλαυνομένως ἀποκλείης, of Nereus, who is in the following line asked to avert earthquakes.

190. γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενᾶχιζεν: Cf. Il.2.781f γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενᾶχιζε Διὶ ὥς τερπικεραῦν/χωμένω, of the Achaean battle-charge, also ib.2.95, Hes.Th.843 (with West's n. on the variants; Spitzner, op.cit.p.26f, discusses the possibility that Paul may have written ὑπεστονᾶχιζεν, but there is no evidence to suggest that this is likely). Du Cange wrote ἐπεστενᾶχιζεν, refuted by the Homeric precedent, by contextual suitability and by the ms. reading. Agathias (Hist.5.3.4) similarly records "subterranean thunder", ἐπεὶ καὶ ἦχος τις βαρὺς καὶ ἄγριος, ὥσπερ χθονία βροντή, ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναπεμπομένη ἐπηκολούθει τῷ κλῶνι καὶ ἐδιπλασίαζε τὰς ἐκπλήξεις; cf. Mich.Syr.9.21 (II.193 Chabot) who, describing an earthquake earlier in J's reign, speaks of a sound like a bull bellowing from the earth.

ἐπὶ χρόνον: "for a long time", cf. A.R.1.793, Nonn.D.6.169, 47.716, al.

190-92. ἡερίαις δὲ , κτλ.: The dust cloud; cf. Agath.Hist. 5.3.4 (continuation of passage quoted sup.) ὅ τε περίγειος ἄηρ ὁμίχλη καπνώδει οὐκ οἶδα ὅθεν ἀναχυθείσῃ κατεμελαίνετο , also ib.2. 16.5 on the dust cloud following the tidal wave which struck Cos. Paul emphasises the horror of the gloom by the choice of vivid language in 192 to describe the brightness which was obscured.

190f. ἡερίαις δὲ/...νεφέλησιν: Cf. A.P.9.343.2 (Arch.) ἡερίης κόλπων...νεφέλης, Orph.Hymn 21.1 ἄεριοι νεφέλαι, Nonn.D.45.135 ἡ. νεφέων. The sense "of the air", "airy" is usual in late poetry, e.g. Orph.Hymn pr.32, 20.2, al.; Opp.H.2.397, C.1.47, al.; Nonn.D.23.

265, 34.306, al., Par.3.43, 91; Tryph.118, 608; Coll.381; Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.266, 328; A.P.11.372.4 (Agath.); cf. LSJ s.v.2.

191. ὀμιχλήεσσα κονίη: A variation of Homer's κονίης...ὀμίχλην (Il.13.336). In Homer, ὀμίχλη is mist or fog (LSJ s.v.1), but later it is used generally of cloud-like darkness or gloom, often of night, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. A.P.9.675.1 (Anon.) ἀφέγγεα νυκτὸς ὀμίχλην; Nonn.D.4.122 μία νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη, 38.19 κρυπτόμενον Φαέθοντα μεσημβριᾶς εἶχεν ὀμίχλη (solar eclipse), al., Par.6.67 μελαγκρῆδεμος ὀμίχλη (cf. NT Ev.Jo.6.17 σκοτία ἤδη ἐγγέγονει), 9.7 ὄμμα γενεθλιᾶς εἶχεν ὀμίχλη, of a blind man, al.; Tryph.310f μερόπων γένος, οἷσιν ὀμίχλη/ἄσκοπος; Musae.232 κυανόπεπλος... νυκτὸς ὀμίχλη, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.245 κῶνον ὀμίχλης, al. Later (inf. 905, 1000, Amb. 36), Paul uses ὀμίχλη in metaph. dark/light contrasts, see n. inf. on 1000 for examples of its use elsewhere in such contrasts, both literal and metaph., and cf. n. inf. The adjectival form ὀμιχλήεις appears first in Nonnus, D.28.173 λαῶ, 35.276 βερέθρῳ; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.92 βελέμνω, 2.200 νύσσαν; conj. Hermann for ἀμιχθαλόεντος at Coll.208 ἥερος. In preferring the unaspirated form ὀμίχλη (against the ms. and all editors), I follow Keydell and Peek, who prefer this form in Nonnus, cf. Ludwig's n. on inf.Amb.36, op.cit.p.24.

192. οὐρανίης ἀμάρυγμα, κτλ.: "hid the midday sparkle of the clear sky of heaven". Nonnus uses ἀμάρυγμα of daylight, D.18. 166 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥοδέοις ἀμαρύγμασιν ἄγγελος Ἡοῦς/ ἀκροφαῆς ἐχάραξε λιπόσκιον ὄρθρος ὀμίχλην. Elsewhere Paul uses it of the gleam of marble (inf.545), the bright gleam of an eye (inf.998, see further ad loc.) and the sheen of human flesh (A.P.5.259.3. So at A.P.16. 77.3, 4. Paul uses μαρμαρυγὴν both of sunlight and of the beauty of the empress Theodora). To the examples of μεσημβρινός, "noontide" in late poetry collected by LSJ s.v.I, add A.R.4.1505, Call.Lav.Pall.72, 73, Opp.C.1.299, 2.17, Nonn.D.5.602, 48.307. The closest parallels to Paul's οὐρανίης...αἰθρῆς are (e.g.) A.R.4.297 ἀκτῖνος, Nonn.D.17.9 ἀκτῖνα (metaph.), 28.193 φέγγεος, of lightning; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.95 λαμπτήρος. Nonnus does not use

αἴθρη, but the term is Homeric, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.P.11.106.1 (Lucill.), 12.194.1 (Strat.); GVI 2026.6 (2nd cent.A.D.); Opp. H.3.635; A.P.9.275.3 (Mac.Cons.); metaph. inf.904. The verb σκέπω, although originally a prose form, is found elsewhere in late poetry, Nonn.D.2.6 νέφος ἔσκεπε Κῶδμον, 18.155 ἐσπερίη χθόνα πάσαν ὑπόσκιος ἔσκεπεν ὄρβνη, al.; A.P.5.294.4, 7.572.4 (both Agath.).

193-97. Christ prevented the collapse of the dome from causing bloodshed. The fact that the collapse caused no loss of life, if correct, is indeed remarkable: Agathias (Hist.5.3.10) and Malalas (489.4) record that many people died in the earthquake, and, according to the chronographers (Mal.490.1ff, Theoph.A.M.6051, 232.26ff), the dome of S.Sophia collapsed while Isaurians were working to repair the damage caused by the earthquake. On the style of this passage, see introductory note sup. on 186-213.

193. Χριστὲ μάκαρ: Cf. A.P.1.30.1 (Anon.). Vocative μάκαρ is still sometimes applied to pagan deities in the 6th cent. (A.P.6.30.5, Mac.Cons., of Poseidon; A.P.6.54.11, Paul Sil., of Apollo; A.P.6.167.1, Agath., of Pan), but it is also regularly used of God, Christ et. simil., e.g. Method. Symp.11.2 (PG.18.208D), al.; Epigr.Gr.1060.2, Greg. Naz. Carm.2.1.1.110 (PG.37.978), al.; Nonn. Par.11.75, al.; ps. Ap. Met. Ps.27.1, al.; Eudoc. Cypr.1.91 (PG.85.836C); Synes. Hymn 7.2 (p.48 Terzhagi); A.P.1.35.4 (Agath.), 1.95 (Anon.); other exx. PGL s.v.1. See also 224n. inf.

οὐ δὲ: For the postponement of δὲ after a vocative, common in "serious poetry", see Denniston Greek Particles p.189, sec.2.

σεῖο κατ' ἑνδία: "over your seat". The adjective ἑνδιος appears in Homer (Il.11.726, Od.4.450) in the sense "at noon". Later poets use it in this sense, as well as other senses connected with the meaning of the root δῖϕι "daylight", "sky", see LSJ s.v. I.1-3 and etymology (fin.); they also use the term as a neuter substantive, "noon", or "evening" (LSJ s.v. ἑνδιος II). It is first used

substantivally of place at Opp.H.4.371 ἔνδια πέτρης, cf. GVI 1932. 6 (2nd cent. A.D.) σοὶ δὲ Λυκαονίῃ ἔνδιον ἢ Πιτάνῃ, where it denotes "a place of sojourn in the open air", see LSJ s.v. ἔνδιον, Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. ἔνδιος and cf. Eustath. on Od. 4.450 (p.177.11ff ed. Lips.). who cites the Oppian passage to exemplify the sense διατριβή (a gloss which is also preserved inter alia in Hesychius, s.v. ἔνδια) and adds, οὐκ ἂν δὲ ἀπᾶδοι (i.e. Oppian) ἔνδιον ἐρμηνεύσαι καὶ τὸν ὥς εἰπεῖν ἐναέριον (followed by exposition at length). This local use (sing. and pl.) is adopted by Nonnus, who, with the exception of Par. 14.93, always constructs the term with defining genitive, as in our line, e.g. D. 11.56, al. ἔνδια λόχμης, 37.94 ἔνδιον Ἰδης, al., Par. 12.49 ἔνδια κώμης, 14.110 ἔνδιον ἄστρον, al.; also metaph., D. 41.146 ἔνδιον Εὐφροσύνης, of the city of Beroe. Cf. A.P. 9.426.2 (Jo.Barb.) ἔνδιον εἰδῶλων (of Berytus after an earthquake), ib. 668.8 (Mac.Cons.) χώρον Ἀμαδρυάδων ἔνδιον, 11.63.4 (id.) ἔνδιον Εὐφροσύνης (of a wine-cask); so ἐνδιῶ is used in late poetry in the sense "haunt", see LSJ s.v. Paul uses the term again to denote the church or areas of it in periphrastic expressions where the sense is little more than "region", inf. 354 (quoted by Suidas s.v. ἔνδια), 545f, 902, Amb. 50, also Amb. 138 ἐς ἔνδια μυγδόνος ἄκρης.

χεῖρα τανύσσας: Cf. Nonn. D. 37.632 χειρὶ τανύσση in eadem sede; also D. 2.234f, Par. 20.127, 21.111; παλάμας τανύσσας, D. 1.154, 15. 137.

194. αἵμασιν... ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνουσι μιῆναι: The verb μιαίνω is normally constructed with simple instrumental dative, e.g. Il. 16.795f μίανθησαν δὲ ἔθειραι/αἵματι καὶ κονίῃσι, al. simil., see LSJ s.v. 2, Nonn. D. 24.20 φονίῃ ῥαθάμιγγι Ποσειδάωνα μιαίνω, al., Par. 8.108 μιαίνετε χεῖρας ὀλέθρῳ, Agath. Hist. 1.2.5 οὐδὲ αἵματι ἐμφυλίῳ τὴν πατρίδα ἔγνωσαν μιαίνειν, cf. 1.7.5 (quoted in n. inf. on 195-97), other exx. 929n. inf. But for the use of ὑπό and dative instead of simple dat.instr., see n. sup. on 172. Plural αἶμα is rare (LSJ s.v. I.1 give instances from tragedy); Paul perhaps intends to suggest that the blood of more than one person is in question. For the

use of the epithet ἀνδροφόνος here, cf. Orph.Hymn 65.4 αἵματι ἄ. χαίρων, of Ares, and cf. 136f sup. τροπαίοις/...τυραννοφόνους where "tyrant-slaying trophies" stands for "trophies of slain tyrants" as "man-slaying blood" here means "blood of slain men". See also 138n. sup. on Paul's liking for compounds in -φόνος. The epithet ἀνδροφόνος is used by Homer of Hector (Il.24.724, al.) and of the hands of Achilles (Il.18.317), see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.4. 701 subst.; GVI 922.6 ληστῆς; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.4.49 (PG.37.419) κακίης, ib.1.1.7.74 (col.444) ἄ. κακοῦ βασιλῆος; Orph.Lith.545 ὅσσε (of the Gorgon); Maneth.1(5).136 σιδήρου, ib.149 δοῦρασιν; A.P.9. 378.1 (Pallad.) subst.; Nonn.D.29.96 δίσκῳ, 30.325 κυδοιμοῦ, al.; Tryph.482 σιωπῆς, 544 κολοσυρτῶ; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.139.6 ἄσπίδος; Epigr.Gr.1140.4 βάσκαν[ος, ἀν]δ[ρ]οφόνου[ς], of Satan; A.P.9.210.6 (Anon.; aet.Anastasii) πολέμοιο, 11.60.2 (Paul Sil.) φροντίδα, Agath.Hist.2.7.2 subst.

194f. μεθέγκας...μιῆναι/...Τελχίνας: For the construction of μεθίημι with acc. and inf. in the sense "allow", see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v. I.1a, K-G. II.75, sec.484.29, and cf. A.P.9.378.11 (Pallad.), Nonn.D.22.57f.

195. Τελχίνας κακοεργέας: The Telchines were early inhabitants of Rhodes, sometimes identified or associated with the Curetes, Corybantes and Dactyli, and renowned as craftsmen, particularly as metalworkers, and as wizards, their name being connected by ancient etymologists with θέλγειν (cf. Hesych.s.v. Θελγίνες· οἱ Τελχίνες· γόητες, πανοῦργοι, φαρμακευταί), see D.S.5.51.1-56.2, Strabo 14.2.7, cf. 10.3.7, 19, Eustath. on Il.9.525 (771.44ff ed. Lips. = 788.11ff Van der Valk). Discussions of these and other sources can be found (for example) in C.A. Lobeck Aglaophamus (Königsberg 1829, repr. Darmstadt 1961) 1181ff; H. van Gelder Geschichte der alten Rhodier (Haag 1900) 44ff; Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Telchines (Vol.V.66f); and esp. the comprehensive article by Herter (with additional bibliography) ap. Pauly RE ser.2, Halbband 9 (1934) cols.197-224. Good and evil Telchines are distinguished in some sources, but by the time of Suetonius their

name was a byword for evil, a further source on the Telchines being Suetonius' discussion in his περὶ βλασφημιῶν (ed.M.E.Miller, Mélanges de littérature grecque, Paris 1868, p.417), a work used by Eustathius, among other sources, for his note on Il. loc.cit. (771.57ff ed Lips.= 789.1ff Van der Valk, see V.'s n. ad loc.).

From the Alexandrian period onwards, the Telchines are regularly referred to as malignant and jealous creatures, e.g. Call.fr.1.1, 7, 17 Pf. (here connected with βασκανία, see further inf.), fr.75. 65; A.P.11.321.2 (Phil.Thess.); Nonn.D.14.36ff, 30.226, al.

In later antiquity they are considered to be demons, hostile to mankind, e.g. Greg.Naz.Or.4.101 (PG.35.636B) τίνες Τελχῖνες πονηροὶ, καὶ βάσκανοι δαίμονες (sc. τοῦτ' ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγε);, cf. Suidas s.v. Τελχῖνες· πονηροὶ δαίμονες. ἢ ἄνθρωποι φθονεροὶ καὶ βάσκανοι, and see RE loc.cit. col.210 for many other exx. of Telchines as hostile to men. As πονηροὶ δαίμονες, the Telchines belong to the same milieu as the concepts of Phthonos (see n. sup. on 160-63, and cf. Nonn.D.8.106ff ἄνδρομέοις δὲ/ὄμμασι καὶ πραπίδεσσιν ὁμοίως ἔσσυτο κάπνῳ, / εἰς δόλον, εἰς κακότητα νόον Τελχῖνα κορύσσων, of Phthonos) and Βασκανία (cf. exx. quoted sup. for association of Telchines and βασκανία, together with other exx. ap. RE col.

206f, where the connection of the Evil Eye with the Telchines is also discussed, see further 221n.inf. and cf. Fr.'s n. on our line).

Also related is Μῶμος, e.g. Call.Ap.113, A.P.1.103.1 (Anon.), Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.31ff (PG.37.581), ib.2.2.1.368 (col.1477), Eudoc.Cypr.1.84 (PG.85.836B), Chor.Laud.Marc.2.56 (42.2 Foerst.-Richtst.). On the attraction of such concepts to classicising writers like Paul, see n. sup. on 160-63. Bartelink (loc.cit. in 160-63n., p.39f) notes that the malignance of the Devil was particularly manifest against the prosperity of the Church and the extension of Christianity, compare the passage from Eustratius V.Eutyech. cited 160-63n sup. In our passage it is implied that the Telchines caused the collapse of the dome, just as the same act is attributed to Βασκανίη and Μεγαίρα at 221 inf. and to a δαίμων ἀντίβιος at 273. For the Devil's involvement in this kind of activity, cf. Eudoc.Cypr.1.48 (PG.85.833C) ἄστεα συγκλόνεον (corr. Ludwich e συγκλονέω), καὶ τείχεα

κάββαλον αἰπά, spoken by the κακοεργῆς δαίμων summoned by Cyprian. The form κακοεργῆς (= κακοεργός, κακοῦργος) used by Paul and Eudocia (op.cit. line 23, col.833B) is rare, cf. Maneth.1.249 βίη, 315 θυμῷ, 259 ζήλῳ; Epigr.Gr.818.15 subst.; Nonn.D.35.264 Ἡρης.

195-97. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔτλης, κτλ.: Christ did not allow blood to be shed in His church because Christian sacrifice is bloodless (i.e. the Eucharist), unlike that of pagan religions, as exemplified by the Telchines. The bloodshed involved in animal sacrifice was an aspect of paganism especially repugnant to Christians, see, for example, Eudoc.Cypr.1.44f (PG.85.833C) θυηλὰς/ ἀνθρώπους ῥέζειν βλοσυρῷ κατεμήνυσα ταύρῳ, a further credential offered by the κακοεργῆς δαίμων to Cyprian (cf.n.sup.); Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica XII.15' 1f νοητῶς αἱ θυσίαι ἔνταῦθα ἐν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ οὐκ ἐν κνίσσαις καπνῶν καὶ αἱμάτων ῥοαῖς/ ἀνευδότως θεῷ εἰς ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας προσάγονται, on S.Sophia; Agath. Hist.1.7.4f τὴν γε μὴν τῶν θυσιῶν ὡμότητα καὶ κακοδαιμονίαν οὐκ οἶδα εἰ οἶόν τε λόγῳ ἀκέσασθαι,...(5) ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι μηδέν τι εἶναι τὸ ἡδόμενον βωμοῖς αἵματι μαινομένοις καὶ ζῶων ὀλέθρῳ βιαιοτάτῳ· εἰ δέ γε ἄρα καὶ ὁτιοῦν τὰ τοιάδε προσίεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἴη οὐδὲ ἡμερον, ἄγριον δέ τι ἴσως καὶ μανιώδες, ὁποῖον τὸν Δεῖμον ἀναπλάττουσι μάτην οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὸν φόβον Ἐνυῶ τέ τινα καὶ Ἄτην καὶ Ἑριν, ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖ φαίεν, τὴν ἀμαιμάκετον, discussed by R.C.McCail in Byzantion 41 (1971) 252.

The connective οὐδὲ γὰρ, "negative counterpart of καὶ γάρ" (Denniston Greek Particles p.111), is here used because the clause adds a new idea: 194f you did not allow death in your church; 195-7 in addition your sacrifices are bloodless. In this expression, γὰρ rather than οὐδὲ is the connective.

196. ὄμματος ἀχράντοιο, κτλ.: "to see with the all-seeing glance of your undefiled eye". The use of βολή to denote the glance of an eye is Homeric, Od.4.150, see LSJ s.v.3 and cf. also Musae.94, Tryph.116; Nonn.D.26.213f ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δέ οἱ αἴγλη/ πέμπεται ὀρθρινῇσι βολαῖς ἀντίρροπος Ἡοῦς; simil. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.10.91

(PG.37.687) (οὐσία) νοῦ μόνου ληπτῇ βολαῖς, of God. Active πανδερκῆς is regularly used of the eye of a god in both pagan and Christian contexts, Epigr.Gr.1033.13 (an oracle, ca. 3rd cent.A.D.); Orph.Hymn 34.8, Orph.fr.62.2, A.P.9.525.17 (Anon.), all of Apollo; Orph.Hymn 8.1, Maneth.2(1).342, both of Helios; Orph.Hymn 62.1, of Dike; Maneth.3(2).359, of Hyperion; Q.S.2.443 Οὐρανῶνες; Christian exx. PGL s.v.; also Nonn.Par.12.165 ὀφθαλμῷ κραδίης πανδερκεί, of Isaiah. With Paul's use of ἄχραντος, cf. A.P.2.124 (Christod.) ἅ. ὀπωπαῖς, of Pythagoras. The epithet is used elsewhere in connection with Christ, e.g. Nonn.Par.13.107, 19.21, Eudoc.Cypr.1.64 (PG.85.836A), Synes.Hymn 3.48 (p.37 Terzhagi), Epigr.Gr.1067.4, see also PGL s.v.; of God, Nonn.Par.14.56, Eudoc.Cypr.1.221 (col.840D), inf.Amb.40; of the Holy Spirit, Synes.Hymn 3.64 (p.38 Terzhagi), inf.Amb.31; of the Virgin Mary, Nonn.Par.2.10, Eustrat.V.Eutych.84 (PG.86.2369C), cf. Soph.Lex.s.v.; cf. also ps.Ap.Met.Ps.23.17 εὐκλείης βασιλεὺς ἄχραντος; inf.349, of heaven; 564, 600, of holy water; 1018, of the preoccupations of the patriarch Eutychius, cf. A.P.1.10.65 (Anon.) on Anicia Juliana, patroness of S.Polyeuktos and other churches; A.P.9.656.8 (Anon.) of the emperor Anastasius; also common in late poetry in pagan contexts, see LSJ s.v., adding Call.Ap.111, Opp.C.1.238, Orph.Arg.1325, Procl.Hymn 3.4, Nonn.D.35.209, 41.383, al., Tryph.648, A.P.9.362.18 (Anon.), 9.400.5 (Pallad.), Jo.Gaz.Descr. 1.24, 76. Kost (on Musae.336) noted that Homer, Hesiod and A.R. use ὄμμα only in the plural, but the sing. is found elsewhere in Alexandrian poetry (see Kost's exx.), and thereafter.

197. τεμένεσσιν ἀναιμάκτοιο θουλήης : Paul uses the simple dative to denote place, as often in Nonnus D., see Keydell I.59*, and cf. D.35.234f, 36.104 for similar datives with χέω; cf. K-G.I. 441ff, sec.426.1, Fr.p.114f. See further nn. inf. on 255 and 974 for Paul's idiosyncratic use of τεμένεσσι(ν) at this place in the line. Homer uses τέμενος of a holy precinct (Il.8.48, al., see LSJ s.v.II), and late authors sometimes apply it to Christian churches, e.g. Chor.Gaz.Laud.Marc.1.38 (12.11 Foerst.-Richtst.), 2.29 (35.22), al., Phot.Hom.10.5 (102.13 Laourdas), al.; cf. also A.P.9.155.5 (Agath.) of the temples of Troy, and, in a secular context, ib.9.658.2 (Paul Sil.) of the Great Praetorium. With Paul's

expression ἀναιμάκτοιο θυηλῆς (also inf. 683, dat.pl.), denoting the Eucharist, cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.proth.25 and contrast A.P.6.324.3f (Leon.Alex.) ἀναιμάκτους δὲ θυηλᾶς/ οὐ δέχομαι βωμοῖς ὁ θρασύμητις Ἄρης. It is a variation of ἡ ἀναίμακτος θυσία, which is standard in this context, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.10.1 (PG.37.1027A) = ib.2.1.13.1 (col.1227), Evagr.HE 4.31 (181.1 Bid.-Parm.), Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica XII.1β' 5, Theoph.A.M. 6113, 304.1 de Boor, al., see PGL s.v. θυσία 6, ἀναίμακτος 3.

198-203. The whole church did not collapse, but only the great eastern arch and part of the dome, cf. inf. 274ff and Agath. Hist.5.9.3 τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλόνου τὸ μεσαίτατον μέρος τῆς ὀροφῆς καὶ ἅπαντα ὑπερβάλλον ἀποβεβληκότα... . The chronographical accounts (Mal.489.19ff, Cramer Anecdota parisiensia II, 114.14ff*, Theoph.A.M.6051, 232.26ff) agree with Paul and Agathias that the collapse occurred at the east end (ἐπέσε τὸ ἀνατολικὸν μέρος τῆς προὔποστολῆς). Their term προὔποστολή is, however, very rare (see inf.) and its sense uncertain. In PGL it is defined as "supporting wall of vault", but G.Millet (Rev.belge de phil. et d'hist. 2, 1923, 604) suggested that the sense is rather "the part before the apse" (πρὸ + ὑποστολή, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.32 ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων ὑπεσταλμένα κατὰ βραχύ, describing the apse) and took the reference to be to the eastern semidome. This view is accepted by C.Mango (Polychronion: Festschr.F.Dölger, Heidelberg 1966, 365) who suggests that the term may reflect Syrian usage. The only other occurrence of the term προὔποστολή is in the Vita S.Marthae, ASS May 5th, col.416D-417A, now ed. P.Van den Ven, La vie ancienne de S.Syméon stylite le jeune, Vol.2 (Subs.hag.32, Brussels 1970) ch.49 (p. 291) and ch.50 (p.294). Mango takes the reference there to be to the roof of the bema of Martha's martyrion, probably a barrel vault. Van den Ven (loc.cit.p.291-93, n.2), accepts the different analysis of προὔποστολή proposed by A-M Festugière, "espace couvert en avant de", and Festugière's consequent understanding of the reference in the V.S.Marthae as "un portique couvert enclos de murs". In the case of the chronographers' use of προὔποστολή,

* On this source, see 1n.sup., footnote **.

however, Van den Ven agrees that it refers to the area to the east of the main dome of S.Sophia ("celle [i.e. la localisation] des deux semi-coupoles qui bordait la coupole centrale à l'orient et abritait le ciborium", p.291). Millet (p.604f) proposed to emend the chronographical texts (suggesting that τὸ πρὸ has fallen out before τῆς προὔποστολῆς) to accord with the sense given by Paul and Agathias, i.e. that the dome itself collapsed. This is probably not necessary: at 200f Paul implies that the great eastern arch collapsed initially, which would surely cause damage both to the eastern semidome and to the central dome, as is assumed by R.J. Mainstone in Architectural History 12 (1969) 44. Certainly the dome was demolished in consequence and re-built to different specifications, cf. Mal.490.3-5, Cramer 114.20-22, and see further n.inf. on 276-78. Paul does not include the information given by the chronographers that the fall destroyed the ambo (Cramer, Theoph., cf. Anon.Descr.S.Soph.28, 105.19ff Preger*), the ciborium and the Holy Table (Mal., Cramer, Theoph. Millet doubts this, loc.cit.606f, arguing that here the Anon.Descr. may be correct in mentioning only the ambo, solea and pavement).

198. οὐδὲ μὲν: "Nor again"; see Denniston Greek Particles p.362, sec.8. This completes the negative progression οὐ (194).../... οὐδὲ γὰρ (195).../οὐδὲ μὲν (198), "you did not allow... . For neither did you endure... . Nor again did the church wholly collapse".

198f. εὐρύστερνος ὑπάκλασε μέχρι θεμείλων/νηός: In εὐρύστερνος and ὑπάκλασε, Paul applies anthropomorphic language to S.Sophia, cf. esp. 274f inf. οὐ γὰρ ἀποτμηγέντος ἐρικνήμοιο καρήνου/ᾤκλασεν, with n. ad loc., where ᾤκλασεν is used in the same context as ὑπάκλασε here. The verb ὀκλάζω and compounds are originally applied to men or animals in the sense "bend the knee", "crouch down", but Paul has already used κατοκλάζω of buildings (sup.144), although not in precisely the same sense as here, see n. on 143f. For Paul's use of ὑποκλάζω here, cf. Anon.Laud.Beryt.49 (I.96 Heitsch) ὑπάκλασε γαῖα χανο[ύσα], also of an earthquake; cf. 188n.sup. for

* On this work, see footnote * to 1n.sup. It mistakenly dates the collapse to the second year of Justin II (p.105.15ff).

another similarity to the following line of this poem. The compound in ὑπο- occurs only in late authors, see LSJ s.v., noting Paul's different metaph. usage at A.P.5.279.2, also *infra* 735 and 251 with n. ad loc.; the compound is used literally, *inf.*245.

The epithet εὐρύστερνος is elsewhere applied to divine beings: Gaia, Hes.Th.117; Athene, Theoc.18.36, cf. Orph.Lith.548 Ἀτρυτώνη; Uranos, Orph.Lith.645, cf. A.P.16.303.5 (Anon.) οὐρανὸν; Poseidon, Corn.ND 22 (43.13 Lang); also Nonn.D.30.138 of Pithos, a follower of Dionysus. Here the epithet suggests the essential solidity of the body of the church, cf. 186n.*sup.*, also *ibid.* on the form θεμείλων.

199. ἀριστῶδινος ἐελμένος, κτλ.: "held fast within the bonds of craftsmanship, excellent in its fruit". The participle ἐελμένος ("shut in", "confined"; from εἶλω) is Homeric, used both literally (e.g. Il.18.287 ἐελμένοι ἔνδοθι πύργων, *al.*, see LSJ s.v. εἶλω A.1) and metaphorically (Il.13.524 ἦστο Διὸς βουλῇσιν ἐελμένος); cf. A.R.1.869f σὺν ὀθνείησι γυναιξίν/...ἐελμένοι, 4.604 Ἡλιάδες, ταναῆσιν ἐελμένοι αἰγείροισιν (A.R. also uses the form ἰλλόμενος in the same sense, 1.129, 2.1249, cf. Nonn.Par.11.156, etc.); Nonn.D. 14.243 θυρσὸν ἐελμένον...κισσῷ, 26.117 ἐελμένον ἄνδρα φυλάσσων, also 2.484; A.P.2.248f (Christod.) νόημα πολὺπλοκὸν εἶχε θυμοίτης,/ ἄμφασίης πελάγεσσιν ἐελμένος. With Paul's metaph. use of ἄμμα here, cf. Orp.C.2.398f θαῦμα μὲν οὖν κακεῖνο δαμῆμεναι ἄφρονα φύλα/ἄμμασιν ἱμερτοῖς; A.P.2.402 (Christod.) ἄρρηκτῷ πεπεδημένον ἄμματι Νίκης, also *inf.* 216. The term is used of a literal bond *inf.*946, see n. ad loc. and cf. also 883 ἄμμασιν ἦλυν. The epithet ἀριστῶδιν ("bearing the best children", "of excellent fruit"; also *inf.* 281 μῆτιν, of J.) is found only in late poetry, Nonn.D.9.148 θεαίνῃ (Rhea), 18.124 γυναῖκα (Methe); A.P.1.10.9 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἀνάσσης (Eudocia), 16.221.7 (Theaet.) Ἀθῆναι, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.133 γενέθλην. For Paul's metaph. use, cf. A.P.2.391 (Christod.) ἱστορίης φιλάεθλον ἀριστῶδινος ὀπώρην. The unmetrical word order of the ms. was corrected by Du Cange, see Fr.'s app.crit.

200. μιῆς ἀψίδος...κεραΐη: "the curve of a single arch". Like

ἄντυξ (cf. 187 sup. with n. ad loc.), ἄψις denotes something round or curved (a loop or mesh, the fellow of a wheel, a disk, see LSJ s.v.1, 2, 4), and it is commonly used of an arch or vault, see LSJ s.v.5, G.Downey in TAPA 77 (1946) 28f, and cf. Nonn.D.23. 265 ἡερίας ἄψιδας, sing. ib.41.276; A.P.9.641.3 (Agath.) of the arches of a bridge (cf. PGL s.v. 1a); and esp. Proc.Aed.1.1.39, Agath.Hist.5.9.4, inf.466, 473, 484, al., all referring to the four great central arches of S.Sophia, as in our line. (Paul does not, of course, restrict his use of ἄψις to these arches, e.g. 382, 383 of the arches of the three eastern exedrae, 722 of the arches of the ciborium). The term κεραΐη, on the other hand, does not appear in an architectural context before Paul, although the basic sense "horn" is commonly transferred to other things which project like a horn (e.g. a yardarm or projecting piece of land, see LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v. and note also A.P.6.75.3, Paul Sil., of a bow made of horn, = κέρας, see LSJ s.v. κέρας III.1). So Paul applies it (usually in conjunction with another term to suggest curvature) to architectural curves which bend like a horn, often to ἄψιδες/ἄντυγες, inf. 401 of the great eastern arch; 457, 462 of the four main arches; 561 of the vaulting of the north aisle; 368 of the curve of the synthronon about the apse.

ἄπωλίσθησε: This compound (not used by Nonnus) is more common in prose, see LSJ s.v.ἄπολισθάνω, PGL s.v.ἄπολισθαίνω, but for its use in poetry, cf. A.P.7.273.3f (Leon.Tar.) ἄπώλισθον δὲ βίοιο/κάλλαισχος, A.P.9.158.5 (Anon.) ἐκ τέγεος γὰρ ἄελπτον ἄπωλίσθησε πέσημα, also inf. 773 of the drapery of the figure of Christ depicted on the altar-cloth.

201. ἄντολική: The syncopated form is Nonnian, D.18.327 Εὐρου, 40.386 Ἰκεανοῖο, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.215 δίσκου, inf.354 κύκλων, 398 ἄντυγας; Amb.241 βαθμοῖο, 294 τέρμα.

σφαίρης δὲ λάχος κονίησιν ἐμίχθη: Ludwich (op.cit.p.14f) argued convincingly for the retention of the ms. δὲ instead of the τε of all editors, comparing inf. 217f, 311f, 558f, 728, etc., for δὲ after ἄλλᾱ. Analysis of Ludwich's list of the incidence of τε

in the Descr. shows that Paul never uses it to connect clauses, but only to link individual words or phrases, usually substantival, and often in the expression τε καὶ. For this use of λάχος ("portion", "part"), cf. A.R.1.1082 πύματον λ. (sc. νυκτός), 3.1340 τρίτατον λ. ἡματος; Mosch.2.2 νυκτός...τρίτατον λ.; Nonn.D.10.25 ψυχῆς τρίτατον λ. (here only in Nonnus); inf.356 σφαίρης τετρατόμοιο λάχος τὸ τέταρτον. In our line σφαίρης is abbreviated for σφαίρης ἡμιτόμοιο, cf. 187 sup. with n. ad loc., Downey in TAPA 77 (1946) 22-26. The line-end κονίησιν ἐμίχθη is Homeric, Il.10.457, Od.22.329. Nonnus uses κονίη only in the sing. Contrast the different collocation of the same words at 191 sup.

202. τὸ μὲν δαπέδοισι, τὸ δ'εἰσέτι: "one part was on the ground, the other/the rest still...", i.e. of the arch and dome. With the two articles λάχος may be understood from 201, although they might equally stand alone, cf. A.P.9.129.1 (Nestor of Laranda) εἶπε τὸ μὲν, τὸ δ'ἔμελλε, τὸ δ'ἦν ἔτι νωθρὸν ἐν εὐνῇ, simil. Nonn.D.25.533f. For the simple dative δαπέδοισι denoting place, cf. 197 sup. with n. ad loc. Plural δάπεδον is not common in the general sense "ground", but cf. Nonn.D.9.190, 40.434; also sometimes in the sense "plain", see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.P.9.247.2 (Phil.). The adverb εἰσέτι is found first in Alexandrian poetry, see LSJ Suppl.s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.35.362, 36.69 and passim, A.P.7.572.4, 9.482.19, 10.64.6 (all Agath.).

θάμβος ἰδέσθαι: Cf. A.R.1.220 μέγα θάμβος ἰδέσθαι in eadem sede, 1.1307 θάμβος περιώσιον ἀνδράσι λεύσσειν, also 4.1430; Opp.H.5.469 θάμβος ἔην ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνναέτησιν ἰδέσθαι; Nonn.D.43.358 θάμβος ἰδεῖν, also 38.17; A.P.1.10.71 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μέγα θαῦμα; inf.447, 493; Anon.Descr.S.Soph.26 (I.102.9 Preger) θαῦμα δὲ ἦν ἰδέσθαι, of S.Sophia. On this use of θάμβος/θαῦμα, see 153n. sup. Paul's use of the parenthetical phrase here (cf. θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, Il.5.725, Od.6.306, al.; mirabile visu, V.Aen.1.111, 12.252, al.) is "a dramatic way of drawing attention to the wonderful or the horrible" (Austin on V.Aen.1.111).

203. οἷάπερ ἀστήρικτον : "just as if without support". For this sense of ἀστήρικτος, cf. A.P.6.203.10f (Lacon. or Phil.) Νύμφαις δ' ἔλειπε βάκτρον αἶ δ' ἐπῆνεσαν/πέμπειν μιν ἀστήρικτον ἥσθεῖσαι δόσει. In Nonnus the word is widely used, often predicatively as in our line (see Peek Lex.s.v.II), of restless movement or instability (e.g. of water, D.13.317, 32.8, al., cf. Musae.295; of people, D.4.29, 15.255, al.); also "unsteady" (D.16.375, Par.5.25) and "inconstant" (D.33.112, Par.6.206). Nonnus uses οἷάπερ frequently, but always connects it with a participle when using it in Paul's sense, e.g. D.4.76 οἷάπερ αἰδόμενη, 37.434 οἷάπερ οὐκ αἶών, cf. Musae. 116, 121, A.P.5.259.2 (Paul Sil.).

ὁμίλεεν ἑκκρεμῆς αὖραις: "was hanging there companion to the breezes". The adjective ἑκκρεμῆς (cf. inf. 486, 820, 825, 852) occurs only in late authors, Coll.109 δόρη, A.P.6.64.7f (Paul Sil.) ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ ἑκκρεμῆς ἦδη/ἦλθε κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ῥυσὸν ἐπισκύνιον, metaph. ib.5.241.7f (id.) ὧ ἔπι πᾶσαι/εἰσὶν ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ἐλπίδες ἑκκρεμέες; c.gen., A.P.5.247.6 (Mac.Cons.) χεῖλος ἑκκρεμέα (sc. με), Agath. Hist.1.10.6 τεῖχος, 2.31.7 of a beard, al., other exx. from prose collected LSJ s.v. Nonnus uses ὁμιλέω of abstracts and things as well as of people, e.g. D.1.284 θάλασσα...ὠμίλησεν Ὀλύμπῳ, 38.210 Ζαγρεὺς...ὠμίλησεν ὀλέθρῳ.

204-13. At 204 Paul returns to the same point as that of 176f sup., the universal distress caused by the collapse of the dome. As in the earlier instance, this leads (205ff) into a new prooemium to the next section (214ff J.'s reaction), likewise a captatio benevolentiae, giving the same justification for recalling past grief, but this time addressed to the audience in general, cf. n.sup. on 177-85. Here, however, the justification is very briefly expressed (207), and two elaborate synkriseis drawn from nature illustrate the extent of despair, in the manner of an epic simile, see further n.inf. on 208-13.

204. κατηφείη βεβολημένος: On the use of κατηφείη and cognates in such a context and the associations of such terminology, see

n.sup. on 181. The noun is Homeric (Il.3.51, 16.498, 17.556; cf. A.R.3.1402, 4.205, 594), as is the metaph. use of the perfect passive βεβολῆμαι, Il.9.3 πένθεϊ...βεβολῆατο πάντες, 9.9 ἄχεϊ...βεβολημένος ἦτορ, other exx. collected LSJ s.v. βολέω I. Nonnus uses βεβολημένος chiefly of a physical wound, e.g. D.35.385, 44.250, cf. A.P.5.266.1 (Paul Sil.) ἀνέρα λυσσητῆρι κυνὸς βεβολημένον ἰῶ, but also of the dart of love, D.10.290, 324, cf. Musae.134, with other exx. collected by Kost ad loc.

205. μή τις, κτλ. For similar anticipation of opposition in the audience, cf. 89f sup.

ἔμῃν σειρήνα: I.e. my Muse, and hence "my song". The relationship between the Muses and the Sirens is disputed, see, for example, E.Buschor, Die Musen des Jenseits (Munich 1944), proposing that the Sirens were the infernal counterparts of the heavenly Muses, with the objections of J.T.R.Pollard in CR 66 N.S.2 (1952) 60ff; in general RE Ser.2, Halbband 5 (1927) col.288ff, Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Sirenes (IV.1, 1353-55). As goddesses of song, however, the two are akin, and "Siren" is elsewhere used, at any rate in late authors, as a synonym for, or in connection with, the Muse(s), although it has been suggested (Pollard loc.cit.p.62) that the first instance of their juxtaposition in Alcman (fr.30 Page ἅ Μῶσα κέκλαγ' ἅ λίγηνα Σηρήν) is a deliberate contrast. But for late exx., cf. A.P. Appendix ap. Cougny 2.550b.1f τίς μου τὴν Σειρήνα κακῶς κακὸς ἥρπασε δαίμων; / τίς μου τὴν γλυκερὴν ἥρπασ' ἀηδονίδα; (followed by an address to the Muse); A.P.9.184.1f (Anon.) Πίνδαρε, Μουσῶν ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρήν/Βακχυλίδη; ib.2.350 (Christod.) Περικῆς Σειρήνης ἀρῆιον ἔργον ὑφαίνων, of Homer; ps.Pampr.4.25f (I.119 Heitsch) ἐκ δὲ τεδὸν μέλπειν φέ[ρο]μαι γένος· ἀλλὰ λιγαίνειν/δαιμαίνω, γενεῇ γὰρ ἐμ[ῇ]ν σειρήν[α] καλύπτεις, of Theagenes, cf. ib.3.11 (p.111); Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.1ff πτερόεις με δι' ἡέρος ἔμφρονι ῥοίζῳ/Σειρήνων λιγύφωνος ἄγει θρόος· ἐν δὲ μενοινῇ/Μουσῶν πλήκτροισιν ἱμάσσομαι ἄρσενι κέντρῳ; Chor.Gaz.Laud.Summ.2 (70.6ff Foerst.-Richtst.) ἦδη μὲν οὖν τις εὖ μάλα τὰ Μουσῶν ἐργαζόμενος ποιητικῇ σειρήνι τὸ θέατρον ἔθελξεν ἐνιᾶ σου τῶν γνωρισμάτων

ὑποτάξας τῷ μέτρῳ. In epistolography, Σειρήν is analogously used to denote charm or felicity of expression, e.g. Synes.Ep.138 (PG.66.1529A) ἐμέ γέ τοι καὶ παρῶν μὲν ἥρεις τῇ γλυκείᾳ Σειρήνι τῶν λόγων, see further H.Hunger in DOP 23-4 (1969-70) 29.

βάλοι νεμεσήμονι μύθῳ: "smite with indignant word". This metaph. use of βάλλω is classical, see LSJ s.v.A.I.3 and cf. Nonn. D.29.40 κάλλει Βάκχον ἔβαλλες. The unmetrical ms. reading βάλλοι was corrected by Du Cange. Nonnus uses the line-end νεμεσήμονι μύθῳ at Par.4.218, cf. D.25.125, 39.292 ν. ...φωνῇ; the epithet occurs elsewhere only at Call.fr.96.1 Pf. θεοὶ πάντες κομπεῖς νεμεσήμονες.

206. ἀτραπὸν ἀμνήστοιο, κτλ.: "for walking along the path of grief forgotten". The sentiment of 179 καὶ εἰ τεδὸν οὐδ' ὀρίνω is here expressed in a new way, see n. ad loc.sup. The metaphor of the path or way is commonplace, used by Paul again inf.964 ἀρετῆς ...οἶμον, 1015f πάσαν...ὁδεύεις/ἀτραπιτὸν λειμῶνι θεουδέϊ, see nn. ad locc. For metaph. ἀτραπός, see LSJ s.v.2 and, for exx. in late poetry, cf. Maneth.4.531 ἀ.βιότου; Nonn.Par.14.21 ζῶν ἐγὼ βιότοιο καὶ ἀτραπός, cf.16.39; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.9.50 ἀ.ἐλεγχίστησιν ὁδεύει, 100.15 ἀ.ὁσίαις. The compound διαστεῖχω (strictly "go through/across") is constructed with accusative at E.Andr.1090, 1092 (LSJ s.v.1), and often in Nonnus, e.g. D.4.332 ἄλσεα, 18.61 πρῆωνα...ἐρίπνης, al., Par.7.3 γαῖαν...διαστείχων Γαλιλαίης, 18.1 τάδε πάντα διέστιχεν, also 2.111; elsewhere c.gen., Pi.I.3.17 metaph. (see LSJ s.v.2), Nonn.D.8.16, 10.66, Par.6.75, 11.155; absolute, Theoc.27.69 (emended to ἔστιχε by Gow), A.P.12.85.5 (Mel.), Nonn.D.17.37, 25.533, Par.4.136, 11.36, al.; or with εἰς, Nonn.D.6.159, 8.188, al.; also metaph. in patristic writers, see PGL s.v.B. The epithet ἀμνηστος is rare, passive (as here) Theoc.16.42, Lyc.1230, J.Ap.1.2, Nonn.D.9.303, 17.6, 34.22; active, Phryn.PS p.20B, Opp.C.1.34 (v.1.), Nonn.D.3.327, 36.400, Par.20.100.

207. ἡδύτερος, κτλ.: A pair of bald commonplaces, set down with gnomic asyndeton (cf.115 sup.), serve to provide the same answer to possible objections as at 180ff sup., see n.sup. on

182-4 on the rhetorical theory of such techniques. The perfunctory style here is in sharp and deliberate contrast to the elaborate poetic language of the two analogies which follow. For the Ionic form ὕγειν (= ὕγειναι = ὕγεια, see LSJ s.v. ὕγεια) in late poetry, cf. Orph.Hymn 23.8, Procl.Hymn 1.22, 42.

208-13. The prooemium is concluded with an auxesis of the theme of the extent of grief experienced (picking up 204), in the form of two negative comparisons (synkriseis), expressed in the manner of epic similes and, as such, developed for their own sake. On synkrisis as a means of auxesis, see n.sup. on 150-54, and on auxesis in prooemium, n.on 182-4. Synkrisis is similarly used to expand the theme of grief at Anon.Laud.Beryt.48ff (I.96 Heitsch) where the death of the professor from Smyrna is said to have caused the city more grief than the earthquake which destroyed it (like 211 inf., the synkrisis begins οὐδ[ὲ] ὅτε], although the sense is different); also ib.98ff (p.97) mourning like that of the Muses and Thetis over Achilles. (It is likely that Paul knew the first passage, cf. nn.sup. on 188, 198f). The similes here have the same effect as the examples of 182-4 sup., in lowering the tone before the next section by means of a development remote from the main theme. Here, however, this effect is more pronounced than at 182-4 (or at 166f), since the similes are more extended, expressed with greater artistry and more original and individual in character, and there is no return to the immediate occasion as there is in 185.

Like many epic similes, the theme of these is drawn from nature, the collapse of the dome being compared in its effect to great natural disasters of fire and flood, which are similarly witnessed by men in helpless consternation and are similarly the cause of extreme suffering and despair because of the destruction caused. Fr. is surely right to argue (ad loc.) that 208-10 describe the sudden disaster of lightning causing a great conflagration, rather than simply the parching heat of the sun (which is not a sudden dramatic disaster and would be most unlikely to cause the phenomenon of 210, see further nn.inf.).

Similes from fire and flood are well-established in epic poetry,

e.g. (i) fire: Il.2.780 (cf. ib.781 and 190n.sup.), 11.155ff, 15.605f, 20.490ff, 21.12ff, all of warriors raging over a battlefield, cf. Lucan 1.143ff Caesar's valour in battle compared to the devastating effect of lightning; Il.14.396f of the noise of an army; A.R.1.1027f of the clash of opposing warriors; Il.2.455f, A.R.3.1265ff of the glint of armour, compared to forest fire by Homer, lightning by Apollonius. (ii) flood: (Paul's image is that of a destructive thunderstorm, but the more common classical analogy is that of a mighty river swollen by rain); Il.5.87ff, 11.492ff, V.Aen.2.496ff, Ov.Fast.2.219ff, Val.Flacc.6.631ff, Sil.4.520ff, etc., all of the destructive might of individual warriors; Il.4.452ff of the noise of battle, 16.384ff of Patroclus doing battle in Achilles' chariot; V.Aen.9.667ff battle compared to a violent storm; Lucr.1.283ff destructive power of a river in flood as an analogy for the power of Lucr's unseen bodies of wind; Hor.Carm.3.29.33ff life like a river, sometimes peaceful, sometimes in spate; Ov.Met.3.79f wounded serpent advances like a river in spate; Claud.Ruf.1.269ff Rufinus' threats like a torrent; Cor.Laud.Just.1.124ff flood of weeping ceased, just as a river is checked by dykes built by prudent farmer. (iii) fire and flood: Juxtaposed in battle imagery at V.Aen.2.304ff, 12.521ff, while at Il.17.736ff images of fire and flood occur in a series of similes describing the struggle to remove Patroclus' body from the battlefield. (iv) despair of the helpless onlooker: This, the chief point of Paul's imagery, is emphasised by Virgil at Aen.2.307f (cited (iii) sup.) and Aen.12.451ff, Aeneas' attack compared to rain destroying crops; and by Apollonius at 3.1399ff, Aietes witnesses the destruction of the army which sprang from the dragon's teeth like a gardener whose saplings are destroyed by rain; cf. ib.4.1278ff Argonauts wander in despair like those who have seen prodigies and expect war, plague or destructive flood. In contrast, at V.Aen.10.405ff the shepherd watches as victor the fire which he has deliberately started for clearance, again in battle imagery.

The same type of imagery is also to be found elsewhere, for example in patristic writers, e.g. (i) fire: Jo.Chrys.Laud.Paul.4 (PG.50.491.24ff, ib.494.33ff), the voice of Paul has an effect

on his enemies like destructive fire among corn stalks and hay or thorns, cf. Romanos 36 δ'2 Gabriel consumes BMV 's fear as fire consumes foliage; Thdt.Ep.61 (II.140.5ff Azéma) the all-consuming fire of φιλία; Greg.Naz.Or.27.5 (PG.36.17A) enemies desire to light the secret spark of evil which leads to destructive conflagration (cf. id.Or.2.40, PG.35.449A, for fire/spark image). (ii) flood: Bas.Leg.lib.gent.5 (PG.31.577B) rejection of the beneficial along with the harmful is like a torrent which sweeps away everything in its path; Jo.Chrys.Theatr. (PG.56.265.3ff) an ekphrasis describing the storms which destroyed crops, with the result that people flocked to church, ὥσπερ χεῖμαρρος; (iii) fire and flood: Greg.Nyss.V.Macr. (PG.46.985D) the need to express grief compared to a smouldering spark which produces a conflagration, and then to an overflowing torrent; Greg.Naz.Or.4.30 (PG.35.556C-D) hidden vice compared to a smouldering spark or subterranean stream; id.Or.4.88 (PG.35.617A) passions break out like a smouldering spark or a river contained by force. (iv) emphasis on onlooker: Jo.Chrys.Pan.Pelag.Ant.2 (PG.50.582.1ff) the body of S.Pelagia is more terrible to the phalanxes of demons than is a thunderbolt to us; Bas.Hom.fam.et sicc. (PG.31.305Cff) an ekphrasis describes the despair of one surveying the drought-stricken earth.

208. οὐχ οὕτως ἀκάχησεν: For the introduction of a simile by οὐχ οὕτως, cf. Nonn.D.10.322, 23.221f. Unlike Nonnus, Paul does not make the analogy explicit by means of a complementary clause introduced by ὥς/ὅσσον. The reduplicated weak aorist ἀκάχησεν (from ἀχέω) is Homeric, Il.23.223, cf. Opp.H.4.46, Nonn.D.15.404, 33.118.

ἀπ'αἰθέρος ἐκχυμένη φλόξ: "the flame streaming forth from the sky". In classical tragedy, φλόξ is used both of the sun's heat and of lightning, see LSJ s.v.3, and for the former sense, cf. Nonn.D.2.320, 16.109, 38.185. But Nonnus also frequently uses the expressions οὐρανίη φλόξ (e.g.D.2.496, 8.398) and αἰθερίη φλόξ (e.g.D.2.445, 46.33) to denote lightning, cf. esp. ib.7.147 ἐξαπίνης δὲ πεσοῦσα δι'αἰθέρος οὐρανίη φλόξ. It is likely that Paul

modelled his expression on this usage and intended the sense "lightning" here. For φλόξ combined with a compound of χέω, cf. Il. 16.123 τῆς δ' (sc. νηὸς) αἶψα κατ' ἀβέστη κέχυτο φλόξ. Paul uses passive ἔκχέω again, inf. 925, of a wave. The sense "stream forth" is common from Homer onwards, in a variety of contexts, see LSJ s.v. ἔκχέω Il. 1 and cf. A.R. 1.880 μέλισσαι, 2.97 θυμὸς; Theoc. 22.125 αἶμα, cf. Opp. C. 2.483, Nonn. D. 4.448, Tryph. 392; Opp. H. 5.269 λύθοιο; Nonn. D. 40.361 νάματος; A.P. 9.660.1f (Anon., Byz.) πηγὴν/ἀφθονος Αὔσονίων... νομίων; other exx. PGL s.v. Paul also uses the adj. ἔκχυτος in the same sense, e.g. 1013 inf., see n. ad loc., and cf. esp. inf. 888 ἔκχυτον ἀστράπτοντα πυρὸς φλόγα, of the lights of S. Sophia. The line-end here is in the Nonnian manner, cf. D. 8.398 φειδομένη φλόξ, 36.296 μαινομένη φλόξ al. simil., also A.R. 4.925 αἰθομένη φλόξ.

209. ὤτα κατέφλεγεν, κτλ.: "when it burnt up the surface of the earth, leaving it without herbage". The term ὤτον/ὤτα ("back", i.e. upper surface, see Barrett on E. Hipp. 128-9) is commonly so used of wide expanses, such as sea, earth or sky, see LSJ s.v. Il. 1, and for its use of the earth, cf. also A.R. 4.1246 ὤτα χθονὸς; D.P. 692 ὤτον πεδίοιο, cf. 872, ib. 420 Ἰσθμια ὤτα; Nonn. D. 1.107 γαίης δίψια ὤτα, A.P. 9.663.1f (Paul Sil.) πλωτὰ δὲ χέρσου/ὤτα. See further n. inf. on 932. The term ἄχλοα, here proleptic, is very rare, cf. E. Hel. 1327 ἄχλοα πέδια γᾶς, Opp. H. 2.496 ἄχλοον ὄψαι ἔρνος (effect of sting-ray's venom); also Hp. Coac. 596 and occasionally in later prose, see Stephanus s.v. Homer uses καταφλέγω of fire, Il. 9.653, 22.512, cf. A.R. 4.392; Nonn. D. 2.630 κατέφλεγεν αἰθέριον πῦρ (of Typhoeus), 36.132 μὴ σε... καταφλέξειε κεραυνῷ, al.; Romanos 54 15'2; also in prose, e.g. Agath. Hist. 4.20.7, other exx. LSJ, PGL s.v.

210. μυρία καρφομένων, κτλ.: "when countless streams of torrents hissed as they were dried up". For water boiling and being dried up in contact with lightning, cf. Nonn. D. 2.444ff where Typhoeus fails in an attempt to check Zeus' lightning (αἰθερίῃ φλόξ, 445) by hurling water at it. But the phenomenon of the boiling river

is derived from literature rather than from nature, going back to Il.21.361ff where Hephaestus subdues the Scamander, cf. Nonn.D.23.252ff Dionysus fights the Hydaspes with fire, also ib.25.76ff (noting κατέφλεγεν, line 77).

The verb σίζω is used by Homer (Od.9.394) of the effect of the red-hot brand on the Cyclops' eye, compared to the noise made by hot metal when tempered in cold water; cf. Arist.A.Po.94b33 σίζειν καὶ ψόφειν, of fire quenched. It is rare (exx. LSJ s.v., adding Opp.H.1.772 of the sea in a storm), and is cited by Cerealius at A.P.11.144.3 as an example of a trite Homerism. Du Cange wrote στίξεν, which gives no sense, and was rejected by Hermann (Orphica, Leipzig 1805, Addenda p.XXVII) on metrical grounds (that correction in the second syllable of the dactyl is rare in Nonnian poets). Hermann accordingly proposed σίξεν, which was accepted by Graefe. But, although this aorist probably occurs in literary Doric (see Gow on Theoc.6.29), the ms. has the imperfect, which is expected after κατέφλεγεν.

The Ἰάναυρος is the name of a river in Thessaly (LSJ s.v., cf. E.HF 390, Call.Del.103, Dian.101, Orph.Arg.114, Hesych. s.v.), but it is used by Alexandrian poets of a torrent formed or swollen by rains, see LSJ s.v.II and cf. Schol.A.R.1.9, Schol.Lyc.1424, D.P.1118, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.9.5 (PG.37.667), Coll.104, Etym.Magn. s.v. (100.57f). The participle καρφομένων, like σίξεν, denotes the effect of the fire on the torrents, cf. Euph.fr.50.3 (p.39 Powell) πυρὶ καρφόμενα. In Homer and Hesiod the verb is used of skin (Od.13.398, 430; Op.575), see further LSJ s.v., adding Call.fr.44 Αἴγυπτος...κάρφετο, A.P.11.374.8 (Mac.Cons.) γήραος αὐχμηρῷ καρφομένη θέρεϊ, of a woman.

211. καρποτόκοιο κατὰ χθονὸς: "down upon/over the fruit-bearing earth". Cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.85.25 χθὼν καρποτόκος, also A.P.16.11.3 (Hermocr.) ἄγροῦ; the adjective is not common, v.l. in A.P.12.225.3 (Strat.) of Demeter; A.P.16.264.1 (Anon.), Epigr.Gr.982.1, both of Isis; Nonn.D.22.277 ὄμβρου, 24.11 ὕδασι, 40.344 ἄσθματι (of wind), cf. also ib.21.26 Γαῖα δὲ καρποτόκεια. The preposition is used as in Homer, cf. Il.3.217 κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πήξας, see further LSJ s.v. II.1, K-G.I.475, sec.433 β. 1b.

211f. οὐρανὸς αἶθων/εὐρύ χαλῶν, κτλ. ∴ "the fiery heaven yawning wide, opened the gates of destructive rainstorm". Paul is thinking of a sudden downpour, as in a thunderstorm (the Homeric sense of ὄμβρος, see LSJ s.v.); hence αἶθων suggests both the livid colour of the sky (as it is commonly used of the tawny colour of animals, see LSJ s.v.III, adding Opp.C.1.309, 3.54, al.) and the streaks of lightning, cf. Pi.O. 10(11).83 κεραυνὸν, P.1.22f βοὸν καπνοῦ/αἰθῶν' (describing the eruption of Mt.Etna), N.7.73 ἀλίῳ; Orph. Lith.703 Ἡφαίστοιο. For the line-end, cf. Orph.fr.43.1 Abel (= Clem.Alex.Strom.5.128.3, II.413.9 Stählin) ἐν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας οὐρανὸς αἶθων (οὐρανὸν Stählin). This fragment is taken by Kern to be part of the longer fragment preserved in Eus. Praep.Ev.3.9, Stob.Ecl.1.2.23, where the line-end reads instead μέγας ἀρχὸς πάντων, cf.fr.168.6 Kern, fr.123.8 Abel). The aorist of χάσκω/χαίω is elsewhere applied to earth rather than heaven, Il.4.182, al. τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθῶν. Anon.Laud.Beryt. 49 (I.96 Heitsch) γαῖα χανοῦσα, cf. A.P.7.564.1 (Anon.), Nonn.D.33.214. With οὐρανὸς.../...ῶξε πύλας here, contrast 173 sup., where similar language is used in a different context. Absolute δηλήμων is found at Il.24.33 σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοὶ, δηλήμονες, cf. Jul. Or.2.87A (111.19f Hertlein) ἀντὶ σωτήρων καὶ προαγωνιστῶν ἀνεφάνησαν αὐτοὶ δηλήμονες (of wolves and mongrel dogs, contrasted with soldiers); inf.938. Elsewhere the term is constructed with objective genitive, Od.18.85, al., see LSJ s.v. and cf. Procl. Hymn 1.28; Nonn.D.21.110, 40.178; Tryph.642.

213. καὶ τραφερὸν ξύνωσε, κτλ. ∴ "and confounded dry plain with the sea's surges". Cf. Opp.H.5.7f ὕδατι γαῖαν/ξυνώσας, "mingling earth with water" (of Prometheus' creation of mankind from clay). The verb is attested only in late writers, Nearch.ap.Arr.Ind.20.4 λέγει δὴ ὁ Νεάρχος, ἑωυτῷ ξυνοῦσθαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον... ("discussed"); Schol.Pi.O.7.36 (=20f; I.208.15f Drachmann) ὥστε ξυνῶσαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰς μέσον ἀγαγεῖν; Maneth.2.493 πρῶτας ἄκτινας ξυνουμένη (of the moon); Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.50.43 (PG.37.1388A) ἡ μοῦνος Χριστῷ ξυνούμενος ἡ σὺν ὁμίλῳ; then widely in Nonnus, in both active and middle without distinction, in the sense "unite", "associate with",

"share with", "communicate with" et simil., e.g. D.3.384f δεξαμένη δὲ θύγατρα νόθην.../σύγχρονον Ἡμαθίωνος ἐνὶ ξυνώσατο μαζῶ, 10.312f ὃν σὺ τραπέζη/αἰθερίῃ ξύνωσας (to Zeus, of Ganymede), al., Par.1.184 ἔπος ξύνωσε Φιλίππῳ, 19.99 νυκτιλόχους δύο φῶτας ἐνὶ ξύνωσαν ὀλέθρῳ, al. Cf. inf.996. Homer uses τραφερήν (sc. γῆν) of dry land in the phrase ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν, Il.14.308, Od.20.98, cf. h.Cer.43, A.R.4.281, Opp.H.5.313, al., Orph.Arg.300, A.P.9.672.1 (Anon.); but it is also used by late poets as an adjective with other substantives in the same sense, see LSJ s.v.II, adding GVI 1283.2 (4th cent.A.D.) ἐπὶ τραφερῇ χθονὶ, cf. Orph.Lith.39; Nonn.D.2.541 μήτηρ (Gaia), 4.408 βῶλῳ; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.60 καλᾶμυσιν (v.1.). Nonnus has ῥοθίοισι...θαλάσσης at D.25.437; in Homer (Od.5.412), adjectival ῥοθίος is used of the sound of waves, and in classical Greek the neuter plural is used substantively to denote waves, see LSJ s.v.II.1; so often in later poetry, sometimes absolutely, sometimes with genitive, as here, e.g. A.R.1.541 abs.; Opp.H.1.232 abs., 5.342 ἄλδς ῥοθίων, al.; A.P.9.670.1, 672.4 (both Anon.) both abs.; Nonn.D.32.153 abs., 48.935 ῥοθίοις ποταμοῖο, al.; Musae.242, 248 abs.; A.P.6.167.5 (Agath.) abs.

214-54. J.'s reaction to the catastrophe. J. shook off grief and turned immediately to the task of re-building (214-18). The goddess (New) Roma stood beside J. and appealed to him to use his power to heal the gaping wound in her breast (219-25). She argued that under her guidance, J. had brought prosperity: he had made Cpl. mistress of the world and the centre of all trade (226-36); he must not let this church, the greatest symbol of his position, subside beneath the waters of Lethe (236-42). Roma then attempted to prostrate herself before J., but he raised her up and spoke reassuringly (243-47), saying that Roma must not submit to grief, as she had refused to submit to external foes, and promising to make her yet more illustrious by the restoration of the dome (248-54).

The narrative is in this passage interrupted by the imaginary dialogue between Roma and J., a literary device which offers an explanation of J.'s motivation in immediately embarking on the restoration of the dome, while Roma's speech also provides the opportunity for further panegyric of J. (see n.inf. on 220-42).

214-18. Agathias (Hist.5.9.1f) gives a similar account of J.'s practical activity in contrast to the general mood of shock and apprehension which followed the cessation of the earth tremors: ἔναυλον γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπῆρχε τὸ πάθος καὶ ἡ ὑποψία ἐνέκειτο ἐπιθολοῦσα τὸ λογιζόμενον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πολλὰ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ...ἐπανορθοῦν ἐπειρᾶτο. ἐπεφρόντιστο δὲ οἷός τὰ μάλιστα ὁ μέγιστος τοῦ θεοῦ νεώς, κτλ. Romanos commends J.'s prompt re-building of S.Sophia after its destruction in the Nika Riot, 54 κβ'5f ἄλλ' ἐνταῦθα μετὰ μίαν τῆς πτώσεως ἤρξαντο ἡμέραν/τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγείρεσθαι ἔργον; cf. Agap.Cap.25 (PG.86(1).1172C) βουλευοῦ μὲν τὰ πρακτέα βραδέως, ἐκτέλει δὲ τὰ κριθέντα σπουδαίως. For J.'s personal enthusiasm in supervising the building of his church, cf. Proc.Aed. 1.1.67ff, Anon.Descr.S.Soph.9 (I.85.4ff Preger)*.

* On this work, see 1n.sup., footnote*.

214. αὐτὰρ ἐμὸς σκηπτοῦχος: Paul uses the epic adversative αὐτὰρ only here in the Descr., although the phrase αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ occurs several times in his epigrams, A.P.5.230.3, 236.7, 272.6, 274.3, cf. Call.Ap.71, A.P.9.766.3 (Agath.), etc. Like Nonnus (D.13.384, al.), Paul uses only the form αὐτὰρ, never ἄτάρ. On ἐμὸς σκηπτοῦχος, see nn.sup. on 153 and 156.

ἀπότροπον ἄλγος: "the horrible grief", i.e. at the collapse of the dome, referring back to 204, 208-13 sup. The sense of ἀπότροπος is here "from which one turns away", cf. Hesych.s.v. ἀπότροπον· ὅ τις ἂν ἀποτράποιτο, citing S.OT 1313f ἰὼ σκοίου/ νέφος ἐμὸν ἀπότροπον, see further LSJ s.v.I.2, adding Opp.H.5.416 δελφίων δ' ἄγρη μὲν ἀπότροπος. The term is used once in Homer (Od.14.372 "turned away," "far from men"), but is otherwise rare in epic: it is not used by Nonnus.

215. οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴν: Du Cange and Graefe wrote οὐκ ἔτι (cf. Il.6.139, Od.6.33, al.simil., A.R.2.135, etc.), but for οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴν, (also inf.287), cf. Euph.fr.9.8 (p.31 Powell) in eadem sede; A.R.4.740, also ib.1.516 οὐδ' ἐπὶ δὴν = Nonn.D.23.11 (the last two in eadem sede); simil. Call.fr.350.2 Pf. μὴ μετὰ δὴν, Nonn.D.27.306 οὐ μετὰ δὴν.

ἐκάλυψε νόου σέλας: "hid the radiance of his mind". J's mind was momentarily clouded by grief, like the ἀγλυόεσσα ἀνίη which the clergy are invoked to cast off at 169 sup. Cf. Greg.Naz.Or.7.15 (PG.35.773B) ...καὶ τὴν φιλόσοφον οὕτω ψυχὴν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις καλινδομένην, καὶ ὥσπερ ἥλιον νέφει συγκαλυπτόμενον, of his brother Caesarius; Greg.Nyss.Melet. (PG.46.852B) πῶς ἀναβλέψω τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς, τῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς γνόφῳ κεκαλυμμένος; τίς μοι διασχὼν τὴν βαθεῖαν ταύτην καὶ σκοτεινὴν τῆς λύπης νεφέλην;; Jo.Chrys. Pop.Ant.2.2 (PG.49.36.18ff); Romanos 44 1β'6-11 and other exx. collected by J.Nimmo Smith, Romanos the Melodist and Christian Rhetoric (unpubl. Edinburgh Univ. M.Litt. thesis, 1971) 73ff. The metaphor of the obscuring cloud (of grief, tribulation et simil.) is Homeric, e.g. Il.17.591 τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

See further 1024n.inf.

Paul uses σέλας again in connection with J., inf.Amb.299 σέλας ἀστυόχοιο...γαλήνης (see Fr's n. ad loc.), and at 1002 it is used of the patriarch Eutychius, where it is similarly contrasted with darkness (κατηφιόωσαν ὁμίχλην, 1000, cf. κατηφῆς in our line, with n.inf.). The term suggests a bright, clear light: from Homer onwards it is used of fire (e.g. Il.19.366), of the heavenly bodies (Il.19.374) and of lightning (Il.8.76); cf. 647 inf., where it is used of the glitter of mosaic, and see further 1002n.inf. In applying it to J., Paul is following a tradition of associating the emperor with the idea of light, e.g. Proc.Gaz.Pan.5 (494.20) πρὸς ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἀνέλαμπες (of Anastasius), see further Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.149 (and other notes collected in Cameron's index s.v. light imagery).

κατηφῆς: Cf. 181 κατηφέα κέντρα, with n. ad loc. on the associations of the term both with dejection and darkness, 204 κατηφείη βεβολημένος (both in the same context as here), and esp. 1000 inf. where the cognate term κατηφιόωσαν is similarly contrasted with σέλας.

216. ἡρεμέειν...ἀεργέος ἄμμασιν ὄκνου: "to rest in the bonds of idle hesitation". For Paul's dative after ἡρεμέω, cf. A.R.1.514f πάντες ὁμῶς ὀρθοῖσιν ἐπ'οὔασιν ἡρεμέοντες/κηληθμῷ, Nonn.D.39.117ff ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ/.../μιμνέτω ἡρεμέων θρασὺς Αἰόλος, Hipp.Haer.10.33 (PG.16.3451C) ὕπνῳ ἡρέμησε, cf. A.P.9.827.3 (Ammon.) θέλω δ' ἡρεμέοντα νέον περὶ κώματι παῖδα. The verb is more commonly absolute, as at 228 inf., see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.1171, Epigr.Gr. 1109.1, Nonn.D.8.78, 20.68, al., A.P.16.353.1 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), A.P.7.588.2 (Paul Sil.), Agath.Hist. 2.6.7, 2.12.7, 4.1.1, PGL s.v. For metaph. ἄμμασιν, cf. 199 sup. with n. ad loc. Homer uses ὄκνος (Il.5.817, 10.122, al.), but it is not common in later poetry, Theoc.25.65, A.P.9.319.4 (Philox.), Tryph.146, A.P.6.65.11 (Paul Sil.); not in Nonnus. The form ἀεργής (= ἀεργός, Il.9.320, etc.) is rare, cf. Nic.fr.72.4 of people, Nonn.D.20.56. Βάκχον, 35.375 χεῖρα, 40.443 ὕπνον, A.P.2.19 (Christod.)

φρένας, other exx. PGL s.v.

217. ἀλλὰ μινυνθαδίης, κτλ.: The line is composed of Nonnian elements, cf. Par.4.151 δαῖτα μινυνθαδίην ἀπεσεῖσατο, 11.69 ἀπεσεῖσατο κέντρα μερίμνης, 16.75 ἀποσεῖται ἄχθος ἀνίης, D.12.269 ἀποσεῖσεται ὄγκον ἀνίης, 15.85 ἀπεσεῖσατο κέντρον Ἑρώτων. Metaph. ἀποσεῖομαι is Aristophanic and also used in prose (see LSJ, PGL s.v. ἀποσεῖω), but the verb is not common in any sense in post-classical poetry before Nonnus, perhaps at A.R.1.129 (cf. Nonn.D. 11.217; the reading is preserved in Simplicius and accepted by some modern editors, e.g. Fränkel, Vian, while others retain the codd. ἀπεθήκατο, e.g. Mooney, Ardizzoni); Call.fr.239 Pf.; GVI 633.4 (mid-2nd cent.); Orph.Hymn 78.9; also Musae.108, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.30. For the metaph. use of κέντρον, cf. 181 sup. with n. ad loc. (The singular is here used to avoid hiatus with ἀνίης). Homer uses μινυνθαδῖος, Il.1.352, 17.302, al., esp. Il.22.54 μινυνθαδιώτερον ἄλγος, cf. A.R.2.856, 3.690; GVI 121.2 (2nd/3rd cent.); Orph. Lith.413 (adv.); A.P.7.334.2 (Anon.); Nonn.D.13.381, 29.54, al., Par.6.107, 18.32; Tryph.160, 603; inf. Amb.142.

218. πρὸς δὲ πόνους ἦϊξε: For similar rapid activity on J's part, cf. 47 sup. πρὸς δὲ συγγνώμην τρέχεις. For αἴσσω πρὸς, cf. 954 inf. This use of the verb in the sense of eagerly turning attention to something is more common in prose, see the exx. collected LSJ s.v.I.2, Stephanus s.v.col.1068. In epic, it is usually applied to rapid physical movement, although Homer also uses it of mental activity, Il.15.80 ὥς δ' ὅτι' ἂν αἴξῃ νόος ἀνέρος; also of a word, Call.fr.384.7 Pf., Nonn.D.42.152.

παλινδωμήτορας οἴκου: "of re-building the house". On οἶκος, see n.sup. on 142. The epithet is apparently Paul's coinage. It governs an objective genitive like the noun δωμήτωρ, Man.6.415 ἐχυρῶν δωμήτορας οἴκων; Paul uses δωμήτωρ adjectivally inf. 456 δ.τέχνη, 513 δ.μόχθω. On the strength of these parallels, Spitzner (op.cit.p.29), taking up the suggestion of Graefe ad loc. (Fortasse πάλιν separandum), would write ἦϊξε πάλιν δωμήτορας οἴκου. The

separation of πάλιν from δωμήτορας, however, weakens the essential point that J. is now re-building, and, more important, replaces the feminine third-foot caesura, regular in Nonnian poetry, with the less common fourth-foot caesura (see 150n.sup.). Nonnus uses several πάλιν-compounds (e.g. παλινάγρετος, παλιναιξής, see Peek Lex.col.1247-9) and there is no reason why Paul should not have coined another one. The scribe (and Du Cange) originally wrote παλινδωμήτορος, but this is erroneous, since -τωρ suffixes express agency, see Kühner-Blass II.270f, sec.329.26, Schwyzer I.530f, L.R.Palmer, Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic papyri I.1 (London 1945) 118f, etc.

219-54. The narrative is abruptly broken off and there follows a dialogue between J. and Roma (= New Rome), who, already invoked by Paul to celebrate J. (sup.145ff), now appears in person and does so. On the relationship between the emperor and his capital, see n.sup. on 145-67.

Personified Roma (= Old Rome) was first established in literature in the early Augustan period, see U.Knoche in Gymnasium 59 (1952) 324ff, who also traces the earlier history of Roma in cult and art. At V.Aen.6.781ff Roma appears in the pageant of future Roman history as the destined mistress of a world-empire, compared with Cybele who wears the towered crown; at Lucan 1.185ff she appears in a nocturnal vision to Caesar at the Rubicon and questions his objective, herself now wearing the towered crown, but old and dishevelled. It is, however, in Claudian and his successors that the motif is fully developed and exploited in a panegyrical context (perhaps under the influence of Statius' personifications, see Alan Cameron Claudian, Oxford 1970, 255), e.g. Claud.Prob.73ff, Gild.17ff, Eutr.1.371ff, Stil.2.218ff, VI.Cons.356ff; Sid.Pan.Anth. 387ff, Pan.Mai.13ff, Pan.Avit.45ff; Rutil.de reditu suo 1.47ff (explicit personification 115-20); Prudent.Contra Symm.2.80ff, 640ff. (Even the abruptness of Paul's introduction of the scene is characteristic of Claudian, cf. Gild.17ff, Stil.2.424ff, al.). This literary development is parallel to contemporary artistic depictions of Roma, particularly on coinage, see Cameron op.cit.p.273ff, also 363ff

and cf. 151n.sup. For a sixth cent. example, cf. Cor.Laud.Just. 1.288ff with Cameron and Stache ad loc. Personification of Roma (= New Rome) in Greek writers is much less common and less developed: Themistius, in describing the association between the emperor and Cpl. (on which see n.sup. on 145-67), speaks of the city in anthropomorphic terms, e.g. Or. 4. (I.80.6ff Downey) ἡ πόλις δὲ ἔνδεινότερον ἐξεπέπληκτο ὑπὸ δαίματος, καὶ ἑπαλλε μὲν αὐτῆς ἡ καρδία, ἐβάμβαινε δὲ ἡ φωνή, κτλ., see further Fenster op.cit.p.34; cf. Anon.Laud.Beryt. verso 82ff (I.97 Heitsch) where Cpl. mourns the dead professor of Berytus, line 94 ἡ πάρος αἰὲν ἄδακρυς ἐδάκρυσεν τότε Ῥώμη; Anon.de Pol.Scient. 5.3 (ed. A.Mai, Scriptorum veterum nova collectio II, Rome 1827, p.598) where cities battered by faction rioting are seen by the speaker standing in a circle around Cpl. (ὡς ἐν πίνακι κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ βασιλίδα ἑστώσας, line 4f), being maltreated and describing their suffering. (Mai ascribed this work to Peter the Patrician and dated it to the first half of the sixth cent.; see further A.S.Fotiou in Jahrb.der Österr.Byzantinistik 27, 1978, 1ff). With Roma's speech in Paul, compare the direct speech put into the mouth of Thebes at Anon. Enc.duc.Romani 4.11ff (I.123 Heitsch; 5th cent.), A.P. 16.32b (Theaet. Schol.) where Roma and Beroe declare "πάντα φύσις δύναται"; later Georg.Pisid.Her. 2.4.

Paul's New Roma clearly derives from the traditional portrayal of Old Roma in Latin poetry: she is a warrior goddess (σασκέσπαλος 219), but distraught (cf. Luc., Claud.Gild., Sid.Pan.Avit. locc. citt.sup., Prudent.Contra Symm. 2.80ff) and imploring (243ff inf.; cf. Claud.passim, see Alan Cameron op.cit.p.365; Sid.Pan.Avit. loc.cit.). J.'s reassurance (248ff) parallels those in earlier dialogues of Theodosius (Claud.Prob. 164ff), Jupiter (id.Gild. 204ff, Sid.Pan.Avit. 123ff), Honorius (Claud.VI.Cons. 427ff) and Aurora (Sid.Pan.Anth. 516ff), although this reassurance, in combination with the detail about Roma's distress and suppliance, is overall most closely parallel to, if much more compact than, the scenes in Sid.Pan.Avit. and its model Claud.Gild. On the neutral character of Roma, such that she could appear in pagan and Christian writers alike, see Alan Cameron, op.cit.p.365ff, J.M.C.Toynbee in JRS 37 (1947) 135f.

Against Paul's scene, firmly placed in the pagan classical tradition, should be set that at Cor.Laud.Just.1.33ff (written only a few years later in 566-7, see Cameron's Introduction to her edition, p.2). There the future emperor Justin is visited in a dream not by Roma but by the Virgin (described, line 36, as sacrae Pietatis imago) who crowns him and clothes him in the imperial purple, telling him of the death of Justinian and urging him to assume the imperial office. Corippus, although using an epic model, translates it into explicitly Christian and Byzantine terms (see Cameron ad loc.), and in his choice of the Virgin foreshadows the central role played in early 7th cent. Cpl. by the Theotokos, a warrior maiden like Roma, as protectress of emperor and city, see (for example) Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 4ff, 18ff, S.MacCormack in CQ N.S.25 (1975) 149.

219. παρεστηκυῖα...ἔννεπε Ῥώμη: Homer uses only the aorist participle in this sense, cf. Il.13.725, 20.375, al. εἶπε παραστάς. Nonnus uses the perfect once (D.20.42), but in the epic form παρεστηῖα, cf. ἔστηῖα A.R.3.878, al. The line-end is, however, in the Nonnian manner, cf. D.35.140 ἔννεπε Μορρεῦς, 47.595 ἔννεπε Περσεῦς, both introducing a speech, al.simil.

σακῆσπαλος: "wielding/brandishing a shield". Cf. Il.5.126 Τυδεύς, Call.Jov.71 ἄνδρα, Mosch.4.118 Ἴφικλείης, Nonn.D.13.144 Ὀκύθοος, 37.494 Μελισσεύς, al., Par.18.27 στρατῖν, Tryph.161 Αἰγιαλῇ, A.P.2.143f (Christod.) γαίης/Τρωιάδος βλάστημα σακῆσπαλον (Aeneas). For the use of the epithet of Roma (= Cpl.), cf. A.P.9.647.3 (Anon., ca.400 A.D.) χρυσάσπιδι Ῥώμη.

220-42. Roma's speech. The appeal is constructed as a further glorification of the achievements of J., in which the building of S.Sophia, now endangered, is seen as a fitting climax to J's world conquest, as it is in the introductory invocation of the two Roma's (135-67). Here, however, the emphasis is upon the prosperity and trade which J's peaceful world-empire has brought. The panegyric is given enhanced encomiastic value by being put into the mouth of the goddess Roma.

220. παγκρατές, ὀλβιόμοιρε, κτλ.: On the use of honorific appellations in hymn, prayer and invocation, see 139n.sup. In classical drama and lyric, παγκρατής is used of divine beings, see LSJ s.v.1, and cf. Orph.Hymn 12.5 π.ῆτορ ἔχων (of Heracles), 28.2 (similarly of Heracles); of God, LXX 2Ma.3.22, Clem.Alex. Paed.2.8.75 (I.203.14 Stählin), id.Strom.5.1.6.3 (II.329.32), Eus.V.Const.3.17 (I.84.24 Heikel); cf. παγκράτιστε 22 sup., of J. J. is again called ὀλβιόμοιρε at 934 inf.; the epithet occurs elsewhere only in the Orphic Hymns, 26.6 of Gaia, 36.9 of Artemis, 63.3 of Dikaiosyne, al. It is appropriate to designate J. Δίκης ἔδος in view of his work on the legal code, see 7n.sup., and cf. also Paul's emphasis on J.'s clemency, sup.35ff, inf.941ff. Greg.Naz. calls Nemesis ὅμμα δίκης, Carm.2.2.7.1 (PG.37.1551A); cf. also Opp.H.2.680 (quoted 139n.sup.). With ἔρμα πολήων, cf. Il.16.549 ἔ.πολήος, of Sarpedon, Od.23.121 of the suitors; also Epigr.Gr. 969.5 (197-207 A.D.), GVI 1983.9 (3rd cent.A.D.). The metaphor is appropriate for a king, cf. Pi.O.2.6 ἔρεισμι' Ἀκράγαντος, of Theron, Opp.C.1.1 γαίης ἔρικυδὲς ἔρεισμα, of Caracalla.

221. ἥρπασε Βασκανίη με, κτλ.: "Jealousy has snatched me up, but it is a sign of grace in Envy,...". The ms. reads μεγαίρειν^ο, from which Graefe wrote Μεγαίρης, a correction accepted by subsequent editors (although Spitzner, op.cit.p.30f, would retain μεγαίρειν).

The concepts of Βασκανία and Μέγαιρα are here virtually synonymous: they embody the same notion of cosmic malevolence which Paul elsewhere attributes to Phthonos (161 sup., see n. on 160-63), the Telchines (195 sup., with n. ad loc.) and a δαίμων αντίβιος (273 inf.). In coupling Βασκανίη with ἥρπάζω here, Paul personifies it, just as the other concepts are personified: hence it is preferable to follow Graefe in writing both Βασκανίη and Μέγαιρα with initial capital letters (cf. G.Giangrande in Hermes 96, 1968, 717 n.1).

The idea of Βασκανία is associated with Death or Hades by Erinna (A.P.7.712.3 βάσκανός ἐσσι', Αἴδα), and it appears frequently in sepulchral epigrams, often in conjunction with ἥρπάζω, as in our line. (The metaphor is from a creature of prey, cf. Call.fr.43. 63 Pf. καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασκα[ί]νει πύργον ἐ[χειρόμεν]ον, of the ἥρπασος, an

unknown bird of prey, believed to be a bad omen, here in connection with the foundation of a city; A.P.7.80.5f, Call., ὁ πάντων/ ἄρπακτῆς Αἴδης and 929 inf. with n. ad loc.). For example, Epigr. Gr.381.2 ἄρπα[χ]θεῖ[σ] Αἴδεω] βασκανίοις; GVI 971.1 (?1st/2nd cent.) ἄρτι γενειάζοντά με ὁ βάσκανος ἥρπα[σε] δαίμων; ib.1114.1f (3rd cent. A.D.) Ὀππιανὸς κλέος ἔσχεν ἀοίδιμον, ἀλλὰ με Μοιρῶν/βάσκανος ἐξήρπαξε μίτος (at line 4 ἀινὸς φθόνος is used in the same context; the lines are said to have been inscribed on the tomb of Oppian); SEG 15 (1958) 853.5f ἄρτι γὰρ ἐς πέμ[π]τον σε καὶ ἱκοστὸν λυκάβαντα/ ἱστάμενα βιοτᾶς ἄρπασε βασκανίη. The verb ἄρπάζω is also used with φθόνος, e.g. GVI 583.3 (2nd/3rd cent.) (παῖδα) φθόνος ἥρπασεν, ib.705.5ff (end 1st cent.) με [ἀπὸ μητ]έρος ἥρπασε μοῖ[ρα]/[καὶ] φθόνος.../[βάσκανοι ἐστέ, θεοί]; Greg.Nyss.Pulch. (PG.46.865B; quoted in n.sup. on 160-63), cf. A.P.9.153.5ff (Agath.) πάντα... Μοῖρα κραταιή/ἥρπασεν ἀλλοίην ἀμφιβαλοῦσα τύχην·καί σε τόσον νίκησε βαρὺς φθόνος (on Troy). The power of βασκανία is frequently regarded as operating by means of the Evil Eye, e.g. A.P.5.22.5f (Rufin.) ὄμμα βάλοι δὲ/μήποτ' ἐφ' ἡμετέραις ἐλπίσι βασκανίη. It particularly affects the young: so in our line New Rome is young by contrast with her mother Old Rome (cf.n.sup. on 145-67). The concept is discussed in detail by G.Giangrande, who adduces a wealth of additional evidence, in Hermes 96 (1968) 716ff, with reference to A.P.7.525 = Call.Epigr.21 Pf. For the use of βασκανία/ βάσκανος in Christian writers, frequently in conjunction with φθόνος, as at Agath.Hist.3.2.9, 5.20.5, see PGL s.vv. and the exx. collected by Bartelink, loc.cit.in n.sup. on 160-63; on the association of the Telchines and βασκανία and the connection of the former with the Evil Eye, see 195n.sup.

Megaera is not regularly associated with the Devil in Christian writers, but she appears in pagan literature as one of the Furies (Erinyes), sister to Tisiphone and Allecto, and, like βασκανία, endowed with the Evil Eye, e.g. V.Aen.12.846ff, Lucan 1.576ff, 6. 730ff, Lucian Trag.4 (where Gout is deemed to be the child of Megaera), Claud.Ruf.1.74ff, al., id.Rapt.3.386ff, Orph.Hymn 69.2 (= Orph. Arg.968), Orph.Lith.225, 728, Nonn.D.10.35, 12.218 and esp. 31.73f καὶ οἱ δῶκε ΜEGAΐραν ὁμόστολον, ὄφρα τελέσση/βάσκανον ὄμμα φέρουσα

νόον ζηλήμονας Ἡρης, al.; see further RE Suppl.VIII (1956) s.v. Erinyes 18, col.123f. The verb μεγαίρω also appears in connection with βασκανία and related ideas, e.g. A.P.16.78.1 (Anon., on a portrait of the empress Theodora: the previous poem, on the same subject, is by Paul) βάσκανος ἦ γραφῖς ἔσσι καὶ εἰσορόωσι μεγαίρεις; Enc.duc.Romani 4.12 (I.123 Heitsch) [ἡ]μετέρας ὠδῖνας ἀφήροπας, εἰ [δὲ μεγαίρ]εις (Thebes addressing another land; Viljamaa, op.cit. p.121, notes the similarity of the antithetical style here to that of our line); cf. A.R.4.1669f ἔχθοδοποῖσιν/ὄμμασι...ἐμέγηρεν ὀπωπᾶς, where μεγαίρω is used as a synonym for βασκαίνω.

222/222a. The text of the ms. is here faulty: line 222 lacks one short syllable between ζῶοντος and ἐγγύθεν, while line 222a is an addition in the right-hand margin, which Fr. (in app.crit.) took to be in the hand of the scribe of the main text. This judgement accords with the conclusions of Preisendanz, whose introduction to his facsimile edition of the Anthologia Palatina (full title in n.sup. on opening title and lemma) contains by far the most detailed study of the ms. The line added in the margin is written in maiuscule letters, while the majority of the text is in miniscule, but this is consistent with the practice of the scribe J elsewhere, see Preisendanz, praef. col. LXXVff, esp. LXXVIIIff. From examination of the facsimile alone, many similarities can be observed between the lettering of line 222a and that of the lemma after line 80 (for example). Since the latter is inserted into the main body of the text (see n.sup. ad loc.), it is certainly in the hand of J.

Editors and commentators have varied in their adaptation of the ms.: Du Cange printed 222a in brackets, while Bekker excised the line. Fr. follows Wilamowitz in doubting 222. Graefe, Ludwich and Spitzner retained both lines (Spitzner put line 222a before line 222). Proposed supplements for line 222 are ὄτ' (Du Cange, Graefe, Bekker), οὐ (Ludwich) and ἔτ' (Spitzner; to be read in combination with the inversion of lines 222 and 222a, op.cit.p.29ff).

Of these supplements for line 222, Du Cange's ὄτ' is by far the best: Ludwich's οὐ introduces hiatus without improving on the sense of Du Cange's ὄτ', while Spitzner's ἔτ' (although an

easy omission before ἔγγ- in uncials, ΕΤΕΓΓ) is feeble. On the other hand, ὅτ' could easily be lost after the opening ὅττι, while evidence from Nonnus' usage suggests that Paul might well have written such a half-line, cf. esp. D.30.151 ὅτ' ἔγγύθεν ἦλθον ὀλέθρου; also the incidence of ἔγγύθεν as fourth dactyl in half-lines of similar cadence at Par.4.124, 11.122, D.1.50. The close alliance of ὅττι and ὅτε may appear inelegant, but again Nonnus offers some precedent, cf. D.46.1 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ γίνωσκεν ἄναξ θρασύς, ὅττι..., 31.118ff γίνεο κυανέη ψευδώνυμος, ὅττι καὶ αὐτῇ/ἀντιτύποις μελέεσσιν, ὅτε χρέος ἐστὶν ἀνάγκης, /... εἰς Ἄρτεμιν εἶδος ἀμείβω, Par.4.97ff πείθεό μοι, ..., / ὅττι νέου βιότοιο διακτορος ἔρχεται ὥρη, / εὐσεβίης ὀχετηγός, ὅτ' οὐκέτι μῦστιδι τέχνη / ... / (102) ... ῥέξετε λοιβὴν.

The poetic quality of line 222a suggests that it is authentic: the verb ἐπιχράω, used by Paul again 602 inf., is apposite for describing the destructive force of an Erinys, cf. Il.16.352 of wolves attacking sheep; A.R.3.431 of ἀνάγκη (constructed with acc. and inf.), also ib.2.498 of a storm wind (abs.), 2.283 of Zetes and Calais pursuing the Harpies; Nic.Th. 14 of the Titan's daughter attacking Orion through the agency of a scorpion; A.P.14.3.2 (Metrod.) τίπτε τοι, ὦ τέκος, ἄλγος ἐπέχραεν; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.37 (PG.37.581) of the venomous tongue of Μῶμος, ib.2.1.13.128 (col.1237) ἠλείδουσιν ἐπέχραε λυγρὸς ὀλεθρος; Nonn.D.19.8 of πένθος, 15.89 and 17.116 of untimely sleep, and passim of the activities of gods against mortals (2.425, 5.345, 30.3, 33.261, 46.99, etc.). The simple ἔχραε is similarly used at Od.5.396 στυγερὸς δέ οἱ ἔχραε δαίμων, cf. ib.10.64; Nonn.D.29.120, 40.172 (both of φθόνος), 18.329 (μόρος), 5.481 (βαρύμηνις ἀπειλῇ); also A.P.5.297.2 (Agath.) of the greater πόνος which besets women by contrast with men.

Hence neither 222 nor 222a can be rejected outright as intrusive (although 222a is certainly better poetry). The omission of 222a by haplography is, like the omission of ὅτ' in 222, eminently plausible. The two lines might possibly be considered as original alternatives, both alike by Paul (cf. n.inf. on 1013 ὀλβον ὀπάζων), but Graefe's argument (ad loc.) in favour of the retention of both lines, is attractive: ...habet tamen repetitum illud σέθεν ζώοντος, quod gravitatem aliquam spiret, et, nescio, quam gratiam prae se ferat.

There is precedent in Nonnus for such repetition of an opening half-line, e.g. D.4.294f, 8.359f, cf. 5.399f, 416f, 26.22f, etc.; also Call.Dian.33f, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.76.31f. Paul himself elsewhere repeats a key word or phrase for rhetorical emphasis, e.g. sup.176ff, inf. 326ff, 975ff, 991ff, 997ff, cf. Call.Ap.26f and the use of anaphora in the longer passage, Call.Dem.1-23.

In the ms., line 222a is inserted in the margin at the end of line 222, suggesting that it belongs afterwards, but the marginal insertion of a missing line slightly out of place is a simple error. Spitzner argued that if 222a is put first, line 223 becomes a dependent clause of the previous sentence, instead of standing alone in awkward asyndeton. The translation would then run: "...it is a sign of grace in Envy, that in your lifetime she has assaulted the beauty of Roma, that in your lifetime, when help is at hand, a gaping ulcer wells up in our breast". The suggestion is neat, but it is not necessarily desirable that line 223 should be so closely linked with the preceding lines. Its medical imagery rather looks forward to line 224, and the ἄλλ᾽ of 224 is in strong and immediate contrast to 223 (although see further 224n.inf.). Fr. (ad loc.) argued that line 223 "setzt neu ein mit starkem Accent" and certainly such emphatic or dramatic asyndeton is very common throughout the poem (e.g. 3, 24, 92, 173) and is particularly characteristic of Roma's speech (226, 228, 231, 232, 236,). I would therefore retain the line order indicated by the ms. (i.e. line 222 followed by 222a) and reject Graefe's proposal (ad loc.) that στήθεσι δ' ἡμετέροισι be read in 223 if 222a is retained.

223. στήθεσιν ἡμετέροισι, κτλ.: "A gaping ulcer is welling up/ breaking out in our breast". Themistius uses similar imagery in Or.7 (I.137.11ff Downey) ἄρτι καθεστηκυίας τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ γαλήνης λαμπρᾶς ἐφ' ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν τεταμένης, ὥσπερ σώματος τὰ ἔξωθεν ὑγιαίνοντος ῥῆγμα ὕπουλον ὑποτρεφόμενον ἐν τῷ βάθει περὶ τὸ κυριώτατον τῶν μερῶν ἀπεσῆμαινεν. Intransitive ἀνέχω/ἀνίσχω does not regularly occur in a medical context, but it is used of people or things rising up from or breaking a surface, e.g. Od.5.320 of Odysseus, unable to surface when shipwrecked; Hdt.8.8, Opp.H.5.666

both of a diver; A.R.3.851 of the magic herb which sprang up where Prometheus' blood dripped, 3.1383 of the Spartiates; Opp.H.1.645 of the offspring born of the dolphin and seal; Alciphro.3.24.3 (p.89.3 Schepers) of Aphrodite rising from Cythera; also of topographical features et simil. rising up or jutting out. see LSJ s.v. ἀνέχω B.1a, 1e, 2, and cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.32 οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἀνέχει, of the apse of S.Sophia, Agath.Hist.2.19.4 of thickets and copses. For this sense of ἔλκος, see LSJ s.v.I.2. The epithet περιρραγῆς is very rare, only A.P.7.542.3 (Stat.Flacc.) π. .../θηγαλέον ποταμοῦ Βιστονίοιο τρύφος (of ice), Clem.Alex.Paed.2.2.33.1 (I.176.14f Stählin) αἱ δὲ γυναικες, ..., ὥς μὴ ταῖς πλατείαις κύλιξιν διαχέουσai τὰ χεῖλη περιρραγεῖς γένωνται... . For the use of the simple dative στήθεσιν (poetic plural for singular) without preposition, to denote place, cf. 197 sup. with n. ad loc.

224. ἄλλᾳ, μάκαρ, κτλ.: The line is modelled on Call.Del.226f ἄλλᾳ, φίλῃ, δύνασαι γάρ, ἄμύνεο πότνια δούλους/ὑμετέρους (with Maas' conjectures. The transmitted text reads ἄμύνειν...δούλοις/ὑμετέροις. See P.Maas Textual Criticism (tr. B.Flower, Oxford 1958) sec.30, p.28ff). Cf. also A.P.6.76.5 (Agath.) ἄλλᾳ, θεᾷ, δύνασαι γάρ, ἣ ἡβητῆρά με τεύξον/ῆ... . Maas rightly argued that these imitations of Paul and Agathias substantiate his restoration of the imperative for infinitive in Call. Paul's use of ἄλλᾳ with imperative here marks the transition from Roma's statement of the problem to her appeal for help, cf. Klotz's definition, cited by Denniston Greek Particles p.14 and quoted 145n.sup., and see the many exx. collected by Denniston loc.cit. Hence, although Paul's ἄλλᾳ is in immediate contrast to 223 and ἐφ' ἔλκεϊ in 224 picks up ἔλκος in 223 (cf. n.sup. on 222/222a fin.), it is also antithetical to the whole of the preceding sentence from 220. The expression δύνασαι γάρ et simil. occurs elsewhere in prayers and petitions, e.g. Od.5.25 Τηλέμαχον δὲ σὺ πέμψον ἐπισταμένως, δύνασαι γάρ (Zeus to Athene), Il.16.515 δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσι' ἀκούειν (prayer to Apollo), Romanos 8 ιη'5f σὺ γὰρ δύνασαι μόνος ὡς κτίστης τῶν πάντων/ἀμαρτίας ἀφεῖναι.

μάκαρ: Of J.also inf. 934, of the patriarch Eutychius 1028.

For this vocative used honorifically of people, cf. Epigr.Gr. 859.7; Opp.H.1.66 (Marcus Aurelius), C.1.1 (Caracalla); Nonn.D.46. 221 Κάδμε μάκαρ; Tryph.278 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, πεφύλαξο... (Sinon petitioning Priam); A.P.4.3B.55 (Agath., of his patron Theodorus), 5.292.10 (id., of Paul Sil.), 9.644.1 (id., of the farmer). See also 193n.sup.

ἐφ' ἑλκεῖ φάρμακα πάσσειν: Cf. Il.15.393f ἐπὶ δ' ἑλκεῖ λυγρῶ/ φάρμακ'... ἐπασσε, Il.5.401 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ... φάρμακα πάσσω, al.simil.; A.R.4.442 θελκτήρια φ. ἐπασσεν, with dative; Orph.Lith.343 καὶ μιν ἐφ' ἑλκεῖ πάσσε (of the stone which cures snake-bite); Nonn.D.29. 265 ἑλκεσι φάρμακα πάσσειν, cf. 30.104, absolute D.17.357, 34.72, Par.12.162 (metaph., prophecy of Isaiah concerning Christ); A.P.5. 225.3f (Mac.Cons.) οὐδὲ Μαχάων/ ἥπιά μοι πάσσει φάρμακα δευομένων.

The use of medical imagery in connection with the emperor is, by the 6th cent., commonplace, e.g. Liban.Or.15.69 (II.147.2ff Foerster), 17.36 (II.221.1ff); Jul.Or.2.89B (114.15 Hertlein), also 3.129A (166.3ff) in comparison between Pericles and the empress Eusebia; Them.Or.1 (I.20.17ff Downey); Cor.Laud.Just. praef.43ff with Cameron 37n., ib.2.194f with the references collected by Stache ad loc.; Georg.Pisid.Her.2.41ff with Pertusi ad loc. H.Hunger (Prooimion 137, quoted by Stache loc.cit., p.301) saw a connection between the application of this imagery to the emperor and its frequent use in Christian writers of Christ and the apostle Paul: the emperor was from the time of Constantine considered to be ἰσαπόστολος, and so the imagery was naturally transferred to him. On the use of medical imagery in the Church Fathers, see (for example) H.Piesik Bildersprache der Apostolischen Väter (Diss., Bonn 1961) 68ff, R.Arbesmann in Traditio 10 (1954) 1ff; and in Romanos, R.J.Schork in Traditio 16 (1960) 353ff, K.Mitsakis, The Language of Romanos the Melodist (Byz.Arch.11, Munich 1967) 169f and J.Nimmo Smith op.cit.p.89ff.

225. χεῖρα τετὴν προτίταινε, κτλ.: Cf. Cor.Laud.Just. praef.37 senio dextram, pie, porridge fesso, ib.1.12f, and see Cameron's n. on praef.37 for other exx. from late poetry of the image of the

outstretched hand, noting esp. Diosc.9.20 (I.139 Heitsch) τῷ σῶ ὄρεξον οἰκέτη ὄλβου χεῖρα, where the outstretched hand is connected with ὄλβος, as in Paul. Both Dioscorus and Corippus are seeking financial recompense; so at 1013 inf. Paul refers to Eutychius' almsgiving as ἔκχυτον ἐκ παλάμης ποταμήρρυτον (see below on ῥυηφενῆς) ὄλβον ὁπάων. Here, however, Paul refers more generally to the prosperity which J.'s reign has brought in consequence of his establishment of a peaceful world-empire, as is indicated by the development of this theme at 226-36. The reference to ὄλβος here is picked up at 234 ἐπίρρυτον ὄλβον; cf. the invocation of Eirene at 139 sup. as πολύολβε, τιθηνήτειρα πολλῶν. For Paul's use of the epithet ῥυηφενῆς, ("flowing with riches"), cf. Nonn.D.40.272 ῥυηφενέας χύσιν ὄλβου. The noun ῥυηφενίη occurs at Call.Jov.84 ἐν δὲ ῥυηφενίην ἔβαλές σφισιν, ἐν δ' ἄλγῃ ὄλβον (of Zeus' treatment of kings), but the adj. is first extant at D.P.337 Ταρτησὸς χαρίεσσα, ῥυηφενέων πέδον ἀνδρῶν, cf. Eustath. ad loc. (p.153.26ff Bernhardt) τὸν δὲ Ταρτησὸν ποταμὸν κασσίτερον τοῖς ἐκεῖ καταφέρειν ἱστόρηται. So Nonnus uses it (*inter alia*) in connection with the river Pactolus (e.g.D.10.152, 25.332; see n.inf. on 1012) and the amber tears shed by the Heliades (who were transformed into trees) and carried in the river Eridanus (e.g.D.23.92, 43.415). The compound προτιταίνω is not elsewhere attested. It is a variation for προτείνω, see LSJ s.v.II for χεῖρα προτείνω and cf. Proc.Gaz.Pan.5 (4⁹⁵.11f).

226-36. The familiar theme of J.'s world-empire (cf. 11-16, 135-41, 147-49, 157-60 sup.) is here reiterated, with greater emphasis upon the resulting peace and consequent prosperity, following on from ὄλβου (225), see n.sup. and cf. inf.673f καὶ γὰρ ἐμὸς σκηπτούχος, ὅλης χθονὸς εἰς ἐν ἰούσης, / βάρβαρον Αὐσονίον τε πολύτροπον ὄλβον ἀγείρας, on the collection of materials for S.Sophia.

226f. πάντα, κτλ.: "All the world, directing it with your guiding bridle, have I made subject to your trophy-bearing triumphs". I.e. Roma has directed J.'s successful campaign of world-conquest. The language and concepts are very similar to 960f inf. βουλᾷς δὲ κυβερνητῇρι χαλινῶ/σεῖο κατιθύνει κρατερόφρονας, "your stout-hearted

counsels he (Christ) keeps straight with guiding bridle", where J. is addressed; 981f σεῖο δ' ὕπ' εὐχολῆσι κατὰπτερος ἔθνεα Νίκη/ κοιρανίης ὑπέθηκε πολισσούχοισι λεπάδνοις, "by your prayers winged Victory has subjected the nations beneath the city-protecting yoke-straps of sovereignty", where the patriarch Eutychius is addressed. Note the emphatic opening asyndeton in our lines.

226. κυβερνητῇρι τεῷ διέπουσα χαλινῷ: Homer uses a dat.instr. with διέπω at Il.24.247 σκηπανίῳ δίεπ' ἄνέρας. For the phrase κ.χαλινῷ (also inf. 960; simil. 1023), cf. Opp.C.1.95f λαιῇ..., ἵππελάτης δὲ/ἵππων ἰθύνειε κυβερνητῆρα χαλινόν; Nonn.D.25.189 (in eadem sede), 37.207 (at the line-end, as inf. 960), both dat., of animals. For this type of imagery in the context of government, cf. sup.159f λεπάδνοις, ζυγόν, 147 ζυγόδεσμον, with n. ad loc. The image of the emperor as helmsman (κυβερνήτης) of the ship of state is similarly commonplace, e.g. (late exx.) Eus.Laud.Const.10 (223.12ff Heikel), Them.Or.19 (I.330.16 Downey), Georg.Pisid. Her.ex Africa red.78f, Theoph.Sim.4.11.3 (169.25 de Boor); cf. Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.27 principis auspicio leges et iura gubernans, of Anastasius, quaestor and magister officiorum.

227. ὑπέθηκα τροπαιοφόροις θριάμβοις: The phrase τ.θριάμβοις means no more than "victories", as the two terms mean respectively "victories" and "victorious" when used independently inf.935, 967; compare Paul's use of τροπαίους sup.136 (and inf.231) and see n. sup. on 136f on the Roman triumph awarded to Belisarius in 534 and the depiction of scenes of imperial triumph in art. For Paul's use of the terminology of triumph here, cf. Const.Porph.de Caer. Appendix (p.498.7ff Bonn) ὡς δὲ εἰσεῖη τὴν χαλκὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἔστη ὁ ἀδμισσιονάλιος, ἔχων τὸν πρωτίκτωρα καὶ τὸν θριαμβευτὴν, καὶ ἔκραξεν τὸ θριαμβευτάλιον, on J.'s adventus into Cpl. in 559 (see Stein B-E II, Excursus O, p.818f); Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.50f sacrosque triumphos/principis invicti felici carmine dicam, with Cameron ad loc.

In its earliest occurrence (Cratinus fr.36, see LSJ s.v.I.1; cf.A.P.13.6.2, Phal.), θρίαμβος denotes a processional hymn to

Dionysus, and it is later used as an epithet of that god (see LSJ s.v.I.2). But in prose of the Hellenistic and imperial period, it is used of a Roman triumph (see LSJ s.v.II), and in patristic writers it is used metaphorically to suggest a glorious victory (see PGL s.v.1). Etymologists suggest that the Latin triumphus is borrowed from the Greek θρίαμβος, via Etruscan, "comme l'indiquerait le p correspondant à la sonore β de θρίαμβος", Ernout and Meillet Dict.étym.de la langue latine (4th ed.; Paris 1979) s.v. triumphus, cf. Chantraine Dict.étym de la langue grecque s.v. θρίαμβος. It has been suggested that the Greek may be a borrowing from a pre-Indo-European Mediterranean ("Pelasgian") word, or alternatively the Latin and Greek terms may be independently borrowed from "Pelasgian", see Frisk Gr.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. θρίαμβος. The term is rare in poetry in this sense, cf. A.P.9.808.10 (Anon.) οὕτως Ἰουστινῶς Σοφίῃ σχεδόν· ἀμφοτέροι δὲ/χρῦσεον ἔργον ἔτευξαν ἀπ' Ἀσσυρίοιο θριάμβου. In literary Koine, τροπαιοφόρος is similarly used in the sense "triumphal" e.g. D.H.3.31.6 παραγενόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην τὴν τροπαιοφόρον ἀπεδίδου τοῖς θεοῖς πομπήν τε καὶ θυσίαν δεύτερον ἐκείνουν κατὰ γων θρίαμβον, see LSJ s.v.II, Soph.Lex.s.v.2; in the Fathers it is also used more generally to mean "victorious" (as here), e.g. Greg.Nyss.Steph.1 (PG.46.705D) ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἀλήθεια κατὰ τοῦ ψεύδους τροπαιοφόρος ἦν, see PGL s.v. For its use in poetry, cf. A.P.16.222.1 (Parmenio) Μῆδοις ἐλπισθεῖσα τ.λίθος εἶναι, ib.259.2 (Anon.) Πᾶνα; Orac.Sib.14.343 ἀνδρῶν ; A.P.5.294.24 (Agath.) Κύπρι.

Metaph. ὑποτίθημι ("make subject") is found in prose, see LSJ s.v.I.1 fin., Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v.3 and cf. Agath.Hist.4.24.7, of subjection to tribute; it occurs once in Homer in the active, of placing one thing under another, Il.18.375; cf. Theoc.24.36, A.P.7.179.4 (Anon.), Nonn.D.37.69 (Graefe, Keydell, Peek; ἐπ- L), Tryph.100.

228-31. The proposition of 226f is illustrated. The references to Mede, Celt, Indian and Carthage comprise a survey of the bounds of empire, east, west and south, like 11-16 (see n.sup. ad loc.) and 135-38 sup., cf. 935f inf.

228. ἡρεμέει, κτλ.: "Quiet are both the Median lord and the Celtic war-cry". On the Fifty-Years Peace with Persia concluded in December 561, see nn.sup. on 9 and 13-15, and cf. 138.

In classicising writers, Κελτοί is widely used of the inhabitants of Gaul, the Alps and the Rhine area, e.g. A.P.9.125 (Anon.), ib.283 (Crinag.), both of the Rhine area (other instances from the Anthology in Beckby's index s.v. Keltoi); D.P.288f, 292f (on the Po); Opp.H.3.625f (mouth of the Rhone); D.C.39.49.1f (Rhine area); Nonn.D.38.93 (Po), 46.54 (Rhine area), al.; Proc.BG 1.1.18 (source of Po), ib.4.5.30, Aed.4.5.9 (both on source of the Danube). For the feminine form Κελτίς (also inf.637), cf. A.P.10.21.4 (Phld.), Orac.Sib.7.103, 12.133. Here Paul is referring to the Franks, cf. Agath.Hist.1.2.1 πρόσσοικοί τε γὰρ εἰσι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἀγχιτέρμονες τὸ γένος τῶν Φράγγων. εἶεν δ' ἂν οὗτοι οἱ πάλαι ὀνομαζόμενοι Γερμανοί. δῆλον δέ· ἀμφὶ Ῥήνον γὰρ ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσι καὶ τὴν ταύτην ἡπειρον, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ Γαλλιῶν τὰ πλείστα ,..., καὶ τὴν Μασσιλίαν πόλιν,...; Theoph.Sim.6.3.6 (225.12ff de Boor) οἱ τῆς Κελτικῆς Ἰβηρίας πρέσβεις... (Φράγγοι δὲ ἄρα οὗτοι τῇ νεωτέρᾳ γλώττῃ κατονομάζονται); and see Averil Cameron Agathias p.82 on the use of classicising names in Byzantine literature.

The most recent encounters between the empire and the Franks had been in the Italian wars, where a combined Frankish and Alamannic invading force under the leadership of Leutharis and Butilinus had seriously harassed and hampered Narses' campaign of re-conquest. Even after the elimination of Leutharis' contingent as a result of an epidemic and the destruction of Butilinus' force at the Battle of Capua (A.D.554), Gothic and Frankish resistance in the areas north of the Po continued until 561/2, when Narses finally sent the keys of Verona and Brixia to J., see 9n.sup. These events are described in detail in Agathias Hist.1.1 to 2.14, cf. Stein B-E II.605ff, Bury HLRE II.274ff. Earlier Frankish enterprises included the sending of a force of Burgundians to assist the Goths in the recapture of Milan in 539 (Bury 202ff, Stein 354), and the occupation of the northern provinces of Italy whilst the Goths were engaged south of the Po in the 540s (Bury 257, Stein 526f). Agathias describes how the imperial ambitions of the Frankish king

Theodebert extended even to attacking Cpl. itself, since he objected to J's assumption of the title φραγγικὸς, inter alia (Hist.1.4.1ff), but any such ambitions were cut short by his death, ca.547 (Agath. Hist.1.4.5ff, cf. Stein 530 and Excursus N, p.816f, Bury 258). On Agathias' account of the Franks in general, see Averil Cameron in Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Lettere, Storia e Filosofia, Vol.37 (1968) 95ff, esp. 122ff on Theodebert and 125f on Leutharis and Butilinus.

In referring to the Κελτῖς ὁμοκλή here, Paul certainly intends to recall the re-conquest of Italy, J's main achievement in the west, cf. Cor.Laud.Just. praef.10-18 with Cameron's nn. ad loc. (Bury, HLRE II.288 n.1, suggested that the allusion here is to Spain, but this was a minor achievement compared with the re-conquest of Italy, see n.sup. on 11-13). For Paul's coupling of references to Persia and the west in this line, cf. A.P.9.641.1f, 4.3B.3-11 (both Agath.), also 9 sup. with n. ad loc.

The vague ἡρεμέει (cf. 216 sup. with n. ad loc.) is appropriate here, since both Persians and Franks were far from being J's subjects (ὑπέθηκα 227). For the use of this verb in such a context, cf. Proc.Gaz.Pan.26 (514.3f) δι'ὃν (Agesilaus) βάρβαρος ἡρεμεῖ, A.P.16.353.1 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius) εἰ φθόνος ἡρεμέοι, Agath.Hist.4.1.1 and esp. 2.6.7, 2.12.7 where it is used negatively of the Franks.

For ὁμοκλή in the sense "war-cry", cf. Il.16.147 πιστότατος δέ οἱ ἔσκε μάχῃ ἐνὶ μεῖναι ὁμοκλήν, of enemy clamour, Nonn.D.29.259f μιῇ δ' ἐλατῆρος ὁμοκλήν Ἀστραίῳ δεδόνητο (the noun occurs only here in Nonnus). Homer uses ὁμοκλή generally of the kind of address used by the ἄναξ to inferiors (e.g. Il.12.413 οἱ δὲ ἄνακτος ὑποδείσαντες ὁμοκλήν, Od.17.189, al.), and the word covers the range "threat", "rebuke", "summons" (also in address to animals), see LSJ s.v.I, adding Call.Del.158 ("rebuke"), ib.231 (of call to attendant dog); A.R.2.20 (Amycus' challenge), 4.13 (cries of hounds threatening a fawn). In later epic, it is also used of abstracts such as wind, winter, heat and fire in the sense "onset", "attack", see LSJ s.v.II, adding Opp.H.2.248 of winter. But Paul's use of it here of people in conjunction with ἡρεμέει is like that of

Homer and Nonnus, cf. inf. 927, also 1023 ὁμοκλητῆρι...χαλινῷ and see nn. ad locc. The "Celtic war-cry" was a tactic of their warfare familiar to the Romans from their earliest encounters with the people of this area, e.g. Livy 5.37.8 (of the Gauls at the R.Allia) nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono, cf. ib.5; Tac.Germ.3.1f on the German barritus; cf. ps.Maurice Strategicon 11.5 (ed. Scheffer, Uppsala 1664, p.276) on the Slav habit of raising a cry before going into battle in order to test the enemy.

229f. καὶ ξίφος, κτλ.: "and the Indian has given the sword of friendship to your throne, bringing elephants and sea-pearls".

The term Ἰνδός is regularly used at this period of the inhabitants of the areas flanking the southern end of the Red Sea, i.e. the Axumites or Ethiopians on the west side and the Homerite, Himyarite or Amerite Arabs on the east. In the sixth cent., direct commercial contact between the Roman empire and India had ceased and the Byzantine trade in luxury goods from the east was conducted by means of intermediaries, notably the Persians and these Ethiopians and Arabians. The resulting vagueness about the geography of eastern areas led to inaccuracy in the use of the term "Indian", e.g. Proc.Aed.6.1.6 Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ'Αἰγύπτου φερόμενος, κτλ., Mal.433.3f ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ συνέβη Ἰνδοὺς πολεμῆσαι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Αὐξουμίται καὶ οἱ Ὀμηρίται, Theoph.Sim. 3.9.6 (128.25f de Boor) τοὺς Ὀμηρίτας (Ἰνδικὸν δὲ τὸ γένος καὶ Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆκοον), and commonly; cf. Bury HLRE II.318 nn.1 and 2, E.H.Warmington The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (2nd ed., London 1974) 136ff and N.Pigulewskaja Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 36, Berlin 1969) 140.

The hostility between the Roman empire and Persia in the 6th cent. led to a strong Byzantine interest in securing good relations with the Axumites and Homerites. There survives in Procopius (BP 1. 20.9ff) and Malalas (456.24ff; cf. Theoph.A.M.6064, 244.13ff de Boor, where the same description is wrongly cited in connection with the renewal of hostilities between Byzantium and Persia in the

570s) a detailed account of a Byzantine embassy by J.'s agens in rebus Julian to the Axumites and Homerites in 530/1. Procopius attributes a twofold object to the embassy: to persuade the Axumites to sever their trading connections with Persia and trade in silk directly with the Romans, thereby eliminating Roman dependence upon Persia for a commodity in great demand, and secondly, to instigate a Homerite invasion of Persia from the south-west, across the intervening desert. In the event, neither of these objectives was realised (despite Malalas' statement, 458.16ff, that the Indian king immediately made war on Persia), but the embassy was well received, Mal.457.10ff μετὰ χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἐξενίσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰνδῶν ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων ἠξιώθη μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων κτήσασθαι φιλίαν. There follows in Malalas a detailed description of the reception of the embassy by King Elesboas (Ella Atzbeha) derived from an account by the ambassador himself (457.12f ὧς δὲ ἐξηγήσατο ὁ αὐτὸς πρεσβευτής). In connection with our line, note especially the conclusion of Malalas' description (458.22ff, cf. Theoph.245.11ff) ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰνδῶν κρατήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ Ῥωμαίων, δεδωκὼς εἰρήνης φίλημα, ἀπέλυσεν ἐν πολλῇ θεραπειᾷ. κατέπεμψε γὰρ καὶ σάκρας διὰ Ἰνδοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων.

It has been suggested (see Pigulewskaja op.cit.p.252ff) that this passage in Malalas conflates more than one embassy and that the account of the ambassador is in fact that of Nonnosus, who conducted an embassy to the area in the reign of J. and published an account of it, which is summarised in Photius Bibliotheca cod.3. Whether or not this is correct, it is clear that there was a good deal of diplomatic activity between Byzantium and the countries flanking the Red Sea during the sixth cent.: Photius' summary records (I.4 Henry) that both Nonnosus' grandfather (unnamed) during the reign of Anastasius, and his father Abraham had led embassies to the "Saracens" (of the Arabian peninsula, see Henry's n., p.194), while the chronographers have notices recording subsequent "Indian" embassies to Cpl., e.g. Mal.477.7f; ib.484.9f, cf. Theoph.226.33ff, where the detail is added (227.4ff) that the elephant brought by the ambassador escaped one night and rampaged through the city, causing deaths and injuries. Malalas dates this

latter embassy to 550/1. Procopius (BP 1.20.13) similarly implies frequent contact between the Byzantines and Homerites. Cf. also ib. 2.3.40f οὐ...ὁμαιχμίαν δὲ πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν ἀρχάς, ὧν καὶ ἀνήκοοι τὸ παράπαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγγανον ὄντες; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀμηρίτας τε καὶ θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν περιβέβληται, κτλ. (from a speech purporting to have been made by Armenians to Chosroes I in 539 in denigration of J.'s imperial ambitions). This diplomatic activity may have had as its product the Homerite expedition to Mecca. This expedition aimed to win control of the caravan routes down the east coast of the Red Sea rather than actually to invade Persia, but even this limited objective was in Byzantine interests, particularly if relations with Persia were bad. It is traditionally dated to 570/1, but there is a case for placing it in the period between 540 and 562 and connecting it with the Byzantine-Persian war of that time. See Pigulewskaja op.cit. p.265ff. (The reference in Proc. BP 1.20.13 to the one attempted Homerite invasion of Persia might then perhaps be to this expedition. If so, the expedition would have to be dated before 551, since Bella 1-7 had been completed by that date, see Stein B-E II.717). On the history of the Axumites and Homerites and their relations with Byzantium and Persia during this period, see further H.Dillmann in Abhandl.der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1878, p.177ff, and ib. 1880, p.1ff; Pigulewskaja op.cit. p.175ff; Bury HLRE II.316-27; Stein B-E II.101ff, 265ff, 298ff; on the spread of Christianity in the area in the early 6th cent., see I.Shahîd in DOP 33 (1979) 23ff.

The evidence available does not indicate a specific treaty to which Paul might be referring here, but, like Κελτῖς ὁμοκλή in 228, the words suggest a sphere of foreign policy in which J. acted with some success.

The mention of elephants and pearls is appropriate to the context: the ambassador's account of the Axumite king describes him as being adorned with pearls (Mal. 457.16f) and riding in a chariot drawn by four elephants (457.21), while the account of Nonnosus preserved in Photius mentions an encounter with a herd of elephants (p.6.35ff Henry); an "Indian" embassy to Heraclius brought gifts of pearls and other precious stones (Theoph.A.M. 6123,

335.10ff). The elephant and "India" or "Indians" are traditionally associated, see LSJ s.v. Ἰνδός 1 and cf. Opp.H.5.17f Ἰνδὸν/θῆρα (i.e. elephant); Hesych.s.v. Ἰνδός· ὁ τὸν ἐλέφαντα ἄγων ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας; Theoph.A.M.6075 (253.2) ἐλέφαντα, ζῶον Ἰνδικόν, ib.A.M.6081 (266.26f); also Sid.Pan.Anth.52ff on Byzantine import of the ivory of Indian elephants (in an empire survey, following a reference to Persian submission, 50f). On the Roman trade in ivory with India and Africa, see Warmington op.cit.p.162ff; on the pearl trade, ib. 167ff. Nonnus associates the pearl with India, D.42.239 μὴ λίθον Ἰνδῶν, μὴ μάργαρα χειρὶ τινάξης, cf. 32.25 where the phrase λίθον Ἰνδῶν φιλοτήσιον may have suggested Paul's ξίφος...φιλοτήσιον in 229 (although φιλοτήσιος is Homeric, Od.11.246 ἔργα; cf. Opp.H.1.546, C.1.333, al., Nonn.D.4.69, 5.102, al.). The line-opening Ἰνδὸς ἄνθρω (230) is Nonnian, cf. D.17.347, 35.133. On θῶκοις (229), see n.sup. on 148.

231. Καρχηδών, κτλ.: A further reference to J.'s reconquest of Africa, here represented by the capital Carthage, see nn.sup. on 16 and 136, noting the similar use of δοῦλον in 16. For this, cf. Nonn.D.15.124f γόνυ δοῦλον ὑποκλίνας Διονύσου/Ἰνδός, 27.176, al.simil.; A.P.4.3B.35 (Agath.) δοῦλον Ὑδάσπην. This adjectival use of δοῦλος is classical, see LSJ s.v.II.1, adding A.P.7.218.13 (Ant.Sid.), 7.526.4 (Nicand.), 9.19.10 (Arch.); Opp.C.2.72, 3.261; A.P.2.401 (Christod.). On Paul's use of κλίω with unaccompanied dative, see 159n.sup. The defeat of the Vandal Gelimer had been celebrated by a Roman triumph in which trophies were paraded, see n.sup. on 136f. The form Καρχηδών is found from Hdt. onwards, see LSJ s.v. and cf. also Proc.BV 1.3.27, 4.38, al., Agath.Hist. praef.24, and for its use in epic, D.P.195-7.

232-35. The reference of 229f has already hinted at the theme of trade (see n. ad loc.), and the development of the theme of Cpl. as a trading-centre here neatly concludes Roma's survey of J.'s achievements by returning to the point from which it began, that of the ὄλβος (225, cf.234) which J. has nurtured. A reference

to the import of Egyptian corn similarly concludes a survey of Roman imperial power at Theoph.Sim.2.14.7 (98.14ff de Boor; in a speech). This kind of topic is recommended by Menander Rhetor for the epilogue of the βασιλικὸς λόγος, 377.22ff ὅμβροι γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ θαλάσσης φοραὶ καὶ καρπῶν εὐφορίαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δικαιοσύνην ἡμῖν εὐτυχοῦνται, cf. Prisc.Pan.206ff on Anastasius' providence in ensuring a supply of corn. The praise of great imperial cities as centres of trade is also well-established (e.g. Isocr.Pan.42 Athens' Piraeus as the market-centre of Hellas; Aristid.Or.26.11ff, II.94.20ff Keil, Rome as a world market-centre, cf. Sid.Pan.Maior.40ff where the countries of the world bring their products to the goddess Roma). The strategic position of Byzantium as a centre of maritime trade had long been recognised (e.g. Polyb.4.38.1ff) and the topic naturally occurs in encomium of Cpl. (cf. E.Fenster Laudes Constantinopolitanae 19), e.g. Them.Or.6 (I.124.9ff Downey), cf. id.Or.4 (I.75.14ff), Himer.Or.62(16). 5 (226.42ff Colonna), Greg.Naz.Or.42.10 (PG.36.469C), Socr.HE 4. 16.8 (II.508.18ff Hussey), Proc.Aed.1.5.2ff, Cor.Laud.Just.1.109ff; also A.P.4.3B.28-30 (Agath.) on the security and freedom of the seas under J. Paul returns to the topic at 906ff inf., where the lights of S.Sophia are said to guide sailors from all directions into Cpl. Other sources suggest a less rosy view of Cpl. as a trading-centre: it appears to have been largely a consumer market with no exports of its own (Them.Or.4, I.86.18ff Downey, ἔρχεται μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν ἅπαντα ἅπανταχόθεν τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἐξέρχεται δὲ οὐδὲν, εἰ μὴ γῆ καὶ ψάμμος καὶ φορυτός), and never rivalled Alexandria as a great commercial centre (see Jones LRE II.688); Procopius (Arc.25.1-10) accuses J. of ruining trade by exacting exorbitant duties. For a discussion of trade in general, see Jones LRE II. 824ff, Bury HLRE II.316ff.

232. εἰς ἐμὲ, κτλ.: "Towards me every merchant-ship directs life-bringing hope". The ships direct "life-bringing hope" because they carry supplies essential to life, above all corn, see Fr.'s n. ad loc. and cf. 234 inf. with n. ad loc., 915 inf. φερέσβιον ὀλκάδα, in the same context. The epithet φερέσβιος is

first applied to earth, and so associated with the earth's fruit, see 145n.sup. In late poetry, it is sometimes used, as here, with non-personal nouns other than earth, land et simil., e.g. Orph. Arg.311 δρυός; Nonn.D.4.253 Δαναοῖο φερέσβιον...τέχνην, 7.47 συζυγίης...φερέσβια πείσματα, al.; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.4.11 ὄλβον (cf. 234n.inf.); Tryph.483 ᾠσθμα; A.P.16.87.1 (Jul.Aeg.) τέχνης πυρσὸν ὅπασσα φερέσβιον (Prometheus). The cargo in the ship is a source of ἐλπίς both to the sailors who bring it in the hope of a safe voyage and profitable trade (cf. Jo.Chrys.Res.Mort.5, PG.50.425. 20ff, ib.3, col.422.47ff, on the trials and hopes of the merchant), and to the people of Cpl. whose hopes for security and survival depend upon it (cf. 234n.). For the emphatic opening εἰς ἐμὲ (here strengthened by asyndeton), cf. εἰς σὲ inf.922, A.P.4.3B.57 (Agath.). Homer uses φορτίς adjectivally with ναῦς at Od.5.250; 9.323, but later it is used alone in the same sense, A.P.9.215.4 (Ant.Thess.), Opp.H.5.105, 312, A.P.16.118.3 (Paul Sil.), inf. 917; exx. from prose, LSJ s.v.

233. κύκλιον εἰσορόωσα, κτλ.: "watching the circling course of the two Bears", i.e. Ursa Major and Ursa Minor. Contrast inf. 914ff οὐχ Ἑλίκτην, οὐχ ἡδὺ φάος Κινοσουρίδος ἄρκτου/εἰσορόων..., / ἀλλὰ τεοῦ νηοῖο θεουδέα λαμπάδα λεύσσω, also 854, and for εἰσορόω similarly used in a metaph. expression, A.P.10.76.8 (Paul Sil.). The stars are the sailor's compass (e.g. Od.5.271ff, A.R.3.744ff, Musae.213ff; the Great Bear was used for this purpose by the Greeks, see Pearson on S.fr.432.11; the value of the Little Bear for navigation was learnt from the Phoenicians, see Stanford's n. on Od.5.272-5); they also denote the changing seasons (Theoc.24.11ff with Gow ad loc.) and their very appearance, signifying a clear sky, is an auspicious and cheering sign to sailors (Theoc.22.21f) and to travellers (inf.895ff). The Bears are here called κύκλιος ("circling") because they circle around the Pole and never sink below the horizon (hence also the name Ἑλίκτη of the Great Bear, inf. 914, A.R. loc.cit.sup., ib.3.1195, etc.); cf. Od.5.273f = Il.18. 487f; S.fr.432.11 and other exx. collected by Pearson ad loc.; E.Ion 1153f; Arat.26ff; Cic.ND 2.41.105; etc. The adjective κύκλιος

is rare in late poetry (cf. 288 inf. with n. ad loc.), but for Paul's language here, cf. Nonn.D.2.17 ἄντυγα κυκλάδος Ἄρκτου, 38.407 κυκλάδες Ἄρκτοι, cf. 27.150; D.25.136 ὀλβίζει δρόμον Ἄρκτου, also 8.76, 33.68, al. for δρόμος used of the stars; D.1.252 διδύμησι Δράκων μεμερισμένους Ἄρκτοις. The use of Homeric διδυμῶν (Il.5.548, 16.672, al.) in the singular in the sense ἐκάτερος is also Nonnian, e.g. D.11.215 ποδῶν διδυμῶνι χηλῇ, 11.414 ὄχθης ἀμφοτέρης διδυμῶνα νύσσαν, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.IV.

234. ὥς κεν, κτλ.: A regular supply of bread and water to the populace of Cpl. (Roma's "children", τεκέεσσιν, see 151n.sup. on the concept of Mother Roma), was essential for the maintenance of urban peace: a bread shortage lay behind agitation in Cpl. in May 556 (Mal.488.6ff, Theoph.A.M.6048, 230.17ff) and there had been rioting because of a water shortage as recently as November 562 (Mal.492.11f, Theoph.A.M.6055, 237.7ff; cf. Stein B-E II.778). On the organisation of the food supply in Cpl., see Jones LRE II.695ff.

The verb ὀρέξω is aorist subjunctive: final ὥς κεν may be constructed with either aorist or present subjunctive, but the aorist is preferred by Nonnus, see Keydell I.77*, and cf. (for example) D.47.386, 451. For Paul's line-end. cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 4.11 φερέσβιον ὄλβον ὀρέξει (cf. φερέσβιον in eadem sede 232 sup.). In ἐπίρρυτον Paul chooses another epithet associated with water to qualify ὄλβον, cf. 225 sup. ῥυηφενέος, 1013 inf. ποταμήρρυτον, with nn. ad locc.; our epithet is rare in poetry, A.Eu. 907 καρπὸν, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.115 ὑγρὸν δεσμὸν ἔχοντες ἐπίρρυτον, of the Ὀμβροί.

235. ἐμπορίην δ', κτλ.: "and the winds blow fair, bringing merchandise over the seas". Graefe commented on the line (ad loc.) languide iungitur. But Fr. is right to argue (ad loc.) that it would not be an improvement to reverse the order of lines 234 and 235, and that 235 is in fact a climax: even the winds conspire to assist in Cpl.'s prosperity. The point is of topical relevance: immediately after his reference to the water shortage in November 562, Malalas continues (492.12ff), καὶ βορεῖς δὲ πολλοὺς φουσήσαι.

ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ αὐγούστου μηνὸς οὐκ ἐφύσησε νότος, καὶ ὁ τρίτος δὲ στόλος τῶν πλοίων οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν, ὥστε καὶ λιτανείας Εὐτύχιον τὸν πατριάρχην ἐπιτρέψαι γενέσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, cf. Theoph.A.M.6055, 237.9ff. Procopius (Aed.5.1.7-16) describes how the grain ships could not pass through the Hellespont without a favourable south wind, so that J. built a huge granary on Tenedos for the deposit of the grain, if necessary, until conditions were favourable; Paul refers to the importance of the south wind to ships, inf.854.

For ἐμπορίη used in the sense "merchandise", see LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v.1 and cf. A.P.4.3B.59 (Agath.) ἐμπορίην...μελίσης, 10.15.6 (Paul Sil.) πρὸν ἀμοιβαίης φόρτον...ἐμπορίης, inf. 851; see further n.inf. on 1019f. The verb ἀνάγω is here used in the Homeric sense "bring by sea", see LSJ s.v.I.2. The half-line ἐπιπνεῖουσιν ἄηται is used by Callimachus (Del.318) and Nonnus (D.47.362); simil. Od.9.139, A.R.1.335, 423, Opp.C.4.63, ps.Pampr. 3.12 (I.112 Heitsch).

236. ταῦτα, κτλ.: For the use of emphatic ταῦτα, cf. 58 sup., 934ff inf., A.P.10.76.7 (Paul Sil.). Middle ἐφέπω is regularly used in epic in this sense ("follow", "attend upon"), but elsewhere the dative is a person or animal, see LSJ s.v.II.1 and cf. D.P. 996; Opp.H.5.73; Nonn.D.14.39, 16.401, al., Par.10.98, 11.194; Coll.311.

236ff. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσης, κτλ.: Roma's appeal to J. to save S.Sophia, begun at 224f, is at last enunciated. See n. sup. on 220-42 on the construction of Roma's speech. With the use of ἀλλά here, cf. 145 sup. with n.ad loc., 224, and see Denniston Greek Particles p.16, sec.5 (ii).

237. ἀγλαΐης θημῶνι πεσεῖν, κτλ.: Agathias speaks in similar language of the quenching of mortal beauty by death, A.P.7.220.5f ἀλλ' ἴδε, Λήθην/ναίεις, ἀγλαΐην ἐν χθονὶ καθεμένη, 7.593.1ff τὰν πάρος ἀνθήσασαν ἐν ἀγλαΐᾳ καὶ αἰοιδᾷ, /.../ Εὐγενίαν κρύπτει χθονία κόνις, 7.602.8ff πᾶς δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα δερκόμενος /τὴν ἄδικον Μοῖραν

καταμέμφεται, οὐνεκα τοίην, / ἅ μέγα νηλείης, ἔσβεσαν ἀγλαΐην.

For reference to Lethe in connection with a building, cf. also A.P. 1.10.28f (Anon.) οὐ γὰρ ἀέθλους/λήθη ἀποσβέννυσιν ἀριστοπόνων ἀρετῶν, lines inscribed in the church of S.Polyeuktos in Cpl., restored in the 520s by Anicia Juliana. Lethe is here conceived as a river, as it is at 181 sup. and often; with Paul's expression, cf. Procl.Hymn 3.6 ὑπὲρ βαθυχεύμονα λήθην, 4.8 ληθαίοις ὑπὸ χεύμασιν, Nonn.D. 19.175 ὕδατα Λήθης, cf. 12.219.

The term θημῶν ("a heap") is not common: once in Homer of chaff (Od. 5.368), it is later used of chaff or corn (cf. Hesych. s.v. πᾶν τὸ σεσωρευμένον, οἶον ἀχύρων ἢ πυρῶν), and also more widely, Arist.Mete. 344a26 εἰς ἀχυρῶν θημῶνα; Philo de Vita Mos. 1.105 plural, of dead frogs, id. ap. Eus.PE 8.7. (385d) μὴ θημῶνος ὑφαιρεῖσθαι μέγα ἢ μικρὸν ἀπλῶς μηθὲν (law of Moses); Opp.H. 4.496 θημῶνας νήησαν, of grain; Nonn.D. 12.348 θημῶνας ἄλωης; Synes. περὶ βασιλείας 4 (p.9 Terzhagi) πλούτου θημῶνας, ib. 20 (p.49) θημῶνα πυρῶν, id. Hymn 9.22f (p.58) θημῶνα.../κτεάνων, χρύσειον ὄλβον. (Other forms, such as θημωνία, also θειμ-, θιμ-, are found in LXX and patristic writers, see Hatch and Redpath, LSJ and LSJ Suppl. and PGL s.v. θημωνία, and cf. Hesych. s.vv. θημωνία, θειμωνεῖαι, θιμῶνες). It is with Synesius' use of the term, of a heap of valuables, that we should probably associate Paul's use of it here: at 681 inf., it is used again of a heap of treasure or a treasure-house, ἐνθάδε πολλοὶ/ἡμετέρων θημῶνες ἀνωίχθησαν ἀνάκτων, of the collection of gold and silver for the adornment of S.Sophia; this is also the sense at 1011 inf., see n. ad loc. So here, Paul means the "treasure-heap" of beautiful things collected under the streams of Lethe.

The verb πεσεῖν is used as equivalent to the passive of βάλλω, "be cast", as often, see K-G.I.98, sec.373.5.

238. σκηπτοῦχε: See 156n.sup., and for the vocative, cf. inf. 282, 921, 973.

μήποτε μοι,...,τὸ θέσκελον ἔργον ἑάσης : Ὁν θέσκελον ἔργον, see 144n.sup. Du Cange wrote ἑάσσης, which may well be correct,

although the ms. has the form in single sigma. Keydell (I.52*) accepted the authority of the Laurentianus ms. of Nonnus D., which gives forms in double sigma for the future and aorist of ἔω, e.g. 16.195f, 46.207f μηδὲ.../...ἔασης, cf. Peek Lex.s.v. Keydell also believed (loc.cit.) that the form ἔασης which appears in the mss. at A.R.4.285 should be retained, although modern editors write ἔασης. This line in A.R. is, like our line, a negative petition, μηδὲ σύγ' ἢ Ἐχάρυβδιν ἀμηχανέοντας ἔασ(σ)ης/ἐσβαλέειν, cf. h.Ven.188 μή με ζῶντι' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἔασης/ναίειν. Paul may well have modelled his line on that of A.R., and would therefore have written ἔασης if he found it in A.R. The verb ἔω does not occur elsewhere in the hexameters of the Descr. (present, 50 sup.), but forms in double sigma are used for verbs like γελάω (901, Amb.159), τανύω (286, 353, 398, 947) and πετάννυμι (174, 328, 585, 1011, Amb.67). On the other hand, forms in single sigma are used by Paul and Agathias in epigrams, e.g. A.P.5.262.6 (Paul Sil.) τανύσεις, 7.205.3 (Agath.) ἔασω. (It may be significant that these epigrams are in part of the Codex Palatinus written by the scribe A, whereas the Descr. is in the hand of the later scribe J, see Preisendanz op.cit. praef. col.XXV ff).

239f. οὐ γὰρ, κτλ.: The theme of J.'s subjugation of the earth, expressed in similar language (see nn.inf.), is used as a negative foil sup. 147ff, 157ff, cf. also 135ff. For the sequence of ideas in this clause and the next, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.8 πολλὰς (sc.πολιτείας) ἀμέλει προσεποίησεν ἤδη τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἀλλοτρίας καθ' αὐτὸν οὔσας, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμους δεδημιούργηκεν οὐ πρότερον οὔσας, also of J.

εἰ καὶ: "even though", expressing an admitted fact, see Denniston Greek Particles p.300 (i), K-G.II.488f, sec.578c.2, and cf. A.P.9.656.12 (Anon., aet.Anastasii).

σε καταπτήσουσι.../...ἀπείρονος ἔθνεα γαίης: Like πτήξειε at 160 sup., Homeric καταπτήσω (Il.8.136, Od.8.190, al.) is constructed with accusative, cf. Opp.H.2.559 (v.1.), A.P.5.241.4 (Paul Sil.) and the exx. from late literary Koine collected by LSJ s.v.2. For the line-ending ἔθνεα γαίης, see 147n.sup., and on ἀπείρονος

...γαίης see n.sup. on ἀπείρονα βάρβαρον 158.

κλιθέντα/Αὔσονίους θεσμοῖσιν: "bent low before Ausonian ordinances". The expression is more probably intended as a passive version of the idiosyncratic use of κλίνω with dative discussed 159n.sup., than a straightforward use of passive κλίνω with dat.instr. Nonnus uses the middle of κλίνω analogously, D.5.48 στρατὸς ἀντιβίων ἱκέτης ἐκλίνεται Κάδμω, 15.203 αὐχένι λαχνήεντι λέων ἐκλίνεται νύμφη. On Αὔσονίους, see 174n.sup.

241. εἰ καὶ πᾶσαν, κτλ.: "even though you have built the whole city for me". On εἰ καὶ, see n.sup. The aorist ἔδειμας (Homeric, Il.21.446, etc.) has perfect sense, see K-G.I.167, sec.386.13, and for similar aorists after εἰ καὶ cf. Thuc.2.64.1 (quoted by Denniston loc.cit.n.sup.), A.P.5.220.1 (Agath.); simil. A.P.4.3B.49, 54, 58ff (id.) and passim elsewhere in Agathias' epigrams, inf. 249, 250, etc. The reference is to J.'s extensive re-building and beautification of Cpl. (including of course the new S.Sophia) after the destruction of much of the centre of the city in the Nika Riot, cf. Romanos 54 κγ'4f ἐν χρόνῳ γὰρ ὀλίγῳ ἀνέστησαν (i.e. J. and Theodora) ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν, ὥς καὶ λήθην ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς πάσχουσι πάντων τῶν δυσκόλων, Proc.Aed.1.10.2 (and Aed.1 in general on J.'s building works in Cpl. and environs), also Evagr.HE 4.31 (180.6ff Bid.-Parm.) on J.'s ecclesiastical building in Cpl. (preceding Evagrius' account of S.Sophia as μέγα τι καὶ ἀπαράβλητον χρῆμα, line 8), and see Bury HLRE II.48ff.

241f. οὐποτε δῆεις, κτλ.: "never will you find another more brilliant symbol of your throne". As the climax of her appeal, Roma makes explicit the idea implied in 150-54 sup. (see n. ad loc.), that S.Sophia is the greatest symbol of J.'s achievements in war and peace; see also nn.sup. on 142 (S.Sophia as J.'s culminating achievement) and on 143f (the literal and metaphorical prominence of S.Sophia above other buildings) and cf. Fr.'s n. on our line for a more literal sense in which S.Sophia might be said to distinguish J.'s throne.

The use of the second person singular present of δῆω with future sense is Homeric, Il.13.260, Od.7.49, cf. A.R.3.941, A.P.7.520.4 (Call.), 7.370.4 (Diod.), Orph.Lith.417, 613, al., A.P.10.76.5 (Paul Sil.). The verb is not used by Nonnus. For this sense of σύμβολον, see LSJ s.v.III.1 (with id.Suppl.s.v.) and cf. Call. fr.59.7, 384.36 Pf., A.P.9.507.4 (Call.; conj. Ruhnken, accepted by Pfeiffer and Beckby), A.P.5.195.2, 12.158.6 (both Meleagr., both of amatory tokens), 5.118.4 (Marc.Arg.; also amatory); Procl. Hymn 5.5, 7.22; Nonn.D.8.309, 37.477, al., Par.19.11, 125; Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.28, 145, 2.51; A.P.5.264.4, 291.1, 6.71.9 (all Paul Sil.), 5.294.18 (Agath.), all amatory; see also PGL s.v.A.4. With the use of φάντερον here, cf. φαεινότερην 151 with n. ad loc., and on this form of the comparative, see 182n. On θόκος, see 148n.

243f. Roma attempts to kiss J.'s feet. By the 6th cent., it had long been the custom for men of high rank, upon entering the emperor's presence, to perform an act of adoratio. The gesture was at once a mark of respect and of supplication. For an examination of the practice, see A.Alföldi, 'Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells um römischen Kaiserhofe', Mitt.des deutschen arch. Instituts, röm.abt.49 (1934) 3ff (now repr. in id. Die monarchischen Repräsentation in römischen Kaiserreiche, Darmstadt 1970), with comment and criticism by W.T.Avery, 'The Adoratio Purpurae and the Importance of the Imperial Purple', Mem.Am.Acad.Rome 17 (1940) 66ff, and cf. R.Guilland Recherches sur les institutions byzantines (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, Band 35, Berlin 1967) I.144ff. Contemporary evidence for the practice of kissing the imperial feet is to be found in Proc.Arc.15.15, 30.23; Cor.Laud.Just.1.157f (with Cameron and Stache ad loc.), 3.231ff (with Cameron on 3.234), al.; Const. Porph.de Caer.1.84 (387.8f, 13f Bonn), 1.89 (406.12, cf. 407.17f), 2.51 (700.12, 16, al.), al. (The chapters of the de Caer. mentioned all date from the 6th cent.; the first is certainly, the second probably, and the third possibly from the περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως of Peter the Patrician, see J.B.Bury in EHR 22, 1907, 212f, 216f). According to Procopius (Arc.30.21ff), the practice of prostrating oneself on the floor and kissing the emperor's feet is a modification

introduced by J. to the ceremony of adoratio (cf. Avery 79f, Guillaud 144), although some kind of obeisance had been the practice since the mid-third cent.A.D. (Alföldi 58, Avery 69) as the result of gradual evolution from the ceremonial practices of the Principate. On the literary affiliations of the suppliant Roma/benignant emperor motif, see n.sup. on 219-54, and for literary references to, and numismatic depictions of, scenes very similar to ours from as early as the 1st cent.B.C. onwards, see Alföldi 52. (The prostration of Roma is a mark of the greatest extremity, since Alföldi notes, p.43, that in allegorical portrayals, Roma alone retained throughout the empire the exceptional privilege of remaining seated in the emperor's presence).

ὡς φαμένη: Homeric, Il.5.835, Od.11.150, al., cf. Nonn.D.1.137, 2.109 and passim, see Peek Lex.s.v.φημί III.1.

χαρίεντα λιλαΐετο χεῖλεα πῆξαι/ποσσὶν ἀνακτορέοισιν: Homer uses λιλαΐομαι frequently, usually with infinitive (see LSJ s.v.), but it is less common in later epic, cf. A.R.3.394, al., Theoc.22.118, Opp.H.5.309, 405, C.4.172, al., Orph.Arg.1261, Nonn.Par.21.128, all with infinitive; Nonn.D.28.144, c.acc., Tryph.363 c.gen. (LSJ add Nonn.D.42.132 where Ludwich read λελιημένον, but Keydell, following Tiedke, retains the reading of the Laurentianus ms., βεβηημένον). With χεῖλεα πῆξαι/ποσσὶν, cf. Nonn.D.4.150 χεῖλεσιν ἡμετέροισι μεμυκότα χεῖλεα πῆξας, A.P.5.255.2 (Paul Sil.) ἐν ἀλλήλοις χεῖλεα πηξάμενοι, ib.232.2 (id.) ἐν δὲ Λεανδρείοις χεῖλεσι πηγνυμένη. For χαρίεις applied to parts of the body, cf. Il.16.798 μέτωπον, 18.24 πρόσωπον, al., see LSJ s.v.I, adding Nonn.D.1.527 προσώπου, 16.116 πλοκάμους, al., Coll.264 καρῆνου; also frequently in later poetry of women, Theoc.4.38, 14.8, al., Orph.Hymn 46.5, Nonn.D.34.108, Musae.30, A.P.5.275.1, 291.1 (both Paul Sil.), al. At Od.15.397, Homer uses ἀνακτόριος in the same sense as Paul's ἀνακτόρεος; the latter form occurs also at A.P.16.336.3 θοώκου, 350.4 ἐχθρῶ (both Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius).

244-47. ὁ δ' ἴλαον, κτλ.: J. responds to Roma's impassioned

plea with gracious calm. In describing J. as ἴλαον (244) and ἦκα...μειδῆσας (246), Paul reflects the view that the emperor should always appear serene and calm, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.3.264 ut clemens princeps legatos surgere iussit, 266f 'quod poscit', ore sereno/ clementer regnator ait, 'memorate, docete', on Justin II's response to the proskynesis of the Avar legates, ib.308-10 talia iactentem, nulla commotus in ira,/tranquillus princeps oculis pietate serenispexerat iuvenem, placidoque haec edidit ore, and see Cameron's n. on 309; also inf. 944 with n. ad loc. on imperial γαλήνη. Paul's description here recalls that of Themistius Or.4 (I.80.10ff Downey) ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας...ἦκέ τε εὐμενῆς παρ'αὐτῇ καὶ χεῖρα ὥρεξε κραδαιομένη καὶ προυτρέψατο εὐψυχον εἶναι, Constantius' reassurance of Cpl., concerned about the conspiracy of Vetricianus and Magnentius (see n.sup. on 219-54 for Themistius' description of Cpl.'s distress).

244f. ὁ δ'ἴλαον ἡθάδι Ῥώμη/δεξιτέρην ὥρεξεν: Cf. Nonn.D.1.424 ποιμένι δεξιτέρην μίαν ὥρεγεν, 29.247 χεῖρας ὥρεξε Μάρωνι, al.simil., and see LSJ s.v. ὀρέγω I.1 for the expression χεῖρας ὀρέγω in Homer. For the use of ἴλαον of J., cf. 947 inf. ἴλαον ὄμμα τανύσας with n. ad loc., also 177f ἴλαθι, 179 ἰλῆκοις. The epithet is used by Homer of gods and men, see LSJ s.v.I, II and cf. Theoc.27.16, Call.Dian.129 (both of Artemis); A.P.6.334.5 (Leon.Tar.; of Hermes, Pan and the Nymphs), Epigr.Gr.812.5 (Hermes); Procl.Epigr.2.8 (Bacchus); Orph.Hymn 18.19 (Pluto), 35.6 (Leto); Nonn.D.2.236 (Eileithyia), 31.178 (Hera), al.; Agath.Hist. praef.15 (Myrina); inf.302 (Christ). Paul's use of ἡθάδι here is modelled on that of Nonnus, who uses the term widely of that with which another is closely connected or constantly associated, see Peek's n., Lex.s.v. and cf. D.6.347 Πύραμε, τί σπεύδεις; τίνι κάλλιπες ἡθάδα θίσβην;, 19.101 (Οἶαγρος) γενέτης Ὀρφῆος, ὁμέστιος ἡθάδι Μούσῃ, Par.10.50f ἡθάδα μηλοβοτῆρα/ταῦτά (sc. ἐμὰ μῆλα) με γινώσκουσιν.

245. δεξιτέρην, κτλ.: For the form of the line, cf. Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.330 δεξιτερῷ ποδὶ πῆξε καὶ ὀκλάζουσιν ἐλέγξας (Kosmos making subject ἄλογος φύσις). On ὑποκλάζω, see nn.sup. on 143f, 198f

and cf. inf. 251 where its literal use in our line is picked up in a metaphorical usage. For the use of ἐγείρω here, cf. NT Act.Ap. 10.25f ...συναντήσας αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Πέτρῳ) ὁ Κορνήλιος πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοῦς πόδας προσεκύνησεν. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν, also ib.3.7 καὶ πιάσας αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν, of a cripple, Ev.Matth. 12.11 of a fallen sheep. In Christian writers, the verb is regularly used of raising up the sick or the dead, see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1β, LSJ s.v.I.3, PGL s.v.B.1 and cf. Nonn.Par. 11.83. Elsewhere (8, 150, 300) Paul uses it transitively of building.

246. ἦκα δὲ μειδήσας: Cf. A.R.2.61 of Polydeuces' response to Amycus' challenge; ib.3.107 ἦκα μειδιόωσα, of Hera to Cypris, Hes. Th. 547 ἦκ' ἐπιμειδήσας, of Prometheus to Zeus, all init.vers. J.'s smile indicates his serenity, see n.sup. on 244-47 and cf. 1003 inf. for the serene smile of the patriarch Eutychius.

ἵνα μυρίον ἄλγος ἐλάσση: "so as to banish her measureless grief". Cf. Il. 1.2 μυρί'...ἄλγε', also A.R.1.259, Opp.H. 2.503f, A.P. 11.401.3 (Luc.; adapting Il. 1.2); μυρίον πένθος, Il. 18.88, etc. This sense of ἐλάυνω is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.I.3, and cf. Nonn.D. 32.111 λύσσαν ἐλάσσαι at the line-end, al., see Peek Lex. s.v.A.II; inf.299; etc.

247. εὐφροσύνης πλήθοντας ἀκηδέος: "full of carefree gladness". For J.'s ability to bring εὐφροσύνη and banish care, cf. 175 sup. with n. ad loc. This sense of ἀκηδέης ("carefree", "serene", often of the gods' tranquillity) is Homeric, Il. 24.526, cf. Hes. Th. 489, Op. 112, all of gods; A.R.1.556, 4.822 νόστον; Call.Dian. 62 of the Oceanids (who were not ἀκηδέης when confronted with the Cyclops); A.P. 11.42.5 (Crinag.) θυμὸν (achieved by initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries); Nonn.D. 29.142 of Phoebus. Although in late poetry πλήθω is sometimes constructed with the dative (e.g. Orph.Hymn 72.10, other exx. LSJ s.v.) or accusative (see LSJ s.v.II), the Homeric construction with the genitive (Il. 21.218) continued to be used also, Opp.H. 1.496, 4.691, al.; Nonn.D. 35.326, 48.390, al., Par. 1.45, 6.142, al.; Tryph. 514; A.P. 4.3B.52 (Agath.), also 11.382.6

(id.) passive. For Paul's metaph. expression here, cf. Them.Or.4 (I.75.18f Downey) νῆες γέμουσαι εὐδαιμονίας.

ἐκφατο μύθους: Cf. A.R.2.10, 1122, al. ἐκφατο μῦθον in eadem sede; Od.10.246 ἐκφάσθαι...ἔπος.

248-52. J.'s reply to Roma's appeal is formally arranged, in a similar way to the prooemium 177-85 sup.: two lines of exhortation, parallel in structure and similar in language (248 and 252, cf. 177f and 185) are here strengthened by an intervening reminder of past fortitude. In the concluding climax (καὶ γὰρ, 253), J. promises the restoration of S.Sophia and consequent enhancement of Roma's reputation.

248. ῥῖψον ἄχος: Cf. 169 sup. ἀπορρίψαντες ἀνίην, with n. ad loc. Like ἀπορρίπτω, simple ῥίπτω is also used of casting off arms or clothes, see LSJ s.v.IV and cf. Nonn.D.20.15, 37.773, al.; A.P. 5.252.1 (Paul Sil.) where the verb is the emphatic opening word in asyndeton, as in our line. For its metaph. use in imperative here, cf. Greg. Naz.Carm.1.2.14.77 (PG.37.761) ῥῖψον ἀτασθαλίην (to the Psyche), ib.2.1.12.305f (col.1188) μηδὲ Πλάτωνος στέργε τὴν εὐγλωττίαν./ ῥῖψον τὸ κάλλος, ὦν τὰ δόγματ' ἀποστρέφῃ; A.P.10.78.1 (Pallad.) ῥίπτε γόους, 11.63.2 (Mac.Cons.) ῥίψατε τὴν πενίην (with 168n.sup.); also ib. 10.76.1f (Paul Sil.) ἀλλὰ τὸ ῥίψαι/φροντίδας ἐκ στέρων, Nonn.D.12. 290, 21.287 ἔρριψε μερίμνας, al.simil., Jo.Gaz.Descrip.1.94 μόχθον ὅλον ῥίψασα (of Arete), and see R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 44.

βασίλεια πόλις: The title ἡ βασιλῆς πόλις et simil. was originally applied to Rome, and was still used of that city by Eusebius; from Themistius onwards, however, the title is transferred to Cpl., see G.Dagron Naissance d'une capitale 51ff, E.Fenster Laudes Constantinopolitanae 27, 33f, 74ff and cf. (for example) Greg.Naz. Or.5.17 (PG.35.685B) τῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ βασιλίδι πόλει, al., simil. Agath. Hist.5.13.5, al., Theoph.Sim.1.15.1 (68.2 de Boor), Just.Nov. III (A.D.535) praef. (p.19.1 Kroll) and see Fenster op.cit. p.95 n.2 on the use of such titles in the legal code; Jo.Lyd.de Mens.1.12

(7.7f Wuensch) βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων ἀπάσων, simil. Evagr. HE 3.30 (127.1f Bid.-Parm.), Eustrat.V.Eutyech.19 (PG.86(2).2297A), al.; Evagr.HE 6.7 (225.30f) τῆς βασιλίδος; ib.4.36 (185.20) τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, Eustrat.V.Eutyech.19 (PG.86(2).2297B) τὴν βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν, al.; many other exx. from the 4th to 6th cents. are collected by Fenster op.cit.p.33-96. For Paul's particular expression, cf. LXX 1Macc.3.37 ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας ἀπὸ πόλεως βασιλείας αὐτοῦ; also Evagr.HE 6.13 (231.22) ἀναγαγὼν τῇ βασιλείᾳ.

μὴ θυμὸν ὀρίνης: Cf. Il.24.568; simil. Od.14.361, al., A.R.3. 515, etc.; A.P.7.205.5 (Agath.) ψυχὴ...ὀρίνεται.

249f. In the past, Roma has not succumbed physically or mentally to enemy assaults. The fortitude of Cpl. had been tested as recently as 559, when marauding Kotrigur Huns approached the Long Walls, which were still unrepaired after the earthquake damage of December 557. Only the skilful tactics of the ageing Belisarius averted disaster on that occasion. See Agath.Hist.5.11ff, esp. 5.14.6ff on the alarm felt in the city from the common people to the emperor himself; Bury HLRE II.304ff, Stein B-E II.535ff.

ὥς...οὐ νίκησε...οὐδὲ.../...ἔστυφέλιξε...,/μηδὲ...ὑποκλᾶζοιο...: The initial ὥς-clause strictly expects an answering οὕτως, but instead the concluding exhortation is introduced simply by μηδὲ (cf. 757 inf. for μηδὲ introducing an exhortation). This gives a negative tricolon effect, like the οὐ...οὐδὲ.../...οὐδὲ of 135f sup., 1019f inf. For the use of the aorists νίκησε and ἔστυφέλιξε with perfect sense, cf. ἔδειμας 241 sup. with n. ad loc.

249. τεὸν σᾶκος: Cf. 219 sup. σακέσπαλος Ῥώμη and see nn.sup. on 151 and 219-54 on the portrayal of Roma as a warrior goddess.

249f. οὐδέ τις ἄλλη/...βάρβαρος αἰχμή: Paul uses the line-end οὐδέ τις ἄλλη at A.P.5.293.1; for the line-end βάρβαρος αἰχμή, cf. 158 sup. with n. ad loc. The use of ἄλλη here implies that the collapse of the dome, over which Roma is so distressed, is also a

βάρβαρος αἰχμῇ. This is a variation of the assertion elsewhere that the collapse of the dome has been caused by a πονηρὸς δαίμων or similar evil force, cf. 273 inf., 160-63, 195, 221 sup. with nn. ad locc.

250. ἄκλονον ἔστυφέλιξε τεῖν φρένα: "smitten your unwavering spirit". The verb is used by Homer of the impact of weapons, on a shield or body, Il.5.437, 7.261, al., cf. A.R.2.115, Opp.H.4.252, Nonn.D.17.202, 36.42, al. Although the noun κλόνος is Homeric (see LSJ s.v.), the adjective ἄκλονος is extant elsewhere only in Galen, of a "steady" pulse (9.347) and a limb "free from jars" (17(1).513). Ancient lexica list the form ἀκλόνητος in the sense "unshaken" (ἄσειστον, ἄδόνητον, Photius, Suidas) or "unconfused", "undisturbed" (ἄταραχος), κλόνος γὰρ ἡ ταραχή, Hesych.); the Fathers use this latter form in the sense "unmoved", see PGL s.v.

251. μὴδὲ βαρυτλήτοισιν ὑποκλάζοιο μερίμναις: "nor yet may you bow down beneath cares hard to endure". The verb ὑποκλάζω (here middle) is now used metaphorically, picking up its use of Roma's literal obeisance before J., sup.245, see nn.sup. on 143f, 198f and cf. also 161n.sup. on its construction with the dative. For the metaph. usage here, cf. A.P.5.216.1f (Agath.) εἰ φιλέεις, μὴ πάμπαν ὑποκλασθέντα χαλάσσης/θυμὸν ὀλισθηρῆς ἔμπλεον ἱκεσίης (with Fr.'s n. on 734 inf.; cf. LSJ s.v. ὑποκλάω 2); ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 94.34 ὀκλάζοντι νόω, A.P.5.251.5 (Iren.) ἀλλ'οὐ σῆς κραδίης ὑψαύχενος ἔκλασεν ὄγκος, Sophr.Ep.Syn. (PG.87.3149C) στηρίζειν με μικροψυχίαις ὀκλάζοντα, and other exx. of the metaph. use of the simple verb collected by LSJ s.v.I.2, PGL s.v.2. As at 175 sup., the μερίμναι are those caused by the collapse of the dome. The epithet βαρυτλήτος (cf. inf.273) is used in this passive sense in Bacchylides, 14(13).4 συμφορὰ, cf. A.P.16.245.3 (Leont.) ὀδυνῶν, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.178 ἄχέων. Elsewhere the sense is "bearing heavy weight" (lit. or metaph.), see LSJ s.v.I, adding Nonn.D.24.190, Enc.duc.Romani 4.22 (I.124 Heitsch).

252. τέτλαθι, παμβασίλεια πόλις, κτλ.: For the structure of

the line, cf. Il.1.586 τέτλαθι, μήτηρ ἔμῃ, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ (Hephaistus to Hera), simil.5.382; and esp. Nonn.D.33.351 τέτλαθι, Χαλκομέδῃ, μὴ δεῖδιθι Μορρέος εὐνήν; also ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 36.73 τέτλαθι παμβασίλῃα, φύλασσε δὲ τοῖο κελεύθου. For the epithet, cf. A.P.9.647.1 (Anon.) Ῥώμῃ παμβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κλέος οὐποτ' ὀλεῖται, and see further LSJ s.v., adding Orph.Hymn 10.16 of Physis, 14.7 of Rhea, al. The line-end θυμὸν ἀμύσσειν (various parts of the verb) is Homeric, Il.1.243, cf. Call.fr.75.10 Pf, Nonn.D.38.165, Par.6.189, Tryph.471; also A.Pers.116 φρήν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ, A.P.5.262.5 (Paul Sil.) μάτην δὲ σὸν ἦτορ ἀμύσσου, and other exx. collected by LSJ s.v. ἀμύσσω II.

253f. The thought is similar to that of 150f sup.

253. καὶ γὰρ, κτλ.: For the use of καὶ γὰρ, cf. 157 sup. The dative ἐμοῖς καμάτοισιν (here instrumental) picks up τεοῖς καμάτοισιν (236), at the conclusion of Roma's catalogue of J's achievements. Nonnus frequently follows τελέω with double accusative as here, cf. D.16.201 αἰθέρος ἔνδον ἄγω σε καὶ ἄστερόεντα τελέσω (Dionysus to his dog), 48.220 γηραλέην σε τελέσσειν, see further Peek Lex.s.v.A.II and cf. LSJ s.v.I.5b. The use of αἰοιδός in the same sense as αἰοιδίμος is rare, Arcesil.ap.D.L.4.30 (Πέργαμος) ἔσσεται εἰς αἴθις πολλὸν αἰοιδοτέρη, A.P.9.424.6 (Duris) αἰαῖ, τὴν Ἰάδων πολλὸν αἰοιδοτάτην, of Ephesus; the sense was however, known to Hesychius, who glossed the nominative plural περιβόητοι, ὀνομαστοί.

254. αἰτίς ἀναστήσας: Cf. inf. 278 αἰτίς...δωμήσατο, sup.218 πόνους...παλινδωμήτορας οἴκου. This use of ἀνίστημι is classical, see LSJ s.v.I.5 and cf. (for example) Nonn.D.45.53 βωμὸν ἀναστήσας, al.

κορυφὴν εὐάντυγα νηοῦ: "the well-vaulted summit/head of the temple". On periphrastic expressions for the dome and on Paul's use of ἄντυξ, see 187n.sup. The epithet εὐάντυξ is here adopted on the basis of Paul's use of ἄντυξ as an architectural term ("vault", "arch"); it survives elsewhere only in Photius and Suidas, where the accusative is glossed εὐάξονα. The term κορυφή is applied to

the dome again, inf. 267, cf. also 274 inf. ἐρικνήμειο καρήνου, with n. ad loc. It is found elsewhere in various architectural contexts, cf. esp. Nic.Mes.Descr.S.Apost.14.2 (ed. G.Downey, Trans.Amer. Philos.Soc. 47, 1957, 901) ἐκπίπτοντα...διὰ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς σφαίρης δικτυωτοῦ, of the figure of Christ depicted in the dome; also Eus.V.Const.3.38 (I.94.20f Heikel) κρατήροσι...τὰς κορυφὰς κοσμοῦμενοι, of columns in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; Greg.Naz.Or.18.39 (PG.35.1037B) ἀπὸ κρηπίδος εἰς κορυφήν, of bands of decoration on the exterior of the church at Nazianzus, erected in memory of Gregory's father; Chor.Or.1.18 (7.22 Foerst.-Richtst.) ὁ μεσαίτατος (sc. κύκλος) καὶ τῆς ἀψίδος ("arch") τῇ κορυφῇ περικείμενος, on the decoration of circles on the porch of the church of S.Sergius at Gaza.

255-78. J.'s inspection of the damage. Without waiting for his customary escort, J. hurried off to the church (255-61), a noisy throng following him (262-4). J. saw that the collapse of the dome had not damaged the base of the building, and praised the skill of the architect Anthemius (265-76). He re-built the dome on the original walls (276-8).

The account of the collapse of the church and its re-building is here essentially completed, since Paul declines (279ff) to go into technical details of the re-building process itself. Even in this passage, the narrative of events is limited to a bare skeleton, which is filled out by descriptive and eulogising material: the imperial escort (described at some length on the pretext of its absence on this occasion), the crowds accompanying J.'s visit to the church, and the panegyric of Anthemius.

255. ὡς φάμενος: Cf. Il.5.290, Nonn.D.4.307, al. and see n.sup. on 243f.

τεμένεσσιν ἐπείγεται: "he hastened to the precincts". This is clearly the sense, although ἐπείγομαι in the sense "hasten to" is elsewhere constructed with ἐπί, εἰς or πρὸς. But the use of the simple dative with verbs denoting motion towards is found elsewhere in poetry, especially in epic, see K-G.I.406, sec.423.2; so too in Nonnus D. (Keydell I.58*), e.g. 2.706 θεοὶ νύστησαν Ὀλύμπῳ. Fr. (p.114f), collecting instances in Jo.Gaz. and Paul of the genitive and dative in unusual constructions without preposition, suggests that at 644 inf. βαθυνομένου χλοεροῦ κυανώπιδι μορφῇ (of marble), the dative similarly expresses the goal or end of the action denoted by the verb, "green deepening to blue"; he acknowledges, however, that there the dative could be instrumental (p.115 n.1). Paul found the dative τεμένεσσι(ν) metrically convenient, placing it in the third trochaic caesura also at 197, 296, 313, 334, 974; this may have helped to determine his use of it here in preference to accusative alone or accusative with preposition.

On the use of τέμενος, see further 197n.sup. The verbs ἐπείγομαι and ὀρυσμι (256) both occur in Il.6.363, which Paul may have had in mind.

255f. καὶ τάχα μύθου/γείτονος ἔργον ἦν ταχινώτερον: "and his deed was surely swifter than the accompanying word". J.'s speed of action is similarly emphasised sup.47, 215ff; the reference here to his rapid physical movement can hardly be literally true of a man of eighty. Paul's expression is a variant of our "no sooner said than done", cf. Il.19.242 αὐτίκ' ἐπειθ' ἄμα μῦθος ἦν, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον, and see LSJ s.v. ἔργον I.4 for other exx. of the opposition of ἔργον and μῦθος *et simil.* The aphoristic character of our expression is emphasised by the linguistic echo τάχα.../...ταχινώτερον.

τάχα: "surely", "I think". This adverb is regularly used in late Greek to indicate a note of uncertainty, to qualify or mitigate a statement, see Soph.Lex.s.v.2 ("forsooth"), Peek Lex.s.v.II and cf. Nonn.D.7.250, 46.47, etc., and for καὶ τάχα in this position, 25.124; also Opp.C.1.280; A.P.5.269.7, 299.4 (with Herwerden in Mnemosyne N.S.2, 1874, 313), 6.72.5, 7.612.5 (all Agath.); A.P.5.246.5 (*bis*), 266.3, 290.3 (all Paul Sil.); ib.16.113.6 (Jul.Aeg.), 16.337.2 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), 16.357.3 (Leont.). So also καὶ τάχα, A.P.4.3B.81, 5.294.22, 9.653.6, 11.379.4 (all Agath.); ib.5.236.1 (Paul Sil.), 16.101.5 (Anon.), 16.353.3 (Anon., on Porphyrius); cf. ἦ τάχα που, A.P.9.396.5 (Paul Sil.), ἦ τάχα φαίης, Nonn.D.26.209, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. τάχα II.2; Musae.59; inf.808, 831, etc.

μύθου/γείτονος: Adjectival γείτων, first in Pindar (see LSJ s.v.II), is common in Nonnus (see Peek Lex.s.v.II), where it is applied both to spatial proximity (most often, e.g. D.2.155, Par.4.26; cf. Opp.H.4.273, 5.58, Tryph.144, Coll.236, Musae.32, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.115, 301, al., A.P.5.294.1, Agath.) and also to proximity in time (e.g. D.1.523, Par.11.51). But Nonnus has no close parallel for Paul's usage here: nearest is perhaps D.1.418f σύριγγος ἐδίξετο γείτονα μολπήν/ἑσπόμενος μελέεσσιν; cf. also

13.362 καὶ μέλος ἁρμονίης ἐμελίζετο γείτονι φωνῇ.

ταχινώτερον: Cf. Nonn.Par.13.117 ἔρξον, ὅπερ τελείεις, ταχινώτερον.
The superlative form occurs at Arat.289.

256-61. ὀρνύμενος γὰρ, κτλ.: Such is J.'s eager concern to see the damage to S.Sophia that he contravenes custom and does not wait for his imperial escort. The absent escort is, however, described in some detail, by the device of praeteritio. (Compare 519ff inf. where, in remarking that the dome of S.Sophia was roofed with brick, the poet mentions several kinds of timber of which it was not made, adding detail much as here). Paul's interest in the escort is not surprising, since, as a silentary, he would himself have participated in imperial ceremonial regularly, see R.Guilland Titres et fonctions de l'empire byzantin (Variorum reprints, London 1976) XVII and cf. inf.sec.(iib) fin. According to Paul, the escort comprises (i) a shield-bearer, wearing a golden torques, (ii) a golden staff carried before the emperor and (iii) an armed bodyguard of élite troops shod in black. The description provides evidence about the imperial escort, which can be supplemented to some extent from other sources. (I have postponed linguistic comment on these lines until after the historical discussion).

(i) 257f. συνέμπορον ἄσπιδιώτην κτλ.: Fr. (ad loc.) rightly draws attention to the similarity of the pictorial representation of J.'s bodyguard in the mosaic in the Ravenna church of S.Vitale: at the emperor's side are depicted guards, with spears and shields, their necks adorned with the military torques (ὄρμον 258), i.e. gold necklet. This torques distinguishes the guards, both in the mosaic and in our line, as the candidati, whose emblem it was, cf. Reiske on Const.Porph.de Caer.1.1 (II.79f Bonn) and see Const.Porph.de Caer.1.86 (I.391.9ff, esp.19ff) on the creation of a candidatus*; on the torques, see R.I.Frank Scholae Palatinae

* This chapter can be firmly dated between 548 and 565, i.e. after the death of Theodora and before that of J., cf. 390.8f and 391.17f. It probably derives from the περὶ πολιτικῆς καταστάσεως of Peter the Patrician, see J.B.Bury in EHR 22 (1907) 212f, sec.3.

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The candidati were a unit of forty (de Caer.1.86, 392.8) who served as the emperor's personal bodyguard. They were closely connected with the scholae palatinae or imperial guard, since a law of 524 (CJ.XII.xxxiii.5, sec.4) refers to the holding in plurality of the militiae of candidatus and scholaris (see Jones LRE III.183 n.11 fin., Frank op.cit.131) and the comes of the sixth or seventh schola participated in the ceremony for the creation of a candidatus (de Caer.1.86, 391.12, 392.1); but it is probably not strictly true to say with Jones (II.613) and others that the candidati were selected from the scholae, see the discussion of Frank 127ff. By the end of J.'s reign, the scholae in general were no longer an effective military force, cf. Proc.Arc.24.17ff, Agath.Hist.5.15.2ff, although at Proc.BG 3.38.5 a candidatus Asbados appears in the command of a cavalry troop, ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἄνθρωπος (sc. Ἀσβαδος) βασιλέως μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ δορυφόρος, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς Κανδιδάτους καλούμενους τελῶν ἔτυχεν, κτλ. Moreover, the central position of the scholae (including the candidati) at court had earlier given them political importance at moments of crisis, as, for example, in the choice of a new emperor on the death of Anastasius (de Caer.1.93, 426ff, cf. Frank 163f) and in the Nika Riot (see Frank 215f, with Alan Cameron in CR N.S.22, 1972, 137, col.ii). By the 560s, however, their main rôle was undoubtedly ceremonial, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.3.158ff with Cameron ad loc., and see Frank 213ff, Jones II.657; for a general survey of the office, see R.Guilland in Polychronion: Festschrift F.Dölger (Heidelberg 1966) 210ff, repr. in Guilland Titres et fonctions (London 1976) II. (Although they were originally called candidati on account of their white uniform, Frank argues, p.134f, on the evidence of artistic depictions such as the S.Vitale mosaic, that by the 6th cent. this had been replaced by more lavish and colourful attire, at least for ceremonial occasions. But contrast what Frank says, 151f, on evidence in Claudian).

Fr. (ad loc.) assumed that the ἀσπιδιώτην in our line refers collectively to the whole corps of candidati. But Paul may well intend a specific reference to the emperor's personal shield-bearer,

who is clearly depicted on the S.Vitale mosaic, bearing the imperial shield, distinguished by the Christogram, and wearing a special torques, the medallion (bulla) of which bears the imperial portrait, see Frank 138ff and cf. J.Kollwitz in Gnomon 13 (1937) 423 for sculptural depictions of the imperial shield-bearer. Frank calls this shield-bearer "captain of the guard" (141) and, although there is no explicit evidence to this effect, it is natural to identify him with the chief officer, the primicerius of the candidati (de Caer.1.86, 391.12f, 392.2, 10ff; cf. Frank 137). Frank assumes throughout that the candidati had only one primicerius, but the de Caer. passage more than once refers to primicerii in the plural. According to the Chronicon Paschale (I.501.13ff and 502.14ff Bonn, cf. Frank 131f), two corps of candidati were created, one attached to the sixth and one to the seventh schola, cf. de Caer.1.86, 391.12 τὸν κόμητᾶ τῆς ἑκτῆς ἢ ἑβδόμης σχολῆς. Hence it may be that there were two primicerii, one for each schola. Later evidence from the de Caer. attests at least two different corps of candidati, see Guillard loc.cit.212.

At Cor.Laud.Just.3.220ff, 4.366ff, the emperor's armiger is the eunuch Narses, cubicularius and spatharius or protospatharius, see Cameron 3.220n., Stache 3.221n. Corippus' phrase domini vestigia lustrans (3.220) recalls the emphasis of de Caer.1.86 (392.14ff) on the constant attendance upon the emperor of the candidatus (or perhaps rather the primicerius of the candidati, since the passage follows immediately upon the account of the annual re-election of the primicerius, and forty is a cumbersome number to be in constant close attendance, for example, in the imperial chariot, line 15); cf. also Paul's συνέμπορον (257). But despite the apparent similarity of their duties, the offices of candidatus and spatharius were, at least in origin, quite distinct: whereas candidatus was a military title, the spatharius was a member of the imperial cubiculum (and hence a eunuch), and his badge of office was a sword (see J.B.Bury The imperial administrative system in the ninth century, British Academy Supplemental Papers 1, London 1911, 112f, cf.22; Jones II.567). So Corippus calls Narses ensipotens, 4.366. By the end of the ninth cent., when these titles

were purely honorific, considerable amalgamation had occurred: both spatharii and candidati were placed under the protospatharius (de Caer.2.52, 718.15ff, from the Kleterologion of Philotheus, A.D.899; Bury IA 112) and the title spatharocandidatus may be attested from the mid-seventh cent. (Bury IA 26). A species of torques was the insignia of the protospatharius, together with the spatharocandidatus and the candidatus (de Caer.2.52, 709.19ff, 709.12ff, 708.18ff). There is, however, no evidence that these developments had taken place in the 6th cent. On the contrary, it has been compellingly argued (by I.Ševčenko in Zbornik radova Vizantoloskog Instituta = Recueil des travaux de l'institut d'études byzantines 12, 1970, 5f) that Corippus' Narses was not protospatharius and that this title was unknown in the 6th cent. Narses' prominence in Corippus may be partly accounted for by the fact that he was a personal favourite of Justin II (Cameron 3.220n), but the similarity between the references of Corippus and Paul to the offices of spatharius and candidatus respectively, may perhaps foreshadow the developments recorded in Philotheus. It cannot, however, be argued on the basis of the 9th cent. evidence of Philotheus that J.'s ἀσπιδιώτην and Justin II's ensipotens held the same office, that of protospatharius.

(ii) 259. χρυσέην τινὰ ῥάβδον, κτλ.: Other literary sources confirm that the emperor was preceded in formal processions by one or more officials bearing golden staffs, notably Const.Porph. de Caer.2.51 (700.16ff) ἔμπροσθεν δὲ (i.e. in front of the imperial chariot) βαστάζουσιν ὁ κουροπαλάτης καὶ ὁ δηκουρίων τὰ χρυσᾶ ῥαβδία, describing the ceremonial accompanying an imperial inspection of the granaries. This chapter is dated to the 6th cent. by Bury (EHR 22, 1907, 216, sec.8, cf. 223, sec.14 with n.40) and Stein (B-E II.742f, n.1).

(a) ὁ κουροπαλάτης: Cf. Cass.Var.7.5.6 (Corpus Christian., Ser.Lat.XCVI, ed. Fridh, Turnholt 1973, 265) Illud quoque considera, qua gratificatione tracteris, ut aurea virga decoratus inter obsequia numerosa ante pedios regios primus videaris incedere, ut ipso testimonio vicinitatis nostrae agnoscamur tibi palatia commisisse.

The documents edited in the Variae date from the period between A.D.507 and 537 (see Der Kleine Pauly s.v. Cassiodorus, Vol.I, col.1068), and relate to the Gothic court of Theodoric at Ravenna, the ceremonial and offices of which were modelled on those of Cpl. Note also de Caer.1.45 (231.10ff) where the ceremony for the investiture of a curopalatus is described: he is handed a staff by the emperor as his insignia. This account is appended to a longer description of a much grander ceremony for the investiture of a curopalatus (ch.45, 229.7ff). This second account may represent either a ceremony from another period, like that of de Caer.1.84 which derives from the 6th cent. work of Peter the Patrician (see Bury IA 35 and cf. Vogt's commentary to the Budé ed. of the de Caer., 2(2).54) or alternatively a ceremony for the promotion of a lower rank of curopalatus (cf. R.Guilland Titres et fonctions III, 193 n.41 and see further inf.).

The surviving evidence for this title, and in particular for the rank and importance of its holder, is so contradictory that it can only with difficulty be accommodated to an account of a single office, see the attempt of Stein, B-E II.739ff and cf. Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.4.186f. Consequently the hypothesis of Bury (IA 33ff; compare the earlier suggestion of Alemannus on Proc.Arc.44.6, p.363f Bonn) that there were by the 6th cent. two distinct offices (hereafter distinguished as curopalatus and cura palatii), has won wide acceptance. There is, however, no consensus as to which pieces of evidence relate to which of the two offices, see the discussions of Bury loc.cit.; M.F.Martroye in Mélanges Schlumberger I (Paris 1924) 79ff, largely reproduced by H.Leclercq in Dict.d'archéol.chrét.et de liturgie XIII (Paris 1937) col.544-48; R.Guilland Titres et fonctions III; Jones LRE I.372, II.571 with nn. The most plausible account is that of Jones, who simply isolates the evidence of the Notitia Dignitatum as referring to a body of minor officials (cura palatii) in the charge of the castrensis, and takes the remaining references to be to a more important administrative office (curopalatus) conferred on a tribune of the scholae. This was the office held by J.'s nephew, the future Justin II, from 551 until his accession

(i.e. at the time of the events which Paul describes), see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.135-42, Jones I.304, Stein II.745. Subsequently it became a high honour, bestowed only on relatives of the emperor, see Bury 34, Guiland 188ff. It is this more senior official who might be expected (at any rate until the accession of Justin II made the curopalatus important in his own right) to carry a golden staff before the emperor in processions. At Cor.Laud.Just.2.280ff the future curopalatus Baduarius is described as leading, together with Justin's brother Marcellus, the procession of dignitaries to the Hippodrome.

This assumption can be indirectly supported by combining the 6th cent. evidence of de Caer.2.51 (see sup.(ii) init.) with that of ib.1.84 (explicitly headed ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Μαγίστρου Πέτρου). De Caer.1.84 describes the ceremony for the promotion of comes admissionum, comes scholae and curopalatus. As it is stated that the ceremony for the promotion of all three may be the same (1.84, 387.18-20), they would appear to be offices of similar status. The discrepancy in terminology between the tribunus scholae, the rank of a curopalatus mentioned above, and the comes scholae with whom the curopalatus is juxtaposed in 1.84, can be accounted for: from the early fifth cent. onwards, tribunes of scholae were usually accorded the title comes primi ordinis (Jones I.372). The existence of this practice is implied in C.Th.VI.xiii.1 praepositos ac tribunos scholarum, ..., inter quos tribunus etiam sacri stabuli et cura palatii numerantur, si primi ordinis comitivam cum praepositura meruerint... (quoted in full by Jones, III.78 n.16). In the Justinianic recension of this same title (CJ.XII.xi.1), the words comites sacri stabuli replace tribunus sacri stabuli of the Theodosian code, cf. Stein II.742 n.1. Hence de Caer.1.84 refers to the curopalatus who is ranked with tribunus scholae in C.Th. and CJ.locc.citt. At de Caer.2.51 (700.18f, immediately after the sentence quoted at the beginning of (ii) sup.) select comites scholae are said to walk on either side of the imperial chariot. Further, it will be argued (b) inf. that the decurion of de Caer.2.51 (700.17) is very probably identical with the comes admissionum.

Hence 1.84 and 2.51 both group together the same three officials, and the curopalatus who in 1.84 is ranked with the comes scholae, in 2.51 carries a golden staff before the emperor. The ceremony described in 1.84 contains no reference to a golden staff, but, according to the concluding sentence, it was customary for a comes scholae and curopalatus at least, to be inaugurated in a less formal ceremony, not in the consistory (387.20ff) ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ κατέσχευεν ἔθος ἰδίᾳ ἐν τῷ κουβουκλείῳ γίνεσθαι αὐτοῦς καὶ πρὸ ἀρίστου καὶ δεΐλης, ὡς ἂν δόξη τῷ βασιλεῖ. It may well be this ceremony which is described at the end of 1.45 (231.10ff), in which the new curopalatus is invested with a golden staff, οὗ γίνεται σιλέντιον, ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς λαμβάνων ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τὸν μέλλοντα γενέσθαι κουροπαλάτην, κτλ. The grander ceremony for inauguration of a curopalatus described in the main part of 1.45 (in which the curopalatus is himself formally preceded by two silentiaries carrying their staffs, after the ceremony and for three days subsequently, 230.17, 231.5f) dates from a later period when the office had acquired a much higher significance (see Bury IA 35).

The official described by Cassiodorus as carrying a golden staff is of considerable importance, since he directs all imperial building works, not only those relating to the palace (Var.7.5.4, cf. Stein II.739f, n.2. Stein quotes Henri Valois on PG.86.2789C, who was the first to connect our passage with Cassiodorus). Hence Jones is undoubtedly correct in connecting Cassiodorus' formula with the more important curopalatus (III.78 n.16), against Martroye (p.80) and Guillard (p.188); discrepancies between the evidence of Cassiodorus and other evidence may be attributed to the peculiar practices of the court at Ravenna, cf. Stein loc.cit.

(b) ὁ δηκουρίων: Reiske (on de Caer.2.51, II.822 Bonn) suggested that this was probably one of the three decurions who commanded the corps of silentiaries (i.e. ushers within the palace at meetings of the consistory, Jones II.571f; other discussions are cited sup. in Introduction: biographical note). Reiske's suggestion is corroborated by later evidence from the de Caer., where silentiaries are mentioned carrying staffs before the emperor in procession:

so 1.10 (81.14ff; describing the ceremonies for the second day of Easter week) ὁ δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως ἀπὸ σαγίου ἀληθίνου διέρχεται ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως πεζῶς μετὰ καὶ σιλεντιαρίων πεζῶν, ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτοῖ...., βαστάζοντες καὶ βεργία χρυσᾷ διάλιθα, κτλ.; cf. ib. 1.17 (100.2ff), 1.30 (167.21ff) where silentiaries carry gold staffs in similar religious processions; also ib.1.45 (230.17, 231.5f) where silentiaries formally precede a newly-invested curopalatus, see (a) sup. At ib. 1.86 (389.1ff) the emperor hands a golden staff to the newly-invested silentiary on his appointment*. This ceremony is apparently identical with that for the investiture of a curopalatus in 1.45 (231.10ff), see (a) sup. De caer.2.52 (708.10ff; from Philotheus' Kleterologion) indicates that the inauguration ceremony for silentiaries, and their official insignia, remained the same at this later period. The de Caer. also records (2.40, 640.7ff) that four of these silentiaries' staffs, described as ἄργυρᾷ διάχρυσα ("silver, ?plated/inlaid with gold"), were deposited in the Oratory of S.Theodore, adjacent to the Chrysotriclinium, together with (inter alia) four of the ostiaries' staffs (see (c) inf.); torques of protospatharius and spatharo-candidatus (see (i) sup.) and the so-called Rod of Moses, which was itself carried in grand imperial processions, cf. de Caer.1.1 (6.24ff), with Vogt's n. ad loc. (1(2).23) and J.Ebersolt Sanctuaires de Byzanz (Paris 1921) 22.

According to de Caer. 1.84 (387.3ff) ἐπιτρέπει (sc.ὁ βασιλεὺς) τῷ κόμητι τῶν ἀδμηνσιόνων τῷ μέλλοντι παύεσθαι ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν πρῶτον δικουρίωνα,... (6f) καὶ ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτῷ (i.e. the decurion) ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ κωδικέλλια τοῦ κόμητος τῶν ἀδμηνσιόνων, κτλ. and John Lydus Mag.2.17 (73.18f Wuensch) ἔνθεν τοῦ πρώτου τῶν λεγομένων σιλεντιαρίων - ἀμισσιωνάλιος καλεῖται, κτλ., the title comes admissionum or admissionalis was regularly bestowed on the senior decurion of the silentiaries (see Jones II.582, Guillard Titres et fonctions XVII, 39; cf. Bury IA 119). Hence the decurion of de Caer.2.51 may well be identical with the comes admissionum of 1.84, see (a) sup.

* On the dating of this chapter between 548 and 565 see (i) sup., footnote.

Agathias (Hist.5.9.7) describes Paul himself as τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα σιγῆς ἐπιστάταις. In this description, the words τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν could be merely complimentary, much as (for example) Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn 89 (ed. A.J.Festugière, Subs. hag.48, Brussels 1970, I.73) Σελεντιάριός τις τῶν πρῶτων, ὀνόματι Μάννας, κτλ. But if Agathias' designation of Paul as τὰ πρῶτα τελῶν means that Paul was in fact chief or senior decurion of the silentiaries, then it would be Paul, together with the future emperor Justin II as curopalatus, who would carry his golden staff before the emperor on occasions such as that described in de Caer.2.51 and the one referred to in our line. The indefinite τινᾶ of our line may mean "any", thereby indicating that more than one staff, or staffs carried by more than one official would normally precede J.

(c) Note that the emblem of an ostiary (on this office, see Bury IA 122, R.Guilland Recherches sur les institutions byzantines, Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten Bd.35, Berlin 1967, I.286ff) was also a golden staff (de Caer.2.52, 721.18ff, cf. 1.1, 10.2ff), but he carried it before dignitaries or officials whom he introduced into the imperial presence rather than in imperial processions, e.g. de Caer.1.1 (9.21ff), 1.9 (67.13ff), 1.32 (172.2ff), 1.41 (209.22ff), 1.45 (229.9ff), al.; see Guilland 286f. An ostiary also assisted at inauguration ceremonies such as those mentioned sup. (a) and (b), where he handed the appropriate emblem to the emperor (other exx., Guilland 287). The ostiary's staff is distinguished from that of a silentiary by its gem-adorned cap, de Caer.2.52 (721.18f) χρυσῇ ῥάβδῳ ἐκ λίθων τιμίῳ περικεφαλαίαν ἔχουσα, cf.1.1 (10.3f), also 2.40 (640.6f; mentioned (b) sup.) ῥαβδία ὀστιαρῖκια ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων ὁλόχρυσα ("solid gold staffs ornamented with gems and pearls").

(iii) 260f. στρατὸν ἡνωρέσι κεκασμένον εὐποδος ἥβης, κτλ.: This description suggests an armed military bodyguard, by contrast with the more ceremonial attendants previously described. It is likely that Paul refers to the excubitores, a corps of 300 created by Leo to replace the declining scholae as effective palace guards.

By the mid-sixth cent., they had achieved a position of considerable prominence and influence, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.202f, 3.165; Frank op.cit.p.204ff (with the reservations voiced by Alan Cameron in CR N.S.22. 1972, 137f); Jones II.658; Bury IA 57f. Corippus confirms that the excubitores took part in ceremonial occasions, see 4.240f and esp. 3.165ff, where great emphasis is placed on their powerful physique as in our line: they are compared to massive oak trees and described as praestricti crura cothurnis (169) which recalls Paul's μελαγκρήπιδα (see 261n.inf.); cf. also Proc.Arc.6.3.

The scribones, described by Agathias (Hist.3.14.5) and Theophylact Simocatta (1.4.7, 7.3.8) as imperial bodyguards (δορυφόρων, σωματοφυλάκων) are first mentioned about this time (A.D.545). Little is known about this corps: most of the evidence about them concerns the employment of individual scribones on special missions. They may have been the officers of the excubitores. See Jones II. 658f, Bury IA 58f, Stein II.446 n.1. There is nothing to suggest that Paul had the scribones in mind here; on the contrary, the term στρατὸν (260) might be thought to suggest the larger body of the excubitores.

(Linguistic comment on 257-61 follows).

257. ὥς θέμις οὐκ ἀνέμιμνε: "he did not, as it was customary to do/according to custom, await...". For the misplacement of ὥς θέμις metr.gr., Fr. compares Bion 9.9 (Gow) καὶ ὥς πάρος οὐκέτ' αἰΐδει. Nonnus has absolute ὥς θέμις at the line-opening at D.20.226. For transitive ἀνέμιμνε in eadem sede, cf. Nonn.D.2.169, 9.4; Musae. 235; inf.316; also Il.16.363 absolute; Il.11.171, Od.19.342 transitive, other parts.

συνέμπορον: "companion", "attendant"; c.gen. 870 inf. φάεα... συνέμπορα πάντοθι πέζης. Nonnus and other late poets use συνέμπορος both absolutely, as in our line (Call.fr.714.3 Pf.; Opp.H.2.183; Nonn.D.10.274, 16.82, 29.173, Par.21.36), with genitive (Nonn.Par.18. 82, D.2.182 and esp. 8.99 where it occurs in conjunction with the

similar σύνδρομος, which Paul uses inf.261; Coll.366), and also (more frequently) with dative (A.P.7.413.5, Ant.Sid., ib.635.3, 9.415.1, both Antiphil.; Nonn.D.2.127, 41.288, al., Par.1.152; A.P.5.238.5, Mac.Cons.).

ἄσπιδιῶτην: Specifically "shield-bearer" (see historical discussion sup.), rather than the usual general sense "warrior". Twice in Homer (Il.2.554, 16.167) in the phrase ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἄσπιδιῶτας, this term is subsequently rare and confined to epicising poetry (Theoc.14.67, 17.93; A.P.9.116.2, Anon.; Nonn.D.17.344, 28.125, al., Par.18.36, 69; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.143.6) and deliberate reminiscence of Homer (Luc.Nav.29; Plb.10.29.6, 10.30.9, on which see Chantraine Dict.étym.s.v.ἄσπίς, Dérivés; Phot.Bibl.246, 408.27 Bekker = VII.32.26f Henry). Also Eustath. on Il.1.152 (I.110.31f Van der Valk, I.59.35 ed.Lips.) on terms for "warrior" derived from a part of the armour, ...καὶ ἀπὸ ἄσπίδων ἄσπιδιῶται καὶ ἄσπισται Homer in fact uses ἄσπιστήρ rather more frequently, although always in the genitive plural and only in Il., e.g. 4.90, 8.214. Etymologists regard ἄσπιδιῶτης as an extended form devised for metrical reasons, see (for example) Chantraine loc.cit., Calame/Mader in Lex.des frühgr.Epos, fasc.8, s.v. The form ἄσπιστήρ (first in Attic tragedy, see LSJ s.v.) also occurs in late epic, Opp.H.2.564; Nonn.D.2.416, Par.18.12, cf. προἄσπιστήρ, Nonn.D.27.327, 30.60, al., Par.17.35. Prose writers use compounds of ἄσπιστής, e.g. προἄσπιστής, see LSJ, PGL s.v. and cf. προἄσπίζοντι 31 sup. with n. ad loc.; ὑπερἄσπιστής, LXX Ps.26 (27).1, 27(28).7, al., Jo.Lyd.Mag.1.46 (48.22 Wuensch) πριμοσκουτάριοι, ὑπερἄσπισται, οἱ νῦν λεγόμενοι προτίκτι[ορες], (in list of parts of a legion), see also PGL s.v.; and, more commonly, ὑπἄσπιστής, see LSJ s.v., adding Plb.5.27.3, D.H.3.18.3, and PGL s.v., noting esp. Synes.Ep.75 (PG.66.1441A) where the term is used of the emperor's guard. (The term δορυφόρος is, of course, common in prose in this context, see n.sup. on 20f).

258. κατ'αὔχενος ὄρμον ἐλόντα: Cf. inf.867 κατ'αὔχενος ὄρμον ἐλίξῃ, of a necklace wound about the neck of a princess, Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.49 αὐτὰρ ὄφιν περὸεντος ἐπ'αὔχενος ὄρμον ἐλίσσει. The

use of ἐλίσσειν in these two instances gives a more forceful expression than the rather clumsy ὄρμον ἐλόντα ("having taken up/wearing") of our line, but there is no plausible emendation which would incorporate ἐλίσσειν here. Hence the suggestion of Fr. (in app. crit.) that ἔχοντα should be read, may be right. There is ample precedent for ms. confusion between the two participles: Peek Lex.s.v.ἐλεῖν fin. notes that such confusion is common in the Laurentianus ms. of Nonnus D., while Stephanus s.v. αἶρέω fin. gives exx. of similar confusion in Homeric and tragic mss. (e.g. Il. 11.488, 23.219). Note especially A.P. 5.222.1 (Agath.) where Planudes and the original hand of the Palatinus read ἔχουσα, altered to ἐλοῦσα by the corrector of the Palatinus (see Beckby's app.crit.). Nonnus (D. 33.100) has ὄρμον ἐλῶν ("picking up"), but cf. Od. 15.460 χρῦσεον ὄρμον ἔχων. For κατ'αὔχενος "on/about the neck", cf. A.P. 9.150.5 (Antip.) πηροδέτω δ' ὄ γ' ἵμαντι κατ'αὔχενος ἄμμα λυγῶσας, Nonn. D. 40.262 κατ'αὔχενος ἄμμα πεδήσας, 29.280f ἀπὸ πλοκάμοιο δὲ Βάκχης/ἀφλέγεος σελάγιζε κατ'αὔχενος...πῦρ, al., and for other expressions similar to Paul's cf. Nonn. D. 2.595 ποίκιλον αὔχενος ὄρμον εὐχροον, 30.80 αὔχενι μιτρώσας πυριθαλπέος ὄρμον ἀνάγκης. On the military ὄρμος, see historical discussion sup. on 256-61, sec.(i).

ἀγνάμπτοιο: "unbending". The word has both literal and metaph. force here, suggesting both the upright posture and the inflexible resolution of the escort, much as in Nonn. D. 13.419 τοῦ μὲν ξην ἀγναμπτον ὄλον δέμας (in a description of the gigantic Ogyrus, a soldier of Dionysus). The epithet occurs first in Bacchylides, 9.73 ἐρώτων, cf. A.Pr. 163 νόον; Plu.Cat.Mi. 11 ἡδονᾶς; Orph.Lith. 27 σθένος; Nonn. D. 17.349 πῆληξ, 43.30 ποδὸς (of an elephant), al., Par. 10.6 of a shepherd entering the sheepfold, 20.109 πειθῶ; A.P. 16.278.3 (Paul Sil.) νόον.

259. χρυσέην: Meineke's correction (in notes to Kortüm's translation of Paul Sil. Descr., appendix to W.Salzenberg Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Konstantinopel, Berlin 1854, p.XXXVII) for the ms. χρυσῆς, variously emended by intervening editors (χρυσοῦν Du Cange;

χρῦσεον Graefe; χρυσήν Bekker). The form χρυσήν is accepted by Fr. (and by Ludwig in Rhein.Mus. 41, 1886, 594 n.1, who similarly emended A.P. 5.230.1, Paul Sil., from χρυσῆς to χρυσεῖης) on the grounds that Paul uses only the epic forms χρῦσεος and χρῦσειος (cf. Od. 16.172 χρυσεῖη ῥάβδος; infra 791 χρυσεῖης ἐπὶ ῥάβδου), never the contracted form χρυσοῦς. This argument is probably valid: Nonnus admits very few contracted forms (Keydell I.43*) and uses the contracted χρυσοῦς only in the phrase χρυσῆς (-ῆν) Ἀφροδίτης (-v) at the line-end (D. 2.603, 19.44, al.), where it may be accounted for by the greater licence permitted in conjunction with proper names. The first syllable of χρῦσεος is scanned either long or short in Nonnus e.g. D. 13.172 χρῦσεον (line-opening, cf. 258 sup.) 37.93 εἰς χρυσήν φιάλην in eadem sede.

ἄεἰ προκέλευθον ἀνάκτων: Cf. 959f inf. ἄεἰ καμάτοιο τεοῦ προκέλευθος ἀνέστη/Χριστῶς ἀνάξ, also 327. The use of προκέλευθος with genitive (the genitive being objective, or because implied by προ-) occurs first at Mosch. 2.151 πλόον προκέλευθον ἐμεῖο (see Bühler's n. ad loc.) and is common in Nonnus, e.g. D. 38.289 ἵπποσύνης προκέλευθον, 48.315 προκέλευθος ἀνάσσης (Artemis), al., see Peek Lex. s.v. II.2, Par. 1.22 φαέος προκέλευθος (of John the Baptist), ib. 111 προκέλευθος ἀκηρύκτοιο πορείης (same) al.; cf. Enc.Theb. 19 (Heitsch S.10, Band II, p.50) (σῆς σπράτ[ιῆ]ς δὲ φάλαγξ) [Θή]βης μὲν προκέλευθ[ος]... (?), A.P. 5.245.1 (Mac.Cons.) χρεμέτισμα γάμου προκέλευθον. The word is previously rare (ἡμέρα dub.lit. in Stratt. 36, λαμπάδας GVI 1522.7f, 2nd cent.A.D.).

260. ἦνορέησι κεκασμένον εὐποδος ἦβης: "excelling in the deeds of prowess of strong-footed youth". Homer constructs κεκασμένος (from καίνυμι) with dative in the sense "surpassing", "excelling in", Il. 4.339, Od. 4.725, see LSJ s.v. I and cf. A.R. 1.138. In later poetry, the sense is often weaker "adorned/equipped with", see LSJ s.v. II and cf. Opp. C. 2.475, Nonn. D. 2.348, 5.333, al., A.P. 2.88, 267, al. (Christod.). Either sense is possible here (as at 268 inf. and elsewhere), but the similarity of Od. 24.509 ἄλκῃ τ' ἦνορέῃ τε κεκάσμεθα, suggests that Paul intended the

stronger Homeric sense. Nonnus associates ἡνορέη and ἥβη in a similar line at D.37.177f ὅττι κομίζεις /σύμφυτον ἡνορέη κεκερασμένον ἄνθεμον ἥβης, and the two nouns are also juxtaposed at ib.3.222f. Plural ἡνορέη is rare, but cf. Pi.N.3.20, I.4.11, al.; Orph.Arg.169 in eadem sede; also dub.lit. at Coll.7. For εὐπούς applied literally to the human/divine foot (as opposed to its use in a musical context at 172 sup.), see LSJ s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.6.15 al. ταρσῶ, 7.107 al. ὦραι, cf. Par.19.142; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.106 δῖπῃ (of Atlas); inf.331 ἡοῦς, all in eadem sede. Note also inf.558 εὐ.πυθμένας.

261. σύνδρομον εὐόπλοιο...κελεύθου: For σύνδρομος with adnominal genitive, cf. Call.Lav.Pall.110; A.R.2.346; A.P.7.297.2 (Polystr.); Nonn.D.8.99, 22.92, al.; A.P.6.67.3 (Jul.Aeg.); Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.131; Chrysipp.Enc.in Jo.Bapt.3 (ed. A.Sigales, Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechische Philologie 20, Athens 1937, p.33.13); al., see PGL s.v.B.1. The epithet εὐόπλος is classical, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.P.9.156.1f (Antiphil.) πῶλον/εὐόπλου Δαναῶν ἔγκυον ἡσυχίης; Nonn.D.20.297 στρατίν, 23.105 πλόος, al.

μελαγκρήπιδα: "black-shod". Apart from Corippus' similar reference to the footwear of the excubitors (Laud.Just.3.169, quoted in historical discussion of 256-61, sec. (iii) sup.), the epithet is of little assistance in the identification of Paul's στρατὸν. The κρηπίς was a kind of shoe consisting of a stout-nailed sole which was laced to the foot by means of thongs passed through loops in the sole. It was worn by soldiers (e.g. Poll. Onom.7.85 φόρημα στρατιωτικόν). But the same term is used of a type of shoe worn at the Macedonian and Egyptian courts, and by women as well as men, see Gow's n. on Theoc.15.6 and Daremberg and Saglio s.v.crepida, crepidula (Vol.I.2, 1557ff). Paul probably intends it to denote a stout soldier's shoe here, since his description emphasises the military characteristics of this escort (cf. στρατὸν, εὐόπλοιο, etc.), but it might denote the low sandals, similar to those of the emperor himself, which are worn by J.'s escort, both clerics and soldiers, in the S.Vitale mosaic.

This latter interpretation might appear to be supported by

Corippus, who not only refers to the footwear of the excubitors as cothurni, but uses the same term of the imperial footwear (Laud.Just.2.104). The latter are elsewhere commonly called ὑποδήματα or compagi; John Lydus (Mag.1.17, 22.2ff Wuensch) describes the compagus (κάμπαγον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, line 10) as a type of open sandal (δι' ὅλου γυμνὸν, line 2f), like that worn by J. and company on the S.Vitale mosaic. The cothurnus, on the other hand, is the tragic buskin, characterised, like the κρηπίς, by its thick sole, see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. cothurnus (I.2, 1544ff). Hence Cameron argues (ad loc.) that at 2.104 Corippus has in mind such a compagus, but uses cothurnus for literary effect, in reminiscence of Virgilian expressions. This raises the possibility that Corippus might refer to similar sandals when describing the footwear of the excubitors as cothurni at 3.169. But the description itself makes clear that he does not: praestructi crura cothurnis, "their legs gripped by cothurni", surely indicates a high boot. Furthermore, Proc.Aed.3.1.23, describing the footwear bestowed on Armenian satraps, may imply that the imperial footwear was akin to such cothurni rather than to the low compagus described by Lydus: ὑποδήματα μέχρι ἐς γόνα φοινικοῦ χρώματος, ἃ δὲ βασιλέα μόνον Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὑποδεῖσθαι θέμις (all editors read ἃ referring to ὑποδήματα, rather than the ms. ὁ, referring to χρώμα. If ὁ were retained, then it would be the red colour alone, rather than the type of shoe, which was reserved for imperial wear). Similarly George of Pisidia describes the emperor Heraclius setting out to fight the Persians equipped as a soldier with sword and shield (Exp.Pers. 3.112ff) and continues (118ff) καὶ νῦν μελαμπέδιλον ἐκτείνων πόδα/.../ (121) βάψαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ξένη βαφῇ θέλει/ποιῶν ἐρυθρὸν Περσικῶν ἔξ αἱμάτων; compare the epigram to the same effect said by the chronographers (e.g. Leo Gramm.150.16ff Bonn) to have been composed by George on Heraclius' departure from Cpl. (quoted by Pertusi on Exp.Pers.1.132). Here the emperor's footwear is presumably also a soldier's boot, which will distinguish him as emperor once it has been reddened.

Black footwear is worn not only by soldiers, as implied by George of Pisidia, but also by state officials, cf. Jo.Lyd.loc.cit.,

describing the characteristic dress of patricians (see p.21.14 Wuensch), the evidence of the S.Vitale mosaic, and see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.2.100, 111; note also Theoph.A.M.6295 (477.25f de Boor) where the usurper Nicephorus shows the deposed empress Irene his black ὑποδήματα as evidence of his humility and lack of eagerness to assume the imperial red shoes, and see Du Cange Gloss.s.v.τῳάγγαι, col.1557 enimvero caeterorum ex plebe, vel eorum qui dignitatibus Palatinis fulgebant, μέλανα erant ὑποδήματα.

More revealing is the extreme rarity of the epithet μελαγκρήπις, which occurs only twice elsewhere. Eustathius (on Il.2.74, I.267.13 Van der Valk, I.142.1 ed.Lips.), discussing the accentuation of πολυκλήϊσι, cites πολυψήφιδος, μελαγκρήπιδος as parallel instances of a noun changing its accentuation when it is incorporated in a compound, cf. also id. on Od.2.119 (I.87.29 ed.Lips). The other instance of the epithet is in P.Hib.II.172.3 (ed.Turner, London 1955), where it is cited in the masculine/feminine nominative plural ([μελαγ]κρήπιδες) among a list of compounds of μέλας. The papyrus appears to be an Alexandrian (ca.270-230 B.C.) onomasticon or collection of poetical epithets compiled for use as a handbook in poetic composition. It is a successor to the famous Ἀτακτοὶ Γλωσσαι of Philetas of Cos. (Turner suggested ad loc. that the new papyrus might perhaps actually be a part of Philetas' lexicon, but this is unlikely, see the objections of R.Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship I, Oxford 1968; 91f). Approximately one quarter of the epithets listed are not recorded in lexica, but the fact that not all the epithets (including ours) are cited in the masc.nom.sing. strongly suggests that the collection was compiled from extant literature (hexameter and lyric), rather than that it included specially-invented words. Some of the words are known only from Hellenistic poets, almost certainly writing after the compilation of this list. See further Turner's introduction ad loc. Paul's use of rare Alexandrian words, and words extant only in ancient lexica has already been noted, cf. ἄζημίαν 122, ὄμπνια 145, Ἀνθουσα 156, ἥρανε 178, ἀναύρων 210 sup. with nn. ad locc. Since μελαγκρήπις was apparently rare when P.Hib.II.172 was compiled, it is likely that Paul took the word from a handbook of the same type.

262-64. J.'s progress is attended by a noisy throng. It is not altogether clear whether these lines refer to the hurried assembly of the neglected escort, to whom the shields ($\beta\omicron\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$) of 263 presumably belong, or whether they describe a more general gathering of the populace. If, as seems more likely, the latter is intended, then the detail is panegyrical and may be classed with other similar passages in which Paul emphasises popular concern for the fate of S.Sophia, and the popularity of J. himself (71ff, 173ff, 204ff, cf. inf. 346f). Corippus likewise makes frequent references to the popularity of Justin II and everything associated with him, e.g. Laud.Just.1.345ff, 3.62ff and esp.4.53f mirantur populi,studioque videndi/omnis concurrens sexus veniebat et aetas (in connection with the grandstand specially erected for Justin II's inauguration as consul).

262. ἑκάτερο: "from either side", "on either hand". Epic; for this absolute use, cf. Il.24.273, Od.9.386, al.; A.R.1.564, al.; Opp.H.2.63, C.1.315, al.; Orph.Arg.278; Nonn.D.24.153, 39.225, al., Par.19.94, 20.126; Coll.39, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.68, al.; inf.Amb.255; etc.

συνέρρεον: The verb occurs only in prose writers in classical and Koine Greek, but cf. Nonn.D.13.231 ($\mu\alpha\chi\eta\tau\alpha\iota$), 393 ($\alpha\sigma\pi\iota\delta\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$), 37.602 ($\kappa\eta\rho\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$); also No.XII ap.Trypanis Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica 10'2 (of the Israelites flocking to Solomon's temple at Jerusalem); Agath.Hist.2.15.6 (of people congregating in the streets because of earth tremors), 5.16.3 (of peasants gathering around Belisarius at the time of the Kotrigur invasion); and, in similar context, Evagr.HE 5.6 (202.15 Bid.-Parm.) of people flocking around the patriarch Gregory of Antioch when he advanced in the street.

ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι: Cf. Opp.H.1.461, Tryph.607. A variant of the Homeric line-end ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος (Il.9.311, Od.9.493, al.; cf. Theoc. 1.34, al., Opp.H.1.189, al., Q.S.5.83, Musae.84 v.1., see further Kost ad loc.). Nonnus has the phrase ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος (-ον) (D.22.189, 346, 36.403, Par.6.53, 12.38; cf. inf.896), but does not admit it at the line-end, where ἄλλος, -ον is rare (D.23.40, 25.128, 36.404), see Keydell I.37*. Other variants of the Homeric phrase

occur elsewhere, e.g. ἄλλοθεν ἄλλη, A.R.4.953, inf.970; ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαι, A.R.1.843, 4.930, Opp.H.2.441, 561, Tryph.340; ἄλλοθεν ἄλλα, Opp.H.4.408, A.P.9.808.10 (Cyr.); ἄλλοθεν ἄλλαις, Procl.Hymn 7.38.

263. προφθαμένου: "being first", and so here "before them". For this absolute use of the aorist middle, cf. A.R.4.913, Nonn.D.39.86, Par.5.27, all in eadem sede; also Nonn.Par.13.85 γλώσση προφθαμένη.

ἐπεκτύπεον δὲ βοεῖαι: For this verb denoting the sound of beaten shields, cf. A.R.1.1136 σάκεα ξιφέεσσιν ἐπέκτυπον, 2.1081 σακέεσσιν ἐπέκτυπον, Nonn.D.29.218 φάσγανα τυπτομένησιν ἐπέκτυπε γυμνὰ βοεῖαις (of Corybants). Cf. also 135 sup. σακέων...κτύπος with n. ad loc. In Homer, βοεῖη often denotes an ox-hide shield (Il.5.452, etc.). In Nonn.D., it sometimes denotes a shield, and sometimes a drum made from stretched ox-hides (or, in the case of the Corybants, an ox-hide shield beaten like a drum, cf. loc.cit. sup.), see Peek Lex.s.v. But the drum is appropriate only to Dionysiac revelry, and Paul certainly intended the sense "shield" here, as at inf.983, Amb.119, A.P.6.84.7.

264. στεινομένων: Of people, Il.14.34, Nonn.D.22.270 (corpses), Par.4.147, A.P.2.16 (Christod.; metaph. of Aeschines). Paul uses the verb of place inf.346, 988, see nn. ad locc.

κανάχιζε: For this form (= καναχέω), cf. Il.12.36, Hes.Sc.373, Nonn.D.6.203.

συμμιγῆς ἡχώ: Cf. Plu.Tim.27.1 ἡχῇ τις ἄκριτος καὶ συμμιγῆς, Ael.HA 16.16 fin. ὁ σ.ἡχος. Nonnus has both συμμιγῆς (D.6.287, 23.285, al., Par.12.75, al., cf. A.R.4.674) and ἡχώ (Par.5.110, 7.155, al.; D.passim, frequently of the sound of βοεῖαι, e.g.24.153, 28.317, 39.127).

265-76. J.'s discovery that the foundations of the church are

undamaged leads naturally to an encomium of the skill of Anthemius, the original architect. In describing the earthquake (186ff sup.), Paul has already said that the collapse was confined to the great eastern arch and part of the dome, 198-203, see n.sup. ad loc. But there, although the strength of the foundations was alluded to (186, 198f), no specific mention was made of Anthemius.

265. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ: The particles ἀλλὰ...δὴ bring the narrative at last to the main point, as J. actually sees the damage and turns his attention to its repair. So Il.22.208 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπὶ κρουνοῦς ἀφίκοντο, introducing the climactic scene of the Iliad, cf. Nonn.D.3.243, al., inf.337, and see Denniston Greek Particles p.241, sec.2.

κατὰ νηὸν ἐδύσατο: "he set foot in the temple". Cf. Od.4.246 κατέδυ πόλιν, Il.5.140 κατὰ σταθμοῦς δύεται; active, Il.8.375 καταδύσα Διὸς δόμον.

βάσιν: "foundation", cf. inf. Amb.279. In literary Koine, βάσις denotes the base or pedestal of columns, statues et simil.; it is sometimes used metaphorically, see LSJ s.v.III, adding Orph.fr.168.29, 247.32 Kern; Agath.Hist.1.10.3, 3.25.2; metaph., Georg.Pisid.Carm.12.1 (ed. L.Sternbach Wiener Studien 13, 1891, 17) δογμάτων, ..., βάσις (of S.Basil), together with other similar exx. collected by Sternbach ad loc., p.53f; and esp. A.P.7.588.3 (Paul Sil.) ὤλετο γραμματικῆς ἱερῇ βάσις (of Damocharis of Cos).

266. ἀστυφέλικτον: Cf. 543 inf. ὑπ' ἀνάγκην, Amb.157 (ἵχνοϛ), Amb.282 (δεσμὸς), all in architectural contexts; 250 sup. ἐστυφέλιξε. The adjective is found first at X.Lac.15 βασιλείαν, cf. Call.Del.26 θεὸς, A.P.6.163.5 (Meleagr.) ἔναρα (with dat.), ib.7.748.5 (Ant. Sid.) χῶμα, GVI 976.3 (2nd/3rd cent.) Ἄιδος, Orph.Hymn 12.13 of Heracles, Orph.fr.168.22 σῶμα (of Zeus), Procl.Hymn 1.45 ὄλβον, al., Opp.H.5.679f θεμείλια.../...γαίης, Nonn.D.45.330 δόμος, 47.465 of Ortygia (predicative, as here), al., Par.3.84 πίστιν, al., Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.52 Ἀνάγκη, al., A.P.9.764.7 (Paul Sil.) ὕπνου...χάριν.

ὅλην ἔτρεψε μενοινῆν: "he turned his whole intent". Such metaph. use of τρέπω is not uncommon, e.g. Il.5.676, see LSJ s.v.I.1 and cf. A.P.16.244.6 (Agath.) θυμὸν ὅλον τρέψας πηκτίδος ἀσχολίῃ; also inf.Amb.91f οὕτω/τρέψεν ὅλην χροίην, of marble. The noun μενοινῆ (cf. inf.997), first found in Alexandrian poetry (Call.Jov.90, A.R.1.700, etc.) and common in Nonnus (D.4.65, 46.103, al., Par.3.51, al.), covers the range "desire", "purpose", "concern", "thoughts". It often contains an implication of eagerness or earnestness, but is more varied in sense than LSJ's explanation ("eager desire") suggests, e.g. A.R.4.355f τίνα τήνδε συναρτύνασθε μενοινῆν/ἀμφ'ἐμοῖ; ("purpose", "plan"); Nonn.Par.11.202 οὐδὲν ἀπειρήτω πεπνυμένον ἵστε μενοινῆ ("intent", "thoughts"), cf. A.P.1.10.13, 25 (Anon., 6th cent.); Nonn.D.5.373f φιλοστόργῳ δὲ μενοινῆ/νῆλιπας ἀκρήδεμνος ἱμάσσετο πένθεϊ μήτηρ ("concern", "distress"); A.P.2.311f (Christod.) ἔμφρονα χαλκὸν Ὀμηρος ἐδείκνυεν, οὔτε μενοινῆς/ἄμμορον οὔτε νόου κεχρημένον ("thoughts", "intellect"); A.P.11.350.3f (Agath.) ῥήτορ πειστεύεις πυκινόφρονι σῇ τε μενοινῆ/ποίκιλον αὐδῆσαι μῦθον ἐπισταμένῃ ("wits", "resourcefulness").

267. ἐξ κορυφῆν περίμετρον: On the use of κορυφή of the dome, see 254n.sup. For the adjective περίμετρος ("vast", "huge"), cf. Od.2.95, 19.140, 24.130, all of Penelope's web; Opp.H.3.190 δέμας, al., C.4.86 βόθρον; Nonn.D.13.423 δειρῆν, 37.545 βοείην, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.139 of Aion, al.

267ff. ἐπευφήμησε δὲ, κτλ.: In an easy digression ("leicht abschweifend", Fr. ad loc.), a brief encomium of the architect Anthemius is introduced; so in A.P.9.656, an anonymous poem in praise of Anastasius' Chalke, a compliment to its architect Aetherius is included (6ff). In a further brief complimentary reference, inf. 552ff, Paul couples the name of Anthemius with that of Isidorus (of Miletus), as does Procopius at Aed.1.1.24, 50, 70; both Paul and Procopius put the name of Anthemius first, however, suggesting that he was the senior partner. (The Isidorus of Miletus who collaborated with Anthemius in the original building of S.Sophia, to which Paul here refers, is to be distinguished from his nephew,

Isidorus the Younger, who re-built the dome of S.Sophia after its collapse in 558, cf. Agath.Hist.5.9.4, Proc.Aed.2.8.25). The anonymous Descr.S.Soph. says nothing about Anthemius and Isidorus, mentioning instead a certain Ignatius who was πρωτοικοδόμος μηχανικὸς and ὁ πρῶτος τῶν οἰκοδόμων, ὁ μηχανικὸς (ch.8, p.83.2, and ch.10, p.86.5). But this semi-legendary account cannot be relied upon for historical detail, see nn.sup. on 1 (footnote) and 198-203 (fin.). Certainly Ignatius was not chief architect.

Agathias (Hist.5.6.3) and Procopius (Aed.1.1.24, 50) designate both Anthemius and Isidorus as μηχανοποιοί, the epithet indicating that they had completed the full course of architectural studies, which included both theoretical planning and practical building (cf. Paul's τέχνην καὶ νόον, and Agath.Hist.loc.cit.), and had achieved the highest rank in this field, see G.Downey in Byzantion 18 (1946-8) 99ff; A.Fabré in Échos d'Orient 22 (1923) 59ff. Procopius judged Anthemius to be superior in his profession not only to his contemporaries, but also to all his predecessors (Aed.1.1.24), and mentions (Aed.2.3.7) his collaboration with Isidorus in devising a flood barrier for the fortified city of Dara in Mesopotamia. Anthemius also collaborated with Isidorus the Younger in the building of the church of the Holy Apostles at Cpl., according to Const.Rhod.Descr.S.Apost. 548ff (ed. E.Legrand Rev.ét.grecques 9, 1896, 52. Stein, B-E II. 457, suggested that there was doubt about which Isidorus was involved in this project, but Constantine says Ἰσίδωρος νέος, line 550). Other evidence suggests the wide range of the scientific interests and skills of both Anthemius and the elder Isidorus: Agathias (Hist.5.6.2ff, cf. Jones LRE II.1013f) mentions Anthemius' family of four illustrious brothers and describes in detail the ingenious mechanical contrivance which he devised in order to simulate the effects of an earthquake in the house of an uncongenial neighbour, as well as his use of mirrors to imitate lightning. The reputation of Anthemius as an inventive engineer survived in the 12th cent., cf. Eustath. on Il.5.4 (II.5.5ff Van der Valk, II.3.13f ed.Lips.) and Od.5.128 (I.206.39 ed.Lips.), Tz.H.12.969. On the mathematical achievements of Anthemius, see G.L.Huxley Anthemius of Tralles (Greek, Roman and Byzantine monographs 1,

Camb.Mass.1959), and for a survey of the non-architectural works of both Anthemius and Isidorus the Elder, see Downey loc.cit.p.112ff.

267. ἐπευφήμησε: For the construction with accusative in the sense "applaud", "praise", cf. E.IA 1467ff (with double acc. and dat.) ἐπευφημήσατ',.../παῖνα τῇμῃ συμφορᾷ.../Ἄρτεμιν; Arr. Epict.3.26.29 (351.6 Schenk1) ἀκολουθῶ, ἐπευφημῶν τὸν ἡγέμονα; Procl.Hymn 1.26 ἄλλοι...Ἄδωνιν ἐπευφήμησαν αἰοιδαῖς; Musae.275 οὐ ζυγίην ἦρην τις ἐπευφήμησαν αἰείδων; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.9.45 ἕμερον... πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν ἀλιτροῦ: A.P.16.338.5f (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius) αὐτὸς ἐπευφήμησεν αὖσας/σὸν κλέος ἀντιπάλων δῆμος ἀγασσάμενος;.

268. κεκασμένον ἔμφρονι βουλῇ: Cf. 260 sup. with n. ad loc. Here Paul's phrase is modelled on Nonn.D.5.333 Ἀκταίωνα κεκασμένον ἔμφρονι θυμῷ, where the verb has the sense "endowed with". In the context of J.'s praise of Anthemius, however, the stronger Homeric sense "excelling in" is perhaps to be preferred, as at 260 sup. For the expression here, cf. also Nonn.D.13.487 κεκορυθμένον ἔμφρονι λόγχῃ, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.259 μεμεθυσμένους ἔμφρονι τέχνῃ; dative ἔμφρονι βουλῇ in eadem sede, Orph.Hymn 14.12, 59.20, al., Nonn.D.4.455; ἔμφρονι θυμῷ Opp.H.5.492, Nonn.D.1.312, Par.1.31, cf. Procl.Hymn 7.5; al simil. For the association of νόος and βουλῇ, cf. inf.973, Nonn.D.4.179, 34.8f, 37.222f, etc.

269. κείνους ἀνῆρ: Emphatic, beginning the parenthesis on Anthemius (269-73); cf. Od.4.145, A.R.1.182, Nonn.D.5.229, 242, Par.9.53, 57, A.P.2.403 (Christod.). The expression is picked up at 271 by δεινὸς ἀνῆρ, recalling the word-play at the beginning of the second iambic prologue (85, 88) and the more elaborate repetition at 177f/185; cf. 286/299 inf. πᾶς βροτὸς/πᾶς κόρος.

τὰ πρῶτα θεμεῖλια πῆξατο νηοῦ: Cf. Call.Ap.58 τετραέτης τὰ πρῶτα θεμεῖλια φοῖβος ἔπηξε, also ib.64, 57. (Only in this imitation of Call. does Paul allow the lengthening of a monosyllable, τὰ, in thesi by mute and liquid, see J.Merian-Genast de Paulo

Silentiario Byzantino Nonni sectatore, Diss., Leipzig 1889, 68f, who compares Nonn.D.10.427 δέκτο νέος τὰ πρῶτα); also A.P.9.649.1 (Mac.Cons.) ἀπὸ πρώτοιο θεμεΐλου. For θεμεΐλια πήγνυμι (active and middle), cf. Epigr.Gr.1069.10 (med); Nonn.D.5.50 (act.), Par.4.18 (act.), 17.14 (med.), D.43.3 (act.) and 17.135 (med.; both metaph.); A.P.9.808.2 (Cyr.; act.). Paul uses the Homeric form (Il.12.28, etc.) θεμεΐλια in eadem sede inf.Amb.127, 130; at the line-end he uses θέμειλα, see 186n.sup.

270. εὐκαμάτων, κτλ.: "doing service to/discharging the counsels of the nobly-toiling emperors". Cf. inf.554 καλλιπόνων βουλῆσιν ὑποδρήσσοντες ἀνάκτων, also of Anthemius and Isidorus, 340 ὑποδρήσων σθεναροῦ βασιλῆος ἐφετμαῖς, also 514; A.R.3.274 ὃς καμάτου μεθίσκεν, ὑποδρήσων βασιλῆϊ; Epigr.ap.Jo.Mal.326.3 Κωνσταντίου (or Κωνσταντίνου) ἀνακτος ὑποδρήσσοντος ἐφετμαῖς (said to have been inscribed in the Great Church at Antioch); Man.6(3).726 ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλω ὑποδρήσσοντας ἀνακτι; A.P.9.582.3 (Anon., 4th cent.) θέσμω ὑποδρήσσοντες ἀνικῆτων βασιλῆων; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.16 (PG.37.440A) = ib.1.2.1.34 (col. 524A) ἔσσυμένως μεγάλῃσιν ὑποδρήσσουσιν ἐφετμαῖς, ib.1.1.27.25 (col.500A) Χριστοῦ βασιλῆος ὑποδρήσσοντες ἐφετμαῖς; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.77.27 οὐδ' ἔθελον θεσμοῖσιν ὑποδρήσσειν βασιλῆος. The verb is found first at A.R. loc.cit., probably formed from Homeric ὑποδρηστήρης (Od.15.330), ὑποδρώσιν (Od.15.333), see Mooney and Gillies on A.R.loc.cit.; cf. also Nonn.D.2.588, 48.297, al., Par.12.105; Heitsch XXVI.2 verso 6 (I.87); Musae.143; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.80.13. In using the plural βασιλῆων, Paul probably means J. and Theodora together, cf. ἀνάκτων 176 sup. with n. ad loc. For εὐκάματος applied to people, cf. A.P.2.398 (Christod.) πρόμος εὐκαμάτων Πομπήιος Αὔσονιῶν; Philostr.Gym.42 εὐκάματοι δὲ ἅ χρῆ μοχθεῖν ("easily-enduring", see LSJ s.v.3). Meineke (ap.Salzenberg-Kortüm op.cit.) would read ἀκαμάτων in our line and at 343 inf. (ἄργυρον εὐκαμάτοις ὑπὸ χεῖρεσι κηρὸν ἀνάπτων, of the members of the inaugural procession to S.Sophia) on the grounds that εὐκάματος must be passive in sense, as at E.Bacch.67 κάματος (the earliest instance of the epithet). But it is used actively by Christodorus loc.cit., and also at A.P.1.10.34 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἵχνεσι δ' εὐκαμάτοισιν ἐφespoμένη

γενετήρων (of Anicia Juliana). At 283 inf. it is passive, εὔ. ... μόχθων, "nobly-laboured toils", see n. ad loc. At 452 εὔ. θεμεΐλους and 496f εὐκαμάτοισι νότοις/ἄψιδων, it may be either active, as here, "strongly-labouring", or passive in the sense "made by noble toil", cf. Nonn.D.25.28 ἰδρώτας, 35.158 ῥαθάμιγγι (of sweat); A.P.16.335.2 (Anon., on Porphyrius) στεφάνοις ("won by noble toil").

271. δεινὸς ἀνὴρ, κτλ.: "a man skilled both in the choice of a centre and the drawing of a figure/plan". Paul refers to Anthemius' theoretical skill in semi-technical language. Geometry played a major role in Byzantine architectural design and construction, cf. Pappus of Alexandria (4th cent.; here based on the doctrine of Heron of Alexandria, probably 1st cent.) on the theoretical training of a μηχανικός, Syn.8.1 (III.1022.15ff Hultsch) καὶ τὸ μὲν λογικὸν συνεστάναι μέρος [τῆς μηχανικῆς] ἔκ τε γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ ἀστρονομίας καὶ τῶν φυσικῶν λόγων; Agathias' description of Anthemius' profession, Hist.5.6.3f τέχνη δὲ τὰ τῶν μηχανοποιῶν εὐρήματα, οἱ δὲ τὴν γραμμικὴν θεωρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν ὕλην κατὰγοντες μιμήματά τινα καὶ οἷον εἰδῶλα τῶν ὄντων δημιουργοῦσι. γέγονε δὲ... ἐξ ἄκρον ἦκων τῆς μαθηματικῆς ἐπιστήμης; and see Downey loc.cit. in n.sup. on 267ff, esp. p.106ff, 117f. (Downey notes also, p.112, that Isidorus was probably a professor of geometry or mechanics).

δεινὸς: Regularly c.inf. in this sense in classical drama and in prose, see LSJ s.v. δεινός III and cf. also Theoc.Ep.11. 2 Gow = A.P.7.661.2 (Leon.Tar.), Opp.C.4.449ff.

κέντρον εἰλεῖν: Paul's phrase is probably based on the geometrical expression εἰλήφθω τὸ κέντρον..., "let the centre be"..., used of a circle or part of a circle, see Hultsch's index to his ed. of Pappus of Alexandria s.v. κέντρον for many exx. The term κέντρον is applied in Greek to the centre of a geometrical figure (usually a circle) from the time of Plato, deriving from its use to denote the fixed point of a pair of compasses, see LSJ s.v.6 and cf. inf. 365, 837; Nonn.D.38.268, 313 (astron.); Evagr.HE 4.31 (181.3f Bid.-Parm.)

τὸ δὲ βάθος ἀπὸ τοῦ κέντρου τοῦ ἡμισφαιρίου μέχρις ἐδάφους (of the dome of S.Sophia). It also continued to be used of the fixed point of compasses, e.g. Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.8 (p.81.1f ed. Pasquali, 2nd ed. 1959) ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τῆς πλευρᾶς (of a semi-circular structure) πηγνυμένου τοῦ κεντροῦ, cf. PGL s.v.3. Hence Paul's expression might also be interpreted as "the taking up of the compass point", but this has ultimately the same sense as "the choice of a centre".

σχῆμα χαράξαι: The term σχῆμα ("form", "shape") is regularly used in technical Greek to denote geometrical figures, see LSJ s.v.8, Soph.Lex.s.v.7, Stephanus s.v. col.1659 and cf. Vitruv.1.6.12 formas sive uti Graeci schemata dicunt (of two diagrams which he will append to his work). It occurs frequently in late architectural descriptions by non-technical writers: sometimes it is used generally to denote "form" or "shape", e.g. Agath.Hist.2.17.4 (on the re-building of Tralles) ἀναδομήσαι αὐτῆς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε σωζόμενον ἀπεργάσασθαι σχῆμα, ib.5.9.4 Ἰσίδωρος δὲ ὁ νέος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μηχανοποιοὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναθεωρήσαντες σχῆμα..., cf. ib.5.9.2 (both of S.Sophia); Mal.495.10f προσετέθη δὲ τῷ τρούλλῳ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν σχῆμα πόδες λ' (of S.Sophia); Anon.Descr.S.Soph.8 (I.83.1f Preger) τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἔδειξε κατ'ὄναρ τῷ βασιλεῖ; elsewhere there is a specific reference to a geometrical figure, e.g. Eus.HE 10.4.39 (describing the forecourt of the church at Tyre) εἰς τετράγωνόν τι σχῆμα περιφράξας τὸν τόπον; Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.3 (79.21 Pasquali, 2nd ed.1959) σταυρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τὸ σχῆμα, cf. sec.6 (p.80.20); Chor.Or.2.41 (38.21f Foerst.-Richtst.) μίᾳ ζώνῃ, τὴν ὑπερτάτην φημί, καινὸν ἐπικεῖται σχῆμα. κῶνον ἡμίσεα τοῦτο καλούσης γεωμετρίας ἀκήκοα... (of the semi-dome of the apse of the church of S.Stephen at Gaza, rising from the bands, ζῶναι, of marble decorating the wall, see C.Mango The Art of the Byzantine Empire p.71, n.87), cf. ib.1.18 (p.7.20) σχῆμα of a design of circles surrounding an arch, al.; Proc.Aed.1.1.32 ἐπὶ σχῆμά τε κατὰ ἡμῖς τὸ στρόγγυλον ἰούσα, ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ ἡμικύλινδρον ὀνομάζουσιν (of the apse of S.Sophia), cf. ib.35, al.; Agath.Hist.5.9.8 ὅσα ἰθύγραμμα σχήματα καὶ ὅσα κυκλικά (details contained

in Paul's description of S.Sophia); inf.Amb.261 σχῆμα κύβου... περιμήκεος οὐκ ἴσοπλεύρου (of the shape of the columns bounding the solea). In several of the above instances, σχῆμα may be rendered "plan", e.g. Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.3, Agath.Hist.2.17.4, 5.9.4; certainly the shapes or geometrical figures which Anthemius is described as drawing in our line are likely to be architectural plans. G.Downey (loc.cit. in n.sup. on 267ff) maintains that "σχῆμα is well-known as a technical term for a plan" (p.116), citing Vitruv.loc.cit.sup., and Sop.Lex.s.v.7; he suggests that Const.Rhod.Descr.S.Apost.497f κ' αὐθις μετεσκεύασεν εἰς τὸ νῦν μέγα / καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόβλημα χ' ὕψωμα ξένον, is a description of the three ways (plan, projection, elevation) in which an architect would conceive and present a building.

The verb χαράσσω (inf.280, 501, 507, 693, al.) is commonly used in the sense "draw", "write" in late authors, see LSJ s.v.III and cf. also Theoc.23.46; A.P.9.139.4 (Claud.), 11.412.1 (Antioch.); Nonn.D.2.628, al.; A.P.4.3B.72 (Agath.), 5.254.5 (Paul Sil.), 6.65.1 (id.; of a pencil ruling lines on a page for a scribe) and esp. Nonn.D.6.19 of geometrical drawing, Marc.Diac.V.Porph.93 μεγάλην αὐτὴν [τὴν ἐκκλησίαν] ἐχάραξεν("planned").

272f. Paul here reiterates the idea of 198f sup., where the church is said to have remained standing because ἀριστώδινος ἐελμένος ἅμμασι τέχνης. Now, however, the compliment to Anthemius is made explicit: he has made the walls strong enough to withstand even the malign supernatural forces whose defeat is, in the earlier passage, attributed to Christ's intervention.

272. τοίχους ἐνέηκε...σθένος: "He had implanted strength in the walls". The construction of ἐνίημι with acc.rei and dat.pers. in this sense is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.2; for Paul's use of dat.rei instead of dat.pers., cf. A.P.7.172.6 (Ant.Sid.), Call.fr.788 Pf., Opp.H.3.467 (of fish); A.P.9.6.2 (Pallad.). The dative τοίχοις is Du Cange's correction for the ms. reading τοίχους.

τόσον σθένος ὅσον ἐρίζειν: "strength enough to vie with".

Cf. Opp.H.5.173f οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔνι σθένης ἀνθρώποισιν/ὅσσον τ'αὖ ἐρύσαι.
For ἐρίζω with dat.rei, cf. Call.Del.112, Opp.H.5.29, Nonn.D.20.
397, 37.307, al.

273. δαίμονας ἀντιβίοιο βαρυτλήτοισιν ἐρωαῖς: "(to vie) with the hostile demon's onsets, hard to endure". As at 195, 221, the collapse of the dome is attributed to the malevolent activity of the πονηρῶς δαίμων, see nn.sup. ad locc., also n. sup. on 160-63 and cf. esp. Bartelink loc.cit. For δαίμων denoting, as here, not merely this or that evil spirit, but the Devil, Lucifer, in phrases similar to Paul's, cf. esp. Nonn.Par.17.54f ἀλλ'ἵνα μιν... φυλάξης/δαίμονας ἀρχεκάκοιο δυσαντήτων ἀπὸ δεσμῶν, 8.123f ὑμεῖς δῆια τέκνα δυσαντέος ἐστὲ τοκῆος,/δαίμονας ἀντιπάλαιοι, cf. 13.9, 17.35. Homer uses ἀντίβιος in the expression ἄ.ἐπέεσσι, Il.1.304, Od.18.415, al., cf. Opp.H.5.266f ἀητῆς, 2.419 predicat., Nonn.D.39.394 νηυσὶ, Par.13.50f Ἰουδαίοις, Tryph.624 ὄμιλον, A.P.6.81.1f (Paul Sil.) χολᾶδων; also substantival, Opp.H.5.114, ps.Orph.Hymn 88.5, Procl.Hymn 7.50, Nonn.D.2.508 and passim, Par.19.6, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.36.42, Eudoc.Cypr.1.90 (PG.85.836B), A.P.7.149.2 (Leont.), 7.205.4 (Agath.). On βαρυτλητός in the sense "hard to bear", "hard to endure", see 251n.sup. and for plural ἐρωή (LSJ s.v.1 "quick motion", "rush", "force"), cf. Nonn.D.7.19, 39.9, al.

274f. οὐ γὰρ...ἄκλασεν: Fr. assumed (ad loc.) that the main thread of the narrative is now resumed after the digression on Anthemius and that, consequently, the γὰρ here strictly refers to 267f ἐπευφήμησε δὲ τέχνην, κτλ. These lines are, however, more simply and naturally taken as being explanatory of 272f: the walls were strong enough to resist the destructive forces which caused the dome to collapse, for the main church remained unshaken. At the same time, 272-3 express the same idea as 265-6 βάσιν ἔγνων/δώματος ἀστυφέλικτον, so that οὐ γὰρ refers simultaneously to 267f and 272f. The digression on Anthemius is not altogether well-knit into the context: even granted that Paul often repeats himself, the two lines 270 and 554 are so alike as to suggest that the two encomia of Anthemius were alternatives, one of which Paul might have

intended to delete, were he to have revised the text.

A further sign of unease is the lack of a proper subject for ὤκλασεν and for ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν (276): Du Cange translated neque enim procubuerunt (presumably understanding as subject οἱ τοῖχοι extracted from τοῖχοις, 272),..., sed concussam (δονητὸν, see 275n.inf.) imam partem firmissimo fundamento sustentavit magni Romanorum imperii rector, et super muris prioribus... . But the Greek will not bear this interpretation, since (inter alia) the plural οἱ τοῖχοι can scarcely be understood as the subject of singular ὤκλασεν. Meineke (ap. Salzenberg-Kortüm) proposed σθένος (272) as the subject of both verbs, but its use with ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν would involve an unlikely personification. Much more satisfactory is Fr.'s suggestion (ad loc.), that the subject of both verbs is νηὸς, compare the translation of G.Millet in Rev.belge de philol.et d'hist.2 (1923) 601, "La haute tête est tombée, mais l'édifice n'a pas fléchi; ses pieds sont restées fermes, appuyés sur de belles fondations". The subject νηὸς is easily understood in the context (particularly since parts of the church are regularly described in anthropomorphic language, see n.inf.), although the word itself has not occurred since 265, 269. Compare esp. the similar passage 198f οὐδὲ μὲν εὐρύστερνός ὑπώκλασε μέχρι θεμερίων/νηὸς, and see n. ad loc. on the use of the verb.

For simple ὤκλασεν (usually of people or animals, describing physical bending or sinking down) cf. 161 sup. with n. ad loc. and see also n.sup. on 143f κατώκλασε. The same contrast with στηρίζω occurs in a metaphorical context at Sophr.Ep.Sym. (PG.87(3). 3149C) στηρίζειν με μικροψυχίαις ὀκλάζοντα.

ἀποτμηθέντος ἐρικνήμοιο καρήνου: "when the strong-shouldered head/peak was severed". Nonnus uses κάρηνον of a dome, D.3.137f λόφος ὀμφαλόεντι διεσφαίρωτο καρήνω/μεσσοφανῆς ὀρόφοιο. Cf. inf. 503 ἐριχρύσοιο κ., 862f κ./...βαθυστέρνοιο, 814 νηὸς ἀερσικάρηνος, 402f κ./...βαθυκνήμοιο (see further below); also plural, 359 of conches; 376, 542, 860 and (?) 887 of capitals (cf. 385 καρήατα). Although the epithet ἐρίκνημος (see inf.) suggests that Paul probably here has in mind the common metaphorical use of plural

κάρηνά of mountain peaks (cf. 304 inf. with n. ad loc.; so κορυφή is used of the dome sup. 254, 267), κάρηνου is, like ἄκλασεν (see n.sup.) anthropomorphic language. Such language is characteristic of the architectural description of the poem, having the twofold advantage of minimising the necessity for technical terms and admitting colourful poetic metaphor. Compare, for example, 355ff inf., where the terms αὐχένα (355) and κάρηνά (359) are combined with an explicit analogy with the body of a peacock in a description of the eastern apse and exedrae.

The epithet ἐρίκνημος (likewise ἐρικνήμις 304 inf.) is not elsewhere attested (neither is mentioned by LSJ and LSJ Suppl.). There is, however, no reason to doubt its authenticity: the formation is unimpeachable (from Epic κνημός, "shoulder of a mountain", Il. 21.559, etc., see LSJ s.v.I.1) and Paul may either have coined it himself or culled it from a word-list such as that in which he probably found μελαγκρήπις (261, see n.sup. ad loc.). Eustathius 1437.54 (Od. Vol.I.87.30 ed.Lips.) has κνημῖς, εὐκνήμις to illustrate the same rule of accentuation as κρηπίς, μελαγκρήπις. At 1498.43 (Od. Vol.I.168.19 Lips.) he appears to connect κνημός with κνήμη and hence with κνημῖς, when he glosses the first ὀρεινοὶ τόποι, οἱ μετὰ τοὺς πρόποδας ἀνωτέρω, cf. Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. κνημός. When applied to Ossa (304), ἐρικνήμις means "with massive shoulders/spurs", cf. inf. 379f Θήβης/Νειλῶης...ἔκκνημιδες ἐρίπναι; D.P.714 Καυκασίας κνημίδας; Nonn.D. 9.273 κάρηνά βαθυκνήμιδος ἐρίπνης, 13.66f Ἐλην, /...Τυχίοιο ταυκνήμιδα τιθήνην, also ib. 4.336 = 13.70 βαθυκνήμους τε Πλαταιάς. In these exx., κνημῖς and compounds are used in the same sense as κνημός and compounds. So in our line Paul imagines the dome of S.Sophia as a mountain "with massive shoulders", cf. 402f inf. ἄχρι καρήνου/ἄχρι βαθυκνήμοιο καὶ ἄντυγος, ἧς κατὰ νῶτον...κτλ., where, if Fr.'s text is correct and if βαθυκνήμοιο qualifies καρήνου, the same image recurs. The spurs or shoulders of the dome would be the semidomes, apse, exedrae etc., which act as its buttresses, or possibly, if Paul is thinking of the view from the inside, as he is at 402f inf., the ribbing of the dome itself. For the mountain analogy applied to S.Sophia, cf. Mic. Thess. Descr.S.Soph. 1 (12th cent.), quoted sup. in n. on 143f.

The compound ἀποτμήγω is Homeric, Il.11.146, see LSJ s.v.I.2 and cf. Nic.Th.713, Al.101, al., D.P.1133, Man.1(5).120, 6(3).580, Nonn.D.2.640 βόστρυχον ὕληεντος ἀποτμήξασα καρῆνου (of Gaia), al., Par.7.78, inf.Amb.295; passive, A.R.4.1052, Nonn.D.2.652 c.gen., Agath.Hist.5.22.9.

· 275f. ἀλλ'ἀδόνητον.../ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν: Cf. inf.Amb.157f ὄφρα κεν ἀστυφέλικτον ἀρηρότι νειόθι κίων/ἵχνος ἐφιδρύσειε βαλὼν περιηγῆϊ βωμῷ. The expression ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν et simil. occurs elsewhere in Nonnian poetry, D.14.369 στατὸν ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν ἀχέρδω, ib.25.547 στατὸν ἵχνος ὅλῳ στηρίζετο ταρσῷ, 48.151 ὀρθίος ἐστήριξε...ἵχνια, al.; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.30.18 ἵχνια μευ στηρίζας, al.; cf. inf.296 with n. ad loc. For στηρίζω and compounds in an architectural context (also inf.562), cf. LXX Jd.16.26 ἐπὶ τοῖς στύλοις, ἐφ'ᾧ ὁ οἶκος ἐπεστήρικται ἐπ'αὐτῶν, cf. ib. 29; Eus.HE 10.4.63 ἄλλους...κίουσιν ὑπεστήριζεν. (in a symbolic interpretation of the parts of the church at Tyre); Proc.Aed.1.1.34 καίτοι διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐστήρικται (of the eastern semidome of S.Sophia), ib.4.2.11 τοῖς θεμελίοις στηρίζεσθαι (of the sea-wall at Thermopylae); Nic.Mes.15.1 (ed. Downey, Trans.Amer. Philos.Soc.47, 1957, 902) ταύτην...τὴν στοᾶν...τέτταρες ἀψίδες ὑποστηρίζουσι; Mic.Thess.Descr.S.Soph.4 (12th cent.; ed. Mango-Parker, DOP 14, 1960, 237.92f) οὕτως οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη χρῆμα τοῦτο ναοῦ.

The epithet ἀδόνητος (first in Nonnus) is usually applied to people (D.11.300, al., Par.7.99, al., Evagr.HE 5.19., 214.29 Bid.-Parm., Agath.Hist.1.21.8, 4.18.5, A.P.5.268.5, Paul Sil.), but cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.65.19 ἵχνος ἐμῶν ἐν πᾶσι ποδῶν ἀδόνητον ἐρείδων; Nonn.D.28.307 θάρσος; inf.Amb.127 ἀδόνητα θεμείλια πάντα φυλάσσω. At Musae.325f ποδῶν δέ οἱ ἄκλασεν ὁρμή,/καὶ σθένος ἦν ἀδόνητον ἀκοιμήτων παλαμῶν, Graefe's conjecture ἀνόνητον is accepted by most editors, and is strongly supported by the parallel of Nonn. D.39.309 καὶ πόνος ἦν ἀνόνητος ἐπειγομένων ἐλατήρων (of a sea-battle). Kost, however, argued (ad loc.) for the retention of ἀδόνητον on the basis of the similar contrast with ἄκλασεν in our passage: "Die Bewegung der Füße erlahmte, und doch war die Kraft der Arme noch ungebrochen". In our line, Graefe correctly wrote ἀλλ'ἀδόνητον,

correcting Du Cange's ἀλλὰ δονητὸν.

ἐϋκρήπιδι θεμείλω : "on the well-based foundation". The adjective is Du Cange's conjecture, accepted by all editors, to supply the short and long syllables missing from the third and fourth feet in the ms., which has simply ἀδόνητον κρηπίδι θεμείλω. Ludwig, however, objected (op.cit.p.10) to ἐϋκρήπιδι on the grounds that (i) Paul does not use this epithet elsewhere and (ii) he uses θέμιλον elsewhere only in the plural. Accordingly Ludwig proposed ἐπὶ κρηπίδι θεμείλων on the analogy of inf.Amb.278 κρηπίδος ἐνιδρυνθεῖσα θεμείλοις. An alternative would be ἐνὶ κρηπίδι θεμείλων. Against Ludwig (i) is Paul's predilection for the unusual epithet (e.g. 218 παλινδωμήτορας, 261 μελαγκρήπιδα, 274 ἐρικνήμοιο, see nn. ad locc.), while (ii) the singular θέμιλον does appear at Call.Dian.248, A.P.9.649.1 (Mac.Cons.), ib.14.115.1 (Anon.; post A.D.330), and there is no reason why Paul should not have used it here. The Amb. passage is not strictly parallel since in it the grammatical function of the two nouns is reversed. (In fact, Ludwig's conjecture receives more support from Nonn.D. 17.41 ὑπὸ κρηπίδα θεμέθλων, cf. also ib.40.500 ἐπὶ κρηπίδα θαλάσσης, A.P.4.3B.7, Agath., ἐς κρηπίδα Γαδείρων, all at the line-end). There is, moreover, no reason to introduce a preposition in our line, since ἐπιστηρίζω is regularly constructed with accusative and dative (Opp.C.4.256, Nonn.D.14.369, 38.291, al.; note also the simple dative with ἐφιδρύω in a similar expression, inf.Amb.158, quoted in n.sup., and indeed, Ludwig's own example, inf.Amb.278). The epithet ἐϋκρήπις is Nonnian, D.40.258 ἐϋκρήπιδος ὑπὸ σκοπιῇσιν Ἰμαίου, 43.222 ἐϋκρήπιδα λόφον νησαίου. (Paul's adaptation of language elsewhere applied to mountains has been noted in the case of ἐρίκνημος sup.). It is the only extant compound of κρηπίς listed in Buck-Petersen (Reverse Index p.424) which will both fit in and make sense here.

276-78. ἐπὶ προτέροισι δὲ τοίχοις, κτλ.: The section is abruptly concluded: neither here nor elsewhere does Paul indicate that alterations were made during the re-building, in order to make the

dome more secure. The detailed account of Agathias (Hist.5.9.3f) describes how, Anthemius and Isidorus being dead, the latter's nephew Isidorus the Younger, after examination of the original plan (σχῆμα, see 271n.sup.) and the nature of the collapse, left the great eastern and western arches as they were (i.e. re-built the eastern arch as it had been before it collapsed), but increased on the inside the depth of the north and south arches (τῆς δὲ ἀρκτῶας τε καὶ νοτίας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρτώματος οἰκοδομίαν πρὸς τὰ ἔνδον παρατείναντες καὶ εὐρυτέραν ἡρέμα ποιησάμενοι; cf. Mal.495.11f καὶ τὰς δύο καμάρας ἐκ προσθήκης ποιήσαντες, τὴν τε ἀρκτῶαν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρινήν) and thereby made the central area more symmetrical. The dome was then re-built to be sharper and slimmer than the original, so that it was much safer, but at the same time less striking to the observer. Thus we are given to understand that the re-building began at the level of the base of the springing of the four great arches, and that the new dome was considerably less flat than the old (Mal.490.5 and Theoph.A.M.6051, 233.2f, give the figures, respectively, of twenty/more than twenty feet higher. Mal.later, 495.10ff, says thirty feet). The account of Agathias has been substantiated and elucidated by recent archaeological examinations of the structure of S.Sophia, see R.J.Mainstone in Architectural History 12 (1969) 39ff (who postulates a continual adaptation of the design of 537 as problems arose during construction); K.J.Conant in Bull.Byz.Inst.1 (1946) 71ff, also id. in AJA 43 (1939) 589ff; W.Emerson and R.L.van Nice in AJA 47 (1943) 403ff; G.Millet in Rev.belge de philol. et d'hist.2 (1923) 599ff, and other articles cited by Mainstone loc.cit.p.49,n.7. Theophanes (A.M.6051, 232.31ff) attributes the collapse to the fact that the columns (πίνους) supporting the dome were hollow, and says that these were accordingly replaced, but this version is misleading: Mainstone (p.45f) attributed the collapse of the eastern arch to the yielding of the main columns, caused by the failure of interconnections with the buttress piers. It may be that Theophanes refers to the strengthening of such interconnections, but the main piers were not themselves replaced. Theophanes makes no reference to alterations to the arches. The anonymous and legendary Descr.S.Soph.28 (I.105ff Preger)

also gives a different version, that the premature removal of the props supporting the dome, before it had properly set, caused the collapse. This may have been a contributory factor (see Conant, Bull.Byz.Inst.1, p.71), but the account is certainly incorrect in its assertion (p.107.6f) that the original dome was too high and the new one accordingly made flatter, cf. nn.sup. on 1, footnote *, 198-203 fin., 267ff.

276. ἐπὶ προτέροισι δὲ τοίχοις: Cf. Call.Ap.15 ἔσθῃξειν δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπ' ἀρχαίοισι θεμέλοις. In our line, the δὲ is delayed metr.gr., cf. 29, 98 sup.

277. ἰθυντῆρ, κτλ.: "the pilot of the great throne among the Ausonians". The more than usually elaborate periphrasis for the unmetrical Ἰουστινιανός restores pride of place to the emperor at the end of the section. For ἰθυντῆρ (first in Alexandrian poetry, see LSJ s.v.) in this metaph. usage, cf. Epigr.Gr.905.1 (Gortyn) Ἐσπερίης πάσης χθονὸς ὄβριμον ἰθυντῆρα/Μαρκελλίνου Milet.1(9). 340 προτέρων ὑπέρτερος ἰθυντῆρων, Opp.H.2.37 ἄλδς θεὸν ἰθυντῆρα; also ἰθύντωρ, of Christ, Gr.Naz.Carm.2.1.34.141 (PG.37.1317A), Nonn.Par. 6.57. Οὐθοῶκου, see 148n.sup., and on Αὐσονίοισι 174n.

278. αὖτις, κτλ.: Cf. 254 sup., also 218 πόνους...παλινδωμήτορας οἴκου. For middle δωμάομαι, cf. A.P. 7.748.1 (Ant.Sid.), ib.11. 400.3 (Luc.), Epigr.Gr.1047.1, GVI 1768.3 (2nd/3rd cent.), Orph. Arg.570, Nonn.D.40.534, Coll.287, 307; passive, Call.Dian.249, Nonn.D.6.385. The active form δωμάω occurs less frequently, see LSJ s.v.

ἀμωμήτοιο χάριν...κόρση: "the beauty of the faultless head"; i.e. the beautiful, faultless head, cf. the constituent genitive with κλέος 144 sup. with n. ad loc. For similar periphrases with χάρις, cf. A.P.4.3C.5 (Agath.) ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ σοφίης τε χάρις, ib.5.292. 2 (id.) φυλλάδος εὐκάρπου...χάριν; ib.270.5 χάριν αἴθοπος αἴγλης, 9.764.7 ὕπνου δ' ἄστυφέλικτον...χάριν, also 10.15.2, 16.78.3 (all Paul Sil.) The anthropomorphic term κόρση is applied to the dome as a variant for κάρηνον (274), cf. inf. 560, where it is used of

capitals. For κόρη in the general sense "head" as opposed to the strict meaning "temple", see LSJ s.v.4, adding A.P.6.199.1 (Antiphil.), 7.383.4 (Philipp.), 401.5 (Crinag.); Theoc.25.255; Orph.Lith.501; Nonn.Par.19.90, cf. D.41.200, al., and passim; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.97. In late authors, the epithet ἀμώμητος sometimes loses its moral overtones and means "aesthetically faultless" rather than "morally blameless", see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.P. 4.1.31 (Meleagr.) ἐκ λειμῶνος ἀμωμήτοιο σέλινα, Orph.Lith.438 εἶδος ἀμώμητον, Musae.92 κάλλος..ἀμωμήτοιο γυναικῶς, cf. Q.S.14.58; also "undefiled", "immaculate" in Christian contexts, e.g. Nonn.Par.19.187 χρωτὸς ἀμωμήτοιο προάγγελος, al., ps.Ap.Met.Ps.33.10 προσώποις, al., see PGL s.v.

279-314. The re-built church. Paul will leave to the experts the detailed account of the re-building of the church and turn to the newly-completed work before him (279-85). No man has for long endured to stare up at the heavens, but has eagerly brought back his gaze to the various natural beauties of the earth (detailed); but it is impossible to have enough of gazing at the new church (286-99). By his labours J. wins Christ's entire goodwill: he did not seek to reach heaven in the manner of the Giants by piling Ossa on Olympus, but by his devoted toils he has won easy access on the wings of piety (300-310). But why delay in hymning the festival of re-inauguration? Let us go within and invoke God's aid (311-14).

This elaborate eulogising passage marks the end of the preliminary account of the earthquake, destruction of the church and its re-building, and brings the narrative to the recent festival of re-inauguration (315-49), which is followed (354ff) by the ekphrasis proper. It constitutes a carefully-constructed prooemium, preparatory to the beginning of the main part of the poem, and comparable in form and content with the smaller prooemia at 177-85 and 205-13 (see nn. ad locc.). In a similar way to the two earlier instances, a direct appeal or address by the poet to his audience (279-85) is followed by rhetorical synkriseis: Paul first (286-99) favourably contrasts examination of the church with that of the natural beauties of heaven and earth and secondly (300-310) gives a favourable assessment of J.'s achievement in building the church by contrast with the misguided efforts of the Giants of mythology. The whole passage (279-310) is composed with a view to auxesis (elevation of the subject), the primary characteristic of the prooemium as laid down by Menander Rhetor for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, 368.8f λήψη τοίνυν ἐν τούτῳ τὰ προοίμια δηλονότι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐξήσεως, κτλ. The opening rhetorical questions (279-81) also suggest the

topic specified by Menander for the second prooemium (369.7ff), the impossibility of doing justice to the subject (cf. also ib.368.21ff). The passage 311-14 corresponds to Menander's third and final topic for the prooemium, the transition to the subject proper, 369.13-16 ἡ τρίτη δὲ τοῦ προοιμίου ἔννοια, ..., προκαταρκτικῇ γενέσθω τῶν κεφαλαίων, κτλ. For an analysis of the structure of late encomiastic prooemia in terms of Menander's precepts, with particular reference to papyrus fragments of hexameter poetry, see Viljamaa op.cit.pp.98ff, esp. 104ff. Our passage, like 177-85 sup. (see n. ad loc.), contains indications of a conscious striving for stylistic effect: note especially the use of direct questions (279-81, 311f; both double), the rhetorical symmetry achieved by their position at beginning and end of the passage and by the repetition of the similar-sounding ἀλλὰ τίς (279), ἀλλὰ τί (311), also πᾶς βροτῶς (286), πᾶς κόρος (299; these framing the first synkrisis). There is also a marked tendency towards antithetical expression, 282f κείνα μὲν, .../..., εὐκαμάτων δὲ, 308f ὀρέων μὲν..., / ..., εὐσεβείης δὲ; 287 οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴν..., (289) ἀλλὰ καὶ..., 303 οὐ γὰρ ..., (305) οὐκ..., (307) ἀλλ'...; compare the similar characteristic in the rhetorical passage 135-67 sup. (see n. ad loc. sup. and Viljamaa p.107).

279-85. Address to J.: The statement (276ff) that J. re-built the church would naturally introduce an account of how he did so. This Paul declines to give on the grounds that it is impossible, expressing the point by means of two rhetorical questions. For Paul's use of the double rhetorical question as a means of breaking off and turning to a new aspect of the description, cf. inf. 311f, 444f, 755 (with Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.1).

The rhetorical question is a favourite technique for auxesis among encomiastic writers: it is used in prooemia to indicate the writer's ἀπορία/διαπόρησις or difficulty in knowing where to begin in the vast field before him (e.g. Theoc.17.11; Call.Jov.1-4, Del.28ff; ps.Pampr.4.17f, I.118 Heitsch; cf. Men.Rhet.369.16f), and more generally to suggest at any point the writer's feeling that he cannot do justice to his subject, e.g. A.P.1.102 (Anon.),

cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.29.1ff (PG.37.507A); Prisc.Pan.294-301; Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (515.18f); Romanos 44 κ'1f; Eustrat.V.Eutych.74 (PG.86 (2).2360A-B); Phot.Hom.10.7 (103.19ff Laourdas). The particular form of question used by Paul ("Who could do this?") is standard in this context, sometimes, as here, constituting a recusatio or refusal to undertake the task in question, otherwise suggesting the inadequacy of the description proffered or standing in place of such a description, e.g. Call.Jov.92f (recusatio); Opp.C.4.12ff; Himer.Or.41 (7).6 (171.57f Colonna; of Cpl.); Jul.Or.1.41B (51.9f Hertlein; recusatio); Greg.Naz.Or.18.39 (PG.35.1037B); Greg.Nyss.Ep.20.13 (71.9ff Pasquali, 2nd ed.); Jo.Chrys.Laud.Paul.1 (PG.50.473.11ff); Prisc.Pan.112f; A.P.1.10.66ff (Anon., on the church of S.Polyeuktos); Proc.Aed.1.8.13 (of the church of the Archangel Michael at Anapulus); Cor.Laud.Just. praef. 10ff, 3.41, 103f, 144ff (recusatio; double question); Eustrat.V.Eutych.72 (PG.86(2).2356B); and, also describing S.Sophia, Proc.Aed.1.1.58f (recusatio; double question. Paul similarly refers to the marbles of S.Sophia, using a single rhetorical question, inf. 617ff; cf. also Chor.Gaz.Or.1.41, 12.27ff Foerst.-Richtst.), Anon.Descr.S.Soph.26 (104.3ff Preger), Anon.Monod.in.S.Soph. ap.BZ 30 (1929-30) p.41.3ff.

Like Paul, Procopius (Aed.1.1.50) claims that the technical details of building construction are beyond him (although he does describe one special technique used to strengthen the piers, ibid.51-54); cf. also Eus.HE 10.4.43f, where the reason given for omission of detail is that description is superfluous since the church (at Tyre) can be seen for itself. Paul's and Procopius' reluctance to discuss technical details arises not so much from inability to understand them as from an aesthetic unwillingness to introduce technical terminology into a literary work, cf. 187n. sup. on periphrases for "dome".

279. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν μέλψειεν ὅπως: The ἀλλὰ here is of the type described by Denniston Greek Particles 7f, sec.3: it expresses opposition to what has gone before without determining whether or not the opposite ideas are compatible. Cf. 311 inf. and also the

lively use of ἀλλά with imperative at 145 sup. For μέλπω introducing an indirect question, cf. Nonn.D.1.17 (there with direct object as well). The optative is potential, see K-G.I.231ff, sec.396. 2,5.

ὑψαύχενι κόσμῳ: "with high-necked/lofty adornment", i.e. by restoring the dome. Nonnus has several instances of epithet with κόσμῳ at this place in the line, in a more or less loosely-appended sociative dative phrase (see Keydell I.59*f), e.g. D.18.27ff καὶ Πέλοπος πλάτυν ὦμον, ὅσον θοινῆσατο Δηῶ, /μορφώσας ἐλέφαντι, νόθῳ τεχνήμονι κόσμῳ, /υἱέα δαιτρευθέντα πάλιν ζώγρησε (cf. ἀνεζώγρησε inf.280) Κρονίων, ib.5.169f ἑτέρης δὲ (sc. πτέρυγος) μεσόμφαλος αἶθοπι κόσμῳ/λεπτοφαῆς σέλας ὕγρὸν ἀπέπτυνεν Ἴνδός ἀχάτης, in *ekphrasis* of a necklace, cf. 2.594f, 25.394f, al., see Peek *Lex.s.v.* κόσμος II; ib.*Par.*2.97; inf.*Amb.*117, 191; also Greg.Nyss. *Ep.*25.14 (82.9f Pasquali, 2nd ed.) εἴσοδος ἐκ μαρμάρων τῷ καθήκοντι κόσμῳ κατειργασμένων.

The epithet ὑψαύχην (of a horse, Pl.*Phdr.*253d, Nonn.D.37.328, Theoph.*Sim.*2.14.2, 97.23 de Boor, etc.) is regularly used of physical height in the sense "stately", "towering", e.g. E. *Bacch.*1061 ἐλάτην; A.P.5.135.2 (Anon.) of a wine bottle; *Orph.Hymn* 32.4 ὄχθοῦς; *Epigr.Gr.*903.1 τῆς Ἀσίης ὑψαυχένα θῶκον ὑπάρχων (Sardis; see the discussion of L.Robert in *Hellenica* 4, 1948, 35ff, esp.p.42. n.4 on the use of ὑψαύχην in this context); inf.642 οὐχ ὑψαύχενι βῆσση; also ps.*Ap.Met.Ps.*90.1 ὑψαύχενος ἄλκαρ ὀπωπῆς, of God. It is also used more metaphorically in the sense "proud", *Orac.Sib.*8.37 = 12.230 Ῥώμη (voc.); Nonn.D.8.356 κοῦρη, 48.377 κόμπον, al.; *Par.*2.58 τιμῆν, al.; A.P.5.251.5 (Iren.) κραδίης, 9.641.1 (Agath.) Ἑσπερίην, 5.300.1 (Paul Sil.) ὁ θρασὺς ὑψαύχην; Agath.*Hist.*1.8.6 of the Goth Aligern; etc. Here the former sense is more appropriate, since the dome physically towers over the city (cf. *Proc.Aed.*1.1.27, where the church is similarly described as adorning, κοσμοῦσα, the city which it dominates), but it is also a "proud adornment" to the church. The epithet is consistent with the conception of the dome as the head, κάρηνον, of the church, cf. 274 sup. with n. ad loc., 814 inf. νηὸς ἀερσικάρηνος.

280. ἀνεζώγησε: This compound occurs first in Nonnus, usually of recalling someone from the point of death (D.13.119, 31.46, al., Par.5.41), but probably also of actual restoration from death, D.19.104 (of Hyacinth restored to life by Apollo), cf. Agath. Hist.1.13.3, where the noun ἀναζώγησις is used in this sense. For Paul's metaphorical usage, cf. esp. A.P.7.594.2ff (Jul.Aeg.) ἐνὶ βιβλιακῶν μυριάσιν σελίδων/αἷσιν ἀνεζωγήσας ἀπολλυμένων ἀπὸ λήθης /ἄρπάξας νοερῶν μόχθον ἀοιδοπόλων.

280f. τίς ἄρκιός ἐστι, κτλ.: The second question repeats the substance of the first, but with greater emphasis on J. as the creator of the church, thus anticipating the theme of the second part of this section (300ff). Cf. 512f inf. θάμβος ἔχω, τίνα μῆτιν ἐπήραρεν εὐρέϊ νηῶ/ἡμέτερος σκηπτουῆχος.

For ἄρκιος constructed with infinitive in this sense, cf. Call.fr.236.2 Pf., id. Cer.34, A.R.2.799, Arat.460, 741, 1148, Nonn.D. 7.221, 36.253, Par.6.20, and, for its use in the same context as in our line, A.P.1.10.42 (Anon., inscribed in the 6th cent. in the church of S.Polyeuktos) ποῖος Ἰουλιανῆς χορὸς ἄρκιός ἐστιν ἄέθλοις, κτλ.; also inf. 807f λιγαίνειν/...οὐ μῦθος ἐπ'ἄρκιος. The verb χαράσσω is appropriate to the conception of the *ekphrasis* as a word-picture (see n. sup. on ἐκφρασις in opening title and lemma), since it can be applied either to writing or to pictorial depiction, see the exx. collected 271n.sup., where it is used of drawing a plan, and cf. also A.P.7.237.1 (Alph.Myt.), Nonn.D.5.527, 12.105, 25.553, where it is applied specifically to pictorial representation. For Paul's use here in the general sense "describe", "detail", cf. esp. Nonn.D.25.9f ἑβδομάτης δὲ/ὑσμίνην ἰσάριθμον ἐμῆς στρουθοῖο χαράξω.

281. μῆτιν ἀριστώδινα: "wise counsel, excellent in its fruit". In Homer, μῆτις may be either the general quality "wisdom" *et simil.*, or concrete "plan", see LSJ s.v. Hellenistic and later poets usually prefer the latter sense (e.g. A.R.1.664, 3.30, al.; Opp.H. 2.182, C.1.248, al.; Nonn.D.34.65, 36.443, Par.9.87 *bis*, 11.214), but the more general sense is also found (e.g. A.R.1.560; Opp.H.2.225,

C.2.591; Epigr.Gr. 874.3 (2nd or 3rd cent.); Orph.Arg. 196 ; Nonn.D. 7.68, 37.196). At A.P. 9.642.7 (Agath.) and ib. 782.4 (Paul Sil.) the sense is general, but weak, "mind", "intellect". In our line $\mu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma$ denotes J.'s wisdom and skill in restoring the church: the sense is strictly general, although J.'s general quality is here seen applied in a particular context. For ἀριστώδινα, see 199n.sup.

πολυσκήπτρου: This epithet occurs only here and at A.P. 4.3B. 17 (Agath.) καμάτους μέλπειε π.βασιλῆος (sc. Φασίας νύμφη), of Justin II or J.; A.P. 1.10.11 (Anon., 6th cent.) π.γενετήρων, of the Theodosian house (ἀριστώδιν occurs at ib., line 9).

282f. κείνα..., ..., μεμηλότα τέκτονι τέχνῃ/λείψομεν: "Those things we shall leave aside, as [being] the province of the building craft". The half-line μεμηλότα τέκτονι τέχνῃ is naturally taken together "a care for/ the province of the building craft"; this expression is probably predicative (see translation), rather than subjective, "Those cares of the building craft"... . For λείπω used in the sense of ἐλλείπω/παραλείπω, "pass over", see Gow on Theoc. 2.91 (with Addenda p.592), and cf. also Nonn.D. 7.64, 19.209, al. Nonnus often constructs λείπω with predicative accusative, e.g. D. 4.440 ἄκρα ποδῶν ἀτέλεστα πεπηγότα λείπεν ἀρούρη (of a Spartiate), other exx. Peek Lex.s.v.II. It would be possible to take the dative τέκτονι τέχνῃ with λείψομεν in the sense "leave/abandon to", as often in Nonnus, e.g. D. 3.114 Εὐρώπην λίπε ταύρῳ (imperat.), see further Peek Lex.s.v.III and cf. A.P. 11.60. 5f (Paul Sil.) ταυροφόνων δ'ἀμέγαρτα καὶ αἵμαλέα κρέα δόρπων/ θηροῖ καὶ οἶωνοῖς λείψομεν ὠμοβόροις; also with predicative, e.g. Nonn.D. 41.247f Βερόην.../γνωτῷ λείπεν ἄκοιτιν, "he left Beroe to his brother as wife/ as wife to his brother". Then the sense of our line would be "those cares we shall leave to the building craft", or (predicative) "those things we shall leave to the building craft as cares". But this destroys the natural affinity of μεμηλότα τέκτονι τέχνῃ.

ὦ σκηπτοῦχε: Cf. 238 sup. with n. ad loc.

μεμηλότεν τέκτονι τέχνῃ: For similar use of the perfect participle active of μέλω with dat.rei, cf. A.P.7.370.1 (Diod.); Opp.H.1.155, al.; Nonn.D.32.263, 45.296, al., Par.4.93; inf. Amb.260. The expression τέκτονι τέχνῃ to denote the builder's craft further exemplifies Paul's practice of avoiding technical or prosaic words wherever possible, cf. inf.456 δωμήτορι τέχνῃ, 467 ἦθεσι τέχνῃ, 513 δωμήτορι μόχθῳ, 691 τεχνήμονι ῥύθμῳ, etc., all in eadem sede. Procopius regularly uses the similar term τεχνίτης for "builder" (Aed. 1.1.23, 73, al.; cf. Greg.Nyss.Ep.25.1, 79.15 Pasquali, 2nd ed., ib.12, 81.24, al.); see also the discussion of various names for builders by G.Downey in Byzantion 18 (1946-48) 104f, also 110, where τέκτονες is mentioned as occurring in Syrian inscriptions. This is originally the Homeric word for a craftsman in wood (Il.5.59, Od.9.126, etc., see LSJ s.v.1, adding Theoc.9.24; Nonn.D. 37.592, 45.191, al.; Tryph.64; Greg.Nyss.Thdr., PG.46.737D, and cf. Anon.Descr.S.Soph.9, I.85.6 Preger, where τεκτονικοῦς, "carpenters", occurs in a list of various craftsmen); it is also used more generally of any kind of craftsman (Il.4.110; E.Ion.1129; Nonn.D. 24.248, 37.109, Par.18.20; A.P.6.66.8, Paul Sil.; al., see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Hesych.s.v.τέκτων· πᾶς τεχνίτης). It is applied specifically to a builder at Il.6.315, E.Or.1570, Theoc.7.45 (see Gow's n. ad loc. and, for the context, cf. 303ff inf.). For τέκτων as feminine, cf. A.Ag.1406, E.Med.409, and for the accompanying noun, cf. Il.6.315, 13.390, al.; Sappho 111.3 Lobel-Page; Nonn.D. 37.109, Par.loc.cit. (Note also the similar line-end at Hes.Op. 25 κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ κοτέει καὶ τέκτονι τέκτων). The anonymous Canticum written for the 562 re-inauguration of S.Sophia (No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica) says of the new church (ε' 3f) τεχνικὴν ἅπασαν ὑπερανέχον/ἐπιστήμην ἀνθρώπινον ἐν τοῖς δώμασιν.

283f. εὐκαμάτων δὲ τεῶν, κτλ.: Cf. Tryph.631 χαίρουσα κακῶν ἐπὶ τέρματι μόχθων (of Helen) in eadem sede. The expression τέρματα μόχθων is classical, A.Pr.99f; E.Bacch.1105; cf. A.Pr.182f; Pl. Ax.371e τ.πόων, etc. In our line, the sense may be simply "end of toils", as in the classical exx., or perhaps rather "culmination

of toils", see LSJ s.v. τέρμα II.3. With εὐκαμάτων μόχθων ("of nobly-laboured toils"), cf. A.P.1.10.15 (Anon., 6th cent.) εὐκαμάτοις ἔργοισιν ἑοὺς φαίδρυνε τοκῆας, of Anicia Juliana; also E.Bacch.67 κάματον εὐκ. (earliest instance of this compound); Nonn.D.5.483, al. εὐκ.ᾶγρης. The force of the εὐ- element varies slightly according to the context, but the general implication is of a job well done. So in our line the nobility and success of J.'s enterprise is suggested: cf. 270 sup. with n. ad loc. (active sense, of the imperial couple), 452, 496 inf. (of parts of the church). For εὐκάματος associated with the verb μοχθέω in another sense, cf. Philostr.loc.cit in 270n.sup. For ἱκνέομαι constructed with ἐπί, cf. Il.6.69, Od.8.227; Nonn.D.16.138, 39. 279, al.; Musae.127; cf. also S.Aj.48 κάπῃ τέρμ' ἀφίκετο.

284. ἀρτιτέλεστον...σέβας: Like θάμβος (see 153n.sup.) σέβας, originally "(reverential) awe", "wonder" (LSJ s.v.I, cf. Call.fr. 367. Pf., Nonn.D.4.5, al., Par.5.67, al., A.P.1.34.5, Agath.), comes to mean also "an object of (reverential) awe/wonder" (LSJ s.v.II, cf. also A.P.9.408.5, Ant.Thess.; Theoc.24.78; Opp.H.4.311, 5.470, 473). The epithet ἀρτιτέλεστον is a Nonnian coinage, D.5.579 ὄρμον, 9.185 ἦβην, al.; not elsewhere.

ὦ ἐπὶ πάσης: The line-end is in the Nonnian manner, cf. D.29.46 ὦ ἐπὶ χαίρων, 30.169 ὦ ἐπὶ δείλῃ, al.; A.P.6.84.1 (Paul Sil.) ὦ ἐπὶ λαιᾶν; simil. inf.723, 813. On the hiatus, see n.sup. on 143f, and on the preposition ἐπί with ἀναπτοιέω, see further infra.

285. θεῖας ἔρω, κτλ.: This line further exemplifies Paul's practice of adopting into a Christian context ideas and language from the pagan Hellenistic world. The point is well illustrated by comparison with the similar expression at Musae.90 σὺν βλεφάρων δ' ἄκτῖσιν ἄεξετο πυρσὸς Ἑρώτων, describing the effect of Hero's beauty on Leander, cf. also ib. 94f ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδὸς ἐστίν· ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῖο βολᾶν/κάλλος ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὁδεύει. This concept, that the eyes are the means by which beauty affects the soul, goes back to Pl.Phdr.249d ff, esp. 251a-b, but it is

adopted by Hellenistic erotic writers, see the notes of Ludwich and Kost on the Musaeus passage for illustration and discussion, noting esp. A.P.5.226 (Paul Sil.; Beckby ad loc. gives further parallels). The expression $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$ is ambiguous, as it might mean either "God's love" or "love for God", but the analogy with erotic language indicates that the latter is the primary sense: the church arouses those who see it to love, not for the building itself, but for God. The idea that a representation can inspire love for the object represented is a topos of the ekphrasis, see H. Maguire in DOP 28 (1974) 130. Like Paul, Agathias (A.P.1.34) uses this idea in a Christian context: a depiction of the archangel Michael inspires the beholder to greater heights of veneration; note esp. line 7 $\delta\omicron\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \delta'\delta\omicron\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota \beta\alpha\theta\acute{\upsilon}\nu \nu\omicron\omicron\nu$.

$\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu \delta\omicron\pi\omega\pi\acute{\eta}\varsigma$: Nonnus has $\beta\lambda\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, D.35.172, cf. 8.341 and other exx. collected by Kost on Musae.90 (Kost also lists other exx. of $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ used of eyes); cf. also Pi. fr.123.2f Snell-Maehler $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta\grave{\epsilon} \theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma \pi\rho\delta\varsigma \delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\sigma\omega\nu/ \mu\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\rho\upsilon\zeta\omicron\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ (v.l. $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$); $\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\upsilon$, Nonn. D.9.143, 34.322, al.; $\delta\omicron\mu\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, Jo. Gaz. Descr.2.184. For $\delta\omicron\pi\omega\pi\acute{\eta}$ in the sense "eye", see 171n.sup. and note esp. Jo. Gaz. Descr.2.153-55, where it occurs in this sense in conjunction with the expression $\beta\lambda\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$; also Nonn. D.33.200, of a lover's restless eyes.

The compound $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ ("excited", "thrilled"; here aorist of instantaneous action) occurs only in late authors; like the simple $\pi\tau\omicron(\iota)\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, it suggests both fear and excitement, see LSJ s.vv. For its use in an erotic context, cf. Opp. C.2.425 (of $\epsilon\rho\omega\varsigma$) $\theta\acute{\eta}\rho\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi'\acute{\alpha}\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\sigma\iota \pi\acute{\omicron}\theta\omicron\iota\omicron\sigma\iota$, Musae.168 (of Hero) $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota} \delta'\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\tau\omicron \Lambda\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omicron\upsilon$; also of mental disquiet, Nonn. D.21.186 (passive). Fr. (ad loc.) argued that the sense here is "drives/forces the gaze upwards" ("Sie trieb den Blick empor"), but this interpretation takes no account of the metaphorical use of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\omicron(\iota)\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ in an erotic context, a context in which the simple verb $\pi\tau\omicron(\iota)\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ is well-established. For a good discussion and illustration of this usage of both verbs, together with an examination of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\omega$ in Nonnus, see Kost on Musae.168. Paul's construction of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\eta\omega$

with ἐπί and dative ("excited at") is paralleled by similar constructions with the simple πο(ι)έω, e.g. Parth.4.3 ποθηεῖς ἐπὶ γυνακί, Plb.31.11.4 ποθηεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡγγελέμοις, also Luc. Am.23 (ποέομαι followed by ἐπί and accusative). At Opp.C.2.425 (quoted sup.) ἀναποιεῖω is constructed with ἐπί and dative, but in a different sense ("stirred up to"...). Du Cange mistakenly wrote ἀνεκποίησαν, but this double compound is not elsewhere attested.

286-299. First synkrisis: auxesis of church. This first synkrisis is paratactic: the description of man's observation of heaven and earth is not explicitly introduced as a comparison, but is a miniature ekphrasis in its own right. The point of comparison only emerges at 296ff (contrast the paradeigmata/synkriseis at 182ff and 208ff sup. which illustrate a point already made). The tendency for the first member of a comparison to develop into an ekphrasis is a rhetorical feature which has been well-exemplified from the writings of the 4th cent. Fathers, see L.Méridier, L'influence de la Seconde Sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse (Rennes 1906) 131ff; M.Guignet, S.Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique (Paris 1911) 178ff; T.Ameringer, The stylistic influence of the Second Sophistic on the panegyric sermons of St.John Chrysostom (Catholic univ. of America, Washington D.C. 1921) 78ff. That the beauty of nature was a favourite subject for such rhetorical comparison or ekphrasis is demonstrated by the exx. collected locc.citt., together with Méridier p.140, 142ff; Guignet p.190ff; Ameringer p. 87ff; T.C.Burgess Epideictic Literature (Univ. of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology III, Chicago 1902) 184ff; J.Nimmo Smith op.cit. p.65ff. Note esp. Greg.Naz.Or.44.10 (PG.36.617C ff) where a long ekphrasis on spring (in fact a paratactic comparison, as in Paul) contains many of the same elements as Paul's ekphrasis (the heavens, including the ἀστέρων χορός; beauties of the earth - springs and rivers, luxuriant growth, frolicking lambs, etc.; ships returning to the sea) and in the same sequence, suggesting that Paul is here following a standard pattern, see further detailed nn. inf. Depreciatory remarks about descriptions of natural phenomena at Bas.Ep.14 (44.29ff Courtonne), Greg.Nyss.Laud.Bas. (PG.46.816A)

similarly indicate that the subject was a familiar topos. For its use on a small scale in paratactic synkrisis, cf. Theoc.17.9f (in prooemium of encomium), al.; Greg.Naz.Ep.46 (PG.37.96A), id.Ep.228 (PG.37.372B).

In late rhetorical writers such comparisons with natural phenomena frequently take the form of an analogy with a flowery meadow (λειμών; a recognised topic for ekphrasis, e.g. Theon II. 118.19 Spengel; Nic.Soph. III.492.1 Spengel), e.g. comparison between the Scriptures and a meadow, Jo.Chrys.Eutrop.2.1 (PG.52.395 fin.), id.Pop.Ant.1.1 (PG.49.17.20ff); id.Laud.Paul.1 (PG.50.473.1ff) soul of Paul is a meadow of virtues (detailed analogies), Liban.Or.17.12 (II.211.22 Foerst.) λειμών/life of Julian, cf. id. Or.13.45 (II.79.5f), Proc.Gaz.Pan.1 (491 5ff) λειμών/material for panegyric of Anastasius; etc., see further n.inf. on 1015f. In our passage, Paul conceives of the heavens as a λειμών clad with stars, see further 288n.inf. For more explicit comparison between the beauty of a church and that of a meadow, cf. Greg.Nyss.Thdr. (PG.46.737D) of painting in the martyrium of S.Theodore; A.P.1. 10.61ff (Anon., 6th cent.) of mosaics in the church of S.Polyeuktos; Proc.Aed.1.1.59 of marbles of S.Sophia, cf. inf.618ff, Amb.256f. Note also inf. 547ff columns (?) like a grove with varied flowers; 671ff golden mosaic of roof like sun in spring; Amb.224ff ambo like a beautiful island; Anon.Descr.S.Soph.26 (I.102.11ff Preger) marbles like ever-flowing waters of sea or river; A.P.1.15.4 (Anon.) decoration of church of S.Euphemia rivals stars; etc. Moreover, rhetorical λειμών analogies frequently employ the motif of our 297ff, that the eye wanders from one beautiful object to another and cannot rest, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Pan.Ign.1 (PG.50.587.42ff), Greg. Nyss.Deit (PG.46.553C), Greg.Naz.Or.14.1 (PG.35.860A-B). The same motif is applied by Himerius (Or.39(5).7(8), 162.1ff Colonna) to the spring sky (as an indication of the difficulty of knowing where to begin an encomium of Thessalonica). See further n.inf. on 297f.

286-88. Observation of the heavens: Paul modifies the comparison with natural phenomena by drawing a contrast between observation of the heavens and that of the earth. This prepares for the

introduction of the κόρος motif at 299 (linked to 286 by a linguistic nicety, see n.sup. on 279-314 fin.) and gives the synkrisis as a whole a twofold application to the church: not only are the beauties of the church as diverse as those of nature, but the observer never tires of them as he does of looking at the heavens. The analogy between heaven and the dome is not here made specifically, but it is sufficiently commonplace to be suggested by the mention of heaven in such a context, see n.sup. on 173f and cf. 830ff inf. where the κύκλιος χορός of lights in the dome are compared to the constellation Corona, 892ff where the various lights are said to cheer the observer as the various constellations cheer the traveller; note also Chor.Or.1.39 (12.15ff Foerst.-Richtst.; quoted inf. 287n.) where the standard analogy between the roof of the church of S.Sergius at Gaza and heaven occurs in conjunction with the idea of the straining neck of the observer, which Paul applies to the heavens. For a more general analogy, cf. Phot.Hom.10.5 (101.18ff Laourdas): entering the church is like entering heaven; the observer is illuminated by its beauties as by the stars and the church itself seems to whirl like the heavens, as the spectator turns in excitement from one object to another (cf. n.sup. on 286-99 fin., and n.inf. on 297f on the wandering-eye technique).

286. βροτός: For the use of βροτός, cf. SEG VIII.281.3 (6th cent.) τίς βροτός ἤϊρατο κάλλος, ὃ μὴ πάρος ἄσπετος αἰών; A.P.1.34.3 (Agath.) ἐπεὶ βροτός εἰκόνα λεύσσω, κτλ. It gives a more forceful opposition than ἀνὴρ when a comparison between human and divine is intended. Here it is picked up by the homophonous κόρος (299), see n.sup. on 279-314 fin., and cf. κείνος ἀνὴρ/δαινὸς ἀνὴρ, sup. 269/71.

ἀγλαόμορφον: Cf. Orph.Hymn 14.5 (of Rhea), 29.9 (of Persephone), al.; Opp.C.1.287 εἶδεα (of horses), 2.589 δέμας (of a peacock); Nonn.Par.21.143 κόσμον; A.P.7.343.7 (Anon., 5th cent.) ἔρνος, A.P.9.524.2 (Anon., dated by Beckby to ca.500 A.D.) epithet of Dionysus; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.232 σέβας; also P.Leid.W.4.17f

ἄγλαομορφουμένους/τοὺς ἄστéρας ἱστᾶς. Nonnus D.47.701 has ἄστερόφοιτον ἔς οὐρανὸν in eadem sede.

ἔς οὐρανὸν ὄμμα τανύσσας: This half-line occurs at A.P.9.188.3 (Anon.), cf. inf.531; Nonn.D.9.32 = ps.Ap.Met.Ps.108.7 ἔς οὐρανὸν ὄμμα τιταίνων, Nonn.D.38.318 ὄμμα τίταινεν ἔς αἰθέρα, Par.17.2 εἰς πόλον ὄμμα τίταινεν; note also Nonn.D.34.5f for the incidence of ὄ.τιταίνων in association with the idea of κόρος in observation of the heavens. The line-end ὄμμα τανύσσας occurs again inf. 398, 947, al.simil.; Nonn.D.22.287, 33.92, 37.71; Coll.131; Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.287; cf. A.P.4.3B.2 (Agath.) ὄ.τανύσση, ib.5.262.6 (Paul Sil.) ὄ.τεὸν τανύσεις, etc.; for ὄμμα τιταίνειν (various endings) see n. inf. on 1009.

287. οὐκ ἐπὶ δὴν: See 215n.sup.; here also Du Cange wrote ἐτί.

τέτληκεν: With ἰδεῖν also inf. 1019, A.P.11.379.1 (Agath.).

ἀναγναμφθέντι τραχήλῳ: "with back-bent neck": The expression suggests the great height of the object under observation and the idea is apparently a topos in ekphrasis of art, cf. Chor.Or.1.39 (12.15ff Foerst.-Richtst.) εἰς ὃν ἀναβλέψας αὐχένος δεήσῃ πρὸς ὕψος ἀνατείνεσθαι γεγυμνασμένου· οὕτως ὑπερανέχει τοῦ ἐδάφους. εἰκότως, οἷα μιμούμενος οὐρανοῦ τὸ ὁρώμενον. Paul's phrase is picked up in the reference to the πολύστροφον αὐχένα of the observer of the church (298): there, however, he is so diverted that he is oblivious of the physical strain and has no sensation of κόρος.

This compound of γνάμπτω is rare, only elsewhere at Il.3.348, 7.259, 17.44 in the phrase ἀνεγνάμφθη δέ οἱ αἰχμή (i.e. against an opponent's shield), imitated by Nonnus at D.17.244; and Od. 14.348 δεσμὸν...ἀνέγναμψαν ("loosed", "undid"). The scribe's slip ἀναγναμφθέντι was corrected by Du Cange. The noun τράχηλος (as opposed to αὐχὴν) is not common in poetry (E.Bacch.241, al.; Ar.Eg.490, al.; Theoc.23.51; plural, Call.fr.191.86 Pf.), but regular in prose, especially in late writers (exx. LSJ, PGL s.v.), including LXX (Gen.27.16, al.) and NT (Ev.Matth.18.6, Ev.Mk.9.42, al.).

288. κύκλιον ἄστροχίτωνος...λειμῶνα χορείης: "the circling meadow of the star-tunicked dance". The heavens are conceived as a meadow, dotted or clad with stars as with flowers (cf., for example, Jo.Chrys.Pop.Ant.10.3, PG.49.114.42ff τὸν ἄνω λειμῶνα (καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ λειμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ λειμῶν) τὰ ποικίλα τῶν ἄστρον ἀνθη, κάτω ῥόδα, ἄνω ἱρις), and the circling movements (κύκλιος, see *infra*) of the heavenly bodies in the meadow are considered to be a dance. Late authors regularly apply the term λειμῶν in a metaphorical sense to "any bright, flowery surface", see LSJ s.v.III and cf. also Nonn.D.26.76, al., of a beard; Musae. 60 with Kost ad loc. for exx. of its application to feminine beauty; A.P.6.66.7 (Paul Sil.) λειμῶνα θαλάσσης, and PGL s.v. for exx. of its metaph. use in patristic writers. Its use in rhetorical comparison and *ekphrasis* is discussed in n.sup. on 286-299. The epithet ἄστροχίτων is closely connected with λειμῶνα, since it suggests the idea of the clothing of the heavenly meadow with stars: only the first element (ἄστρο-) is relevant to χορείης. (On the other hand, κύκλιον is arguably more appropriate to χορείης than to λειμῶνα, see *infra*). As often, Paul has in ἄστροχίτων chosen an epithet which is extant only rarely elsewhere, Orph.Arg.513 μῆνη, ib.1028 νῦξ; cf. Nonn.D.40.367, 369, al., where it is used as a cognomen of the Tyrian god Melkart, who is invoked as Heracles (369) and Helios (370). In the subsequent hymn to Ἄστροχίτων/Helios, Nonnus introduces (385) the image of the meadow of heaven, here painted (χαράσσεται) with stars. For the starry robe of heaven, cf. also Nonn.D.40.408f ἐννύχιοι γὰρ/οὐρανὸν ἄστερόεντες ἐπαυγάζουσι χιτῶνες (justification of the cognomen Ἄστροχίτων; note also ib.578 where Heracles literally cloaks Dionysus in a starry robe, ἀστραίῳ Διόνυσον ἀνεχλαίνωσε χιτῶνι); ib.2.165f σιγαλέη Νύξ/οὐρανὸν ἄστερόεντι διεχλαίνωσε χιτῶνι, *simil.*18.161. John of Gaza (*Descr.*1.193) has πόλον ἄστροχίτωνα, a phrase which is quoted in the dative case at *Etym.Magn.* col.806.1, cf. *Epim.Hom.*10 ap. J.A.Cramer *Anecdota graeca oxoniensia* I (Oxford 1835) p.435.13: this suggests that it occurred elsewhere in this case.

The concept of the χορὸς/χορεία ἄστρον (E.El.467, lyr., cf. S.Ant.

1147 χοράγ' ἄστρον; etc.) is by the 6th cent. a rhetorical commonplace, e.g. Procl.Hymn 1.8-10 with Vogt's exx. ad loc.; Himer.Or. 68(21).6 (240.1 Colonna); Eus.Laud.Const. 1. (198.5 Heikel), al.; Jo.Chrys. Pan.Mart. 3 (PG.50.707.7; in synkrisis), id. Theatr. (PG.56.265.41); Greg.Naz.Or. 44.10 (PG.36.617C); other exx. PGL s.v. χορός 1; cf. also Nonn.D. 1.230, 25.389. The adjective κύκλιος here has the sense "circling" (not simply "round") as at 233 sup., where it is used of the circling course of the Bear around the Pole; so here the expression κύκλιον λειμῶνα suggests the rotation of the whole starry firmament. At the same time, however, κύκλιος χορός is the classical expression for a circular or cyclic dance (see LSJ s.v. κύκλιος II) and Paul's juxtaposition here of κύκλιον and χορείης suggests that he had the classical phrase in mind; at 831 inf. he actually uses κύκλιος χορός of the lights of the dome of S.Sophia. In view of this association, χορείης here should certainly be rendered "dance", although at 333, 344 inf., and probably at Nonn.D. 25.241 ἀστράϊν...χορείην, the sense is simply "choir" (a regular sense of χορός, see LSJ s.v.II); cf. also plural χορείαις 155 sup. with n. ad loc. The expression κύκλιος χορός is rare in late poetry, where the adj. κύκλιος tends to be avoided (cf. 233n.sup.), but cf. Orph.Hymn 55.21 κυκλίσαισι χορείαις of sea-creatures dancing round Aphrodite, Call.Del. 313 κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο, χοροῦ δ' ἡγήσατο Θησεύς. Nonnus has κύκλα χορείης (D.40.245) and κυκλάδος...ἄλμα χορείης (44.29) of Bacchic dance, cf. also ib. 3.70f ἐπεσσεύοντο.../εἰς χορὸν...κυκλάδες ἄρκτοι, 5.111 ἐπ' εὐκύκλῳ δὲ χορείῃ, 48.959 ἐκυκλώσαντο χορείῃ, al. simil.

289-93. The beauties of the earth. This is essentially a combination of elements standard in rhetorical descriptions of nature (see n. sup. on 286-99), on which, however, Paul's idiosyncratic linguistic amalgam confers a certain originality, see detailed nn.inf. The length and detail of the description here is to some extent justified by the desire to suggest the inexhaustible variety of earth's, and by analogy the church's beauties, but the justification lies equally in the artistry of the description itself.

289. χλοάουσαν...κολώνην: The verb χλοάω is an equivalent, usually in poetry, for χλοάζω (LSJ s.v.I "be bright green"; II "sprout"; Hesych. s.v. χλοάζει· ἀνθηρός ἐστίν, ἀνθηρεύεται); first in Eupolis (fr. 105 Kock, of a city), then only in Alexandrian and later writers, see LSJ s.v., adding A.P.12.195.1f (Strato) ἀνθεσιν οὐ τόσσοισι φιλοζέφυροι χλοάουσι/λειμῶνες, Opp.H.1.24 παρὰ δὲ χλοάουσι ῥεέθροις (participle) and cf. also Bas.Hex.2.3 (PG.29.36B) λειμῶνες χλοάζοντες, in a rhetorical enumeration of earth's beauties. Nonnus uses the present participle of χλοάω in the sense "green" as well as of paleness (LSJ II), e.g. D.5.178 λίθος (an emerald; cf. inf.539, 643), 43.207 μορφῇν (of Glaucus), 45.207 Βακχιᾶς αἶχμη (thyrsus), al. Note especially A.P.5.292.1 (Agath., addressed to Paul Sil.) ἐνθάδε μὲν χλοάουσα τεθηλότι βῶλος ὁράμῳ. Homeric κολώνη (Il.2.811, 11.757, al.) is regularly used in later epic of a hill, mound or mountain, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.601, 3.581, al. (also as the proper name of a hill at 2.650, 789); Theoc.17.68; Call.fr.228.47 Pf.; Opp.C.2.616, H.4.65; Orph.Arg.369; Nonn.D.3.217 and passim; Coll.374; inf.Amb.77. For the luxuriant hill elsewhere in rhetorical description of nature, cf. (for example) Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132A-B), id.Infant. (PG.46.181B), Nonn.D.45.159.

ἀπήγαγεν ὄμμα: Although ἀπάγω is found in Homer and in prose of all periods, there appears to be no other instance of it in poetry after the classical period, see LSJ, PGL, Arndt and Gingrich s.v. It is likely that Paul is here adapting the Homeric and classical sense "bring back (home)", LSJ s.v.II, elsewhere applied to people.

290. ῥέον ἀνθεμόεντος ἰδεῖν...ἀναύρου: For the use of the epithet, cf. Il.2.467 ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι, Bacch.16(15).5 Snell-Maehler ἐπ'Ἄ.Ἑβρω, Nonn.D.10.226 Πακτωλοῖο παρ'ἀνθεμόεντι ῥεέθρω. On ἀναυρος see 210n.sup. The spring, stream or river is a standard element in natural description and is a favourite source of comparison in patristic writers, e.g. A.P.9.437.5f (Theoc.); Jo.Chrys.Pop.Ant. 10.3 (PG.49.114.51ff), id.Pan.Eust.Ant.2 (PG.50.600.41ff); Greg.Nyss. Infant. (PG.46.181B-C), id.V.Ephr. (PG.46.841C); Greg.Naz.Or.44.10

(PG.36.617C), id. Carm. 1.2.14.10f (PG.37.756); see also J.Nimmo Smith op.cit.p.80ff and, for a different type of river imagery, n.sup. on 208-13. The repetition of ἰδεῖν from 288 in eadem sede (like that of ὄμμα 286, 289) may be deliberate parallelism, since there are other examples of parallelism in this passage (279/311. 286/299, see n.sup. on 279-314), or simply an indication that the work at some points lacks a final polish, cf. 1013n.inf. on ὄλβον.

291. στάχυν ἡβῶντα: For ἡβῶ of plants, cf. Od. 5.69, A.P. 7.24.3 (attr.Simonides), Longus 4.5, Nonn.D. 12.299, 42.296, all of the vine/grapes; Opp.C. 2.581 of flowers in meadow, (id.H. 2.252 of spring); and esp. Nonn.D. 2.649 ἡβῶντα...καρπὸν ἄλωῆς. (Paul uses ἡβάσκω of the metaph. flower of passion, φλογὸς ἄνθεα, at A.P. 5.264.7). The unmetrical ms. reading ἡβῶντα was corrected by Du Cange: ἡβῶντα is the regular Homeric and Nonnian form of the masculine present participle, Il. 9.446, cf. 24.604, Od. 10.6, Nonn.D. 2.577, 24.188, (see Keydell I.51* on the question of whether editors of Nonnus should normalise the two variant forms of the feminine participle which have been transmitted in D.). The singular στάχυς is common in the collective sense "corn", see LSJ s.v., adding Call.Dian. 130, al.; A.R. 1.688, al.; Nonn.D. 42.298 (with ἄμπελος ἡβῶσα 296, in description of summer) and passim; A.P. 6.41.6 (Agath.); etc. Ripe corn is similarly cited in illustration of earth's fruitfulness and beauty at Greg.Nyss.Ep. 10.1 (39.21f Pasquali, 2nd ed.), id. Infant. (PG.46.181B); Bas.Hex. 2.3 (PG.29.36B); Greg.Naz.Ep. 228 (PG.37.372B); etc.

εὐδένδρου σκέπας ὕλης: Nonn.D. 22.138 σκέπας ὕλης in eadem sede makes certain Du Cange's supplement of the υ of ὕλης, missing in the ms. Cf. also Nonn.D. 3.98 (ὄρνις) ἐξομένη γλαυκωπὸν ὑπὸ σκέπας ἄβρον ἐλαΐης, al.; Hes.Op. 532 σκέπα μαιόμενοι πυκινούς κευθμῶνας ἔχουσι (of cattle), and to the exx. of the wider use of σκέπας (first in Od., 6.212, al.) collected by LSJ, add Opp.H. 1.45, al.; ps.Ap. Met.Ps. 90.2 metaph. of God, al. The epithet εὐδένδρος occurs first in lyric, see LSJ s.v., and for its use in later poetry, cf. A.P. 6.3.2 (Dionys.) εὐδένδρου πρῶνα...φολόης, cf. ib.218.2 (Alc.Mess.),

ib.7.193.1 (Simm.Rhod.) δρίος; GVI 970.3 Λέσβω (1st cent A.D.); Nonn.D.27.145 λόχμης, 45.182 οὔρεος, al., Par.3.86 παραδείσω, 12.55 κήπου. Cf also Nonn.D.45.159 καὶ σφιν ὄρος βαθύδενδρον ἐφαίνετο καὶ νομῶς ὕλης, followed by a reference to flocks, as in our passage. The pleasant wood and the shady tree are commonplace in pastoral poetry and in descriptions of nature from Homer onwards, e.g. Od.13.351, al. (see 146n.sup.) ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλη, cf. Call.Dian.41, Bas.Ep.14.2 (I.43.16 Courtonne) of his retreat in Pontus; A.P.9.313 (Anyte); Pl.Phdr.230b; A.P.16.13 (Plato); Theoc.7.135ff, al.; A.P.10.13 (Satyrus); V.Ecl.1.1, al. Likewise in rhetorical description or comparison in the Fathers, e.g. Bas.Hex.2.3 (PG.29.36B); Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132B), id. V.Ephr. (PG.46.841D) of Eden; (also Greg.Nyss.Ep.10.1, 39.22ff Pasquali, 2nd ed., Jo.Chrys.Pan.Eust.Ant.2, PG.50.600.57f, of shade of vine, on which see 293n.inf.).

292. πῶεά τε σκαίροντα: The noun πῶν is Homeric (plural, Od.11.402, al.), see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.2.657, al.; ps.Theoc.27.38; A.P.6.31.3 (Anon., or Nicarch.I). For σκαίρω (present and imperfect forms only) of animals, cf. Od.10.412, Theoc.4.19, both of calves; Call.Dian.100 deer; A.R.4.1402 of a serpent's tail; Opp.H.1.656 dolphins; also D.P.844 maidens dancing like fawns; elsewhere of human dancers (Il.18.572, A.R.1.1135, Nonn.D.18.179, al.). Late prose rhetorical writers who include frisking flocks in descriptions of nature prefer σκιρτάω and compounds, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Pan.Dros.1 (PG.50.683.14) σκιρτῶντα; Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132B) διεσκήρτα; Greg.Naz.Or.44.10 (PG.36.617C) ἐπισκιρτῶσι.

ἄμφιέλικτον ἐλαίην: Fr. (ad loc.) observed how appropriate ἄμφιέλικτος is to describe the twisted trunk of the olive tree. The epithet ("coiled/coiling round") is rare before Nonnus: Euripides (HF 398, lyr.) has the form ἄμφελικτός of a serpent, but ἄμφιέλικτος appears first at Aratus 378 in the sense "revolving" of the stars; cf. D.P.466 περίπλοον ἄ., "winding" (of sailing between islands), ib.718 ἀλλ'εἴη τοι σχῆμα περίδρομον ἄμφιέλικτον, of the Caspian Sea; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.12.1 (PG.37.753) τρόχος

ἀμφιέλικτος. Nonnus uses the epithet of a serpent (D.4.365, 15.102, al.), of satyrs twitching their horse-like tail from side to side of their rump (14.42), of reeling, drunken movement (47.63), of a maiden carried off sideways across Dionysus' shoulders (48.144) and of the ground shaken by earthquake (21.102); cf. also ps.Pampr.3.78 (I.114 Heitsch) ὀμίχλην/ὑψοθε[ν ἀμφι]έλικτον. At Amb.137, Paul creates the new form ἀμφιέλιξ to describe the curving shape of the cavern-like area beneath the platform of the ambo; elsewhere he invents new compounds in -έλικτος, Amb.207 ἀκροέλικτος...ἥλος, ib.284 νῆματα χρυσοέλικτα. Most authorities prefer the proparoxytone accentuation of -έλικτος compounds, except in the case of the Euripidean ἀμφελικτός (although there Wilamowitz accents oxytone in text, but proparoxytone in commentary, II.101). Proparoxytone is the normal accentuation for a two-termination verbal derivative (from ἐλίσσειν) in -τος, in so far as any rule can be formulated, see Chandler Greek Accentuation secs.529-31, p.149f. But LSJ (s.v. ἀμφιελικτός) and Buck-Petersen (Reverse Index p.497) accent oxytone.

The olive and the vine are commonly used as symbols in Christian writers (exx. PGL s.v. ἐλαία B, ἄμπελος), but here they are simply the typical fruit-giving trees of the Mediterranean countryside (see K.D.White Roman Farming, 1970, 224, who adds the fig), as often in pastoral and natural description, e.g. (of the olive) Theoc.4.44; A.P.6.3.3 (Dionys.); Nonn.D.3.98; A.P.9.668.9 (Marian.).

293. ἐπικλινθεῖσαν: The sense ("resting on", "supported on") is clear from the context, but this use of the compound in the aorist passive is not common, cf. A.P.11.14.2 (Ammian.) τὴν ἐπεκλίνθη, Q.S.9.450 ἀμφοτέρων κρατερῆσιν ἐπικλινθέντα χέρεσσιν (of Philoctetes supported between two companions), cf. ib.458. Nonnus uses the pluperfect passive (with dative) of someone/something lying stretched out on the ground or simil. (D.10.359, 21.180, 37.427) and the active of leaning or resting one thing upon another (D.41.166, 48.276, al.); for related use of the perfect passive, cf. Thuc.2.76.4, D.C.56.11.2 of a person/thing leaning against a vertical support.

εὐθαλέεσσιν ὀράμνοις: The form ὄραμνος (cf. inf. Amb.196) is a very rare variant (elsewhere only at Nic.Al.154, 420, 487, Th.92; A.P.5.292.1, Agath., quoted 289n.sup.) of ὀρόδαμνος, itself also rare, Thphr.HP 9.16.3; Nic.Th.863, Al.603, al.; A.P.9.3.3 (Antip. or Plato) with εὐθαλής as in Paul, ib.231.3 (Ant.Thess.) θαλέθουσιν ... ὀροδάμνοις; Call.fr.655.1 Pf.; Luc.Am.31. Theocritus (7.138) appears to have a diminutive form σκιαραῖς ὀροδάμνισιν, and the forms ῥάδαμνος, ῥάδαμος are also extant, see LSJ s.v. ὀρόδαμνος. The sense in our line and in general is probably "branch" or "twig" (cf. Hesych.s.v. ὀρόδαμνοι· κλώνες, κλάδοι, βλαστήματα, ὀρηκες, and see Gow-Page on A.P.9.3.3), although Suidas glosses ὀρόδαμνος simply ἡ παραφυᾶς, "sucker", see further Pfeiffer ad Call.loc.cit. The epithet εὐθαλής is regularly applied to plants et simil., e.g. A.P.9.313.1 (Anyte) φύλλα; Mosch.3.100 ἄνηθον; Orph.Arg.912 (ἄλσος) δένδρεσιν εὐθαλέεσσι κατάσκιον, al., cf. Plu.Mor.409A; Nonn.D.19.48 εὐ. κορύμβοις (conj. Koechly ε εὐάνθεσσι on the analogy of our line, see Keydell's app.crit.); Bas.Hex.2.3 (PG.29.36B) νάπαι; other exx. from late prose writers collected by Stephanus s.v.

It was a recognised method of viticulture to train the vine up a living tree, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor.Carm.2.15.5, K.D.White Roman Farming p.236. White says that the practice was essentially Italian, but references to it occur also in Greek writers: the term ἀναδενδράς (LSJ "vine that grows up trees") is first attested in Pherecrates (fr.109.1 Kock), see further LSJ s.v., adding A.P.9.249.1 (Quint.Maec.), Jo.Chrys.Pan.Eust.Ant.2 (PG.50.600.53ff); cf. also A.P.9.220 (Thall.Mil.), ib.231 (Ant.Thess.; note ὀροδάμνοις, line 3), both perhaps referring to a wild vine, since the plane tree was not commonly used in viticulture, see Gow-Page on A.P.9.231. Certainly the phenomenon was not unfamiliar outside Italy, cf. E.Fraenkel in JRS 55 (1955) 8.

For the vine in descriptions of nature in late authors, cf. Theoc.11.46; A.P.9.437.9 (Theoc.), Epigr.Gr.720.6 (these two of a vine draping a sanctuary/tomb); Nonn.D.42.296 (ἡβῶσα, see 291n. sup.); etc.; for its appearance in synkrisis with nature, cf. Jo.Chrys.Pan.Eust.Ant.2 (loc.cit.sup.), id. Pop.Ant.10.3 (PG.49.114.23ff); Greg.Nyss.Ep.10 (39.22ff Pasquali, 2nd ed.).

294f. In epigram, calm sea and seafaring are regularly associated with the return of spring, see Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor.Carm.1.4, p.58f and note esp. the 6th cent. epigrams on this subject (A.P. 10.14-16) written by Agathias, Paul and Theaetetus. The same association is found in late rhetorical synkrisis of nature, e.g. Greg.Nyss.Hom.Op.1 (PG.44.132A-B), id.Ep.10.1 (39.19f Pasquali); Greg.Naz.Or.44.10 (PG.36.617C); simil. Jo.Chrys.Eutrop.2.1 (PG.52.395ff) where an analogy between a meadow and Scripture is followed by an analogy with the sea, ἡ θάλασσα μαίνεται, σὺ δὲ μετὰ γαλήνης πλέεις (397.12f). On the frequency of nautical imagery in general in late rhetoric, see n.sup. on 182-4.

294. χαροποῦ γλαυκῶπιν: By juxtaposing these two epithets, Paul signifies his awareness that in late authors χαροπός and γλαυκός are frequently interchangeable in sense. This similarity was recognised in Alexandrian times, cf. Theoc.20.25 ὄμματά μοι γλαυκᾶς χαροπώτερα πολλὸν Ἀθήνας, alluding to the Homeric use of γλαυκῶπις as an epithet of Athene; A.R.1.1280f ἦμος δ' οὐρανὸθεν χαροπῇ ὑπολάμπεται ἥως/ἐκ περάτης ἀνιοῦσα, διαγλαύσσουσι δ' ἄταρ ποί, where διαγλαύσσω is derived from γλαυκός, cf. Schol. ad loc., χαροπὴν τὴν ἥω διὰ τὸ λαμπρύνειν τὸν ἄερα καὶ φωτίζειν. τὸ δὲ γλαυκὸν καὶ χαροπὸν συνωνύμως λέγεται· ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαμπροῦ. διὸ καὶ ἐπήνεγκεν διαγλαύσσουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ φωτίζουσιν ἢ διαλάμπουσιν. ὅθεν καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ γλαυκῶπις καὶ γλήνη ἡ κόρη τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ, παρὰ τὸ γλαύσσειν, ὅ ἐστι λάμπειν...κτλ. (mentioning Euripides' use of γλαυκῶπις of the moon, fr.1009). Cf. also Opp.C.1.303, 308, 310 where χαροπός and γλαυκός occur together in discussion of the colours of animals' eyes, and see Mair's note on 308 for the difficulty of distinguishing the colours designated by these two. These passages illustrate that both χαροπός and γλαυκός may refer to brightness in general (A.R.) and to the brightness/colour of the sky (Theoc., Opp.). Both are also regularly used of the sea, see LSJ s.v. χαροπός 4, adding A.P.9.32.2 (Anon.), ib.143.6 (Ant. ?Thess.), al.; Opp.C.2.117, H.4.312, al.; etc.; and for γλαυκός, A.R. 1.182; Theoc.11.43, 16.61; Nonn.D.5.168, 20.353, al.; cf. LSJ s.v.1. In this usage, as also elsewhere, the context often leaves ambiguous

whether the reference is specifically to the sea's colour or more generally to its gleam or lustre (although both terms are usually interpreted as referring to colour in late authors). Both words are associated with things (the eye, water, the moon, dawn, the olive) where both colour and lustre are in question, and it is probable that they frequently include both ideas, sometimes with one or other sense more dominant.

The Homeric use of γλαυκῶπις (Paul's epithet) and χαροπός probably indicates that in both cases the notion of lustre is earlier than that of colour. Athene's epithet γλαυκῶπις, first at Il.1.206, is generally interpreted as a reference to the gleam of her eye, in view of the description of Athene at Il.1.200 δεινὸν δέ οἱ ὅσσε φάανθεν (although the epithet is probably connected etymologically with γλαῦξ, Athene's bird, rather than with γλαυκός, see Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. γλαῦξ); cf. Hesych.s.v. γλαυκῶπις· φοβερά ἐν τῷ ὀρᾶσθαι. λαμπρόφθαλμος. εὐόφθαλμος; Eustath. on Il.1.206 (86.35ff, I.73.31ff Lips., I.137.1ff Van der Valk) and modern commentators *ibid.* One might therefore argue that Homer's γλαυκῇ...θάλασσα (Il.16.34) similarly denotes lustre rather than colour (cf. LSJ s.v.I; but Chantraine Dict.étym.s.v. γλαυκός prefers "bleu clair"). Similarly Homer's use of χαροπός of lions (Od.11.611) may mean "gleaming-eyed" and hence "fierce", see Chantraine Dict.étym.s.v. (although in expressions like χαροποῖσιν ...γενεῖοις, Nonn.D.5.363, of bears, reference to the eye is no longer present).

Even in late authors, γλαυκῶπις is regularly restricted in application to Athene, although cf. Emp.42.3, E.fr.1009 Nauck, Nonn.D.5.70, all of the moon; A.P.9.189.1 (Anon.) of Hera; Euph.fr.150 of the olive; and, closest to Paul's use, Orph.Hymn 22.1 of the sea-god Tethys. Paul applies it to γαλήνην again, inf.924. In calling the calm γλαυκῶπις rather than the more regular γλαυκός, Paul may merely have felt the Homeric epithet to be more appropriate to his poetic purpose. As a scholar-poet, however, (cf. n.inf. on λάων 333), he may have deliberately chosen the Homeric epithet to indicate that he had in mind the association of this term with lustre rather than colour (still recognised in the 6th cent.,

viz. Hesychius' gloss, quoted sup.). A colour reference is then added in *χαροπού*.

ὑπὲρ πόντοιο: The preposition *ὑπὲρ* is regularly equivalent to *ἐπὶ* in the sense "on/at" in Nonnus, see Keydell I.67*, who, for *ὑπὲρ πόντοιο* in this sense, cites Nonn.D.1.55, 39.200, 45.114; Q.S.14.658.

295. *ξαινομένην*: Properly of carding wool (Od.22.423, see LSJ s.v.I), but this metaphorical use of waves *et simil.* occurs elsewhere, A.R.4.1265f *ὑδωρ/ξαινόμενον πολιῆσιν ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισιν*; Opp.H.5.221f *χῶρος ἅπαντη/ξαινόμενος βέμβικας ἐλίσσεται Ἀμφιτρίτης*; Clem.Alex.Paed.1.6 (114.11f Stählin) *οἱ ποταμοὶ ῥόθῳ φερόμενοι τῇ ἐμπεριλήψει τοῦ περικεχυμένου ἀέρος ξαινόμενα*; cf. also A.P.6.223.4 (Ant.Sid.) of a fish mangled by waves, ib.23.4 (Anon.) of a fishing-net rubbed on the shore.

πλωτῆρος: "sailor", see LSJ s.v., adding A.P.7.295.4 (Leon.Tar.); Opp.H.1.207, al.; GVI 1329.4, 5 (3rd cent A.D.); Orph.Arg.470; Greg.Naz.Or.44.10 (PG.36.617C); Nonn.D.4.239, 28.253; Musae.2; Tryph.526; etc. Kost on Musae.2 argues convincingly that the word always has this sense and never means "swimmer" as LSJ s.v.2.

ἁλιβρέκτοισιν ἑρετμοῖς: Poetic *ἑρετμόν* (Od.11.77, al., = *κώπη*) is common in late authors, A.P.7.279.1 (Anon.); A.R.1.358, al.; Call.fr.11.3, 18.10 Pf.: Theoc.12.27; D.P.1043; Opp.H.4.651, al.; Orph.Arg.68, al.; Nonn.D.2.14, al., Par.6.72, al.; Coll.227; etc. Nonnus does not use *ἁλίβρεκτος* of *ἑρετμόν*, but for the line-end, cf. D.40.330 *ἀντιτύποισιν ἑρετμοῖς*. Paul's epithet *ἁλίβρεκτος* ("sea-washed") occurs only at A.P.7.501.4 (Pers.) *πέτρου ἁλιβρέκτω ... ὑπὸ πρόποδι* and Nonn.D.1.208 *κομῶν* (of a horse), 43.115 *ἐννοσιγαίου*, al. The Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II.172 (see n.sup. on *μελαγκρήπιδα* 261) lists *ἁλι-* compounds, col.iii (50ff), but this one does not survive among them.

296-99. The point of the description of 286ff is now first

indicated: J.'s church is more fascinating to observe than heaven and as rich and diverse as nature itself, cf. n.sup. on 286-88. The second analogy is not made explicitly, but it is clearly implied by the detail of the description of earth's beauties (cf. n.sup. on 289-93) and by the similarity of other such rhetorical synkriseis, see n.sup. on 286-99.

296. εἰ δέ τις, κτλ.: Cf. A.P.1.10.66 (Anon., 6th cent. on the church of S.Polyeuktos) τίς δὲ φέρων θοὸν ἵχνος ἐπὶ ζεφυρηίδας αὐράς/...;. In our line εἰ δέ τις is contrasted with πᾶς βροτὸς (286). On τέμενος, see 197n.sup. and on θεουδής, 168n.

ἵχνος ἐρείσει: Cf. 276 sup. ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν with n. ad loc. A.R. uses ἐρείδω of planting the feet, 1.1010; for ἵχνος ἐρείδω, cf. A.P.6.235.5 (Thallus), 7.315.3f (Zenod. or Rhian.), D.P.406, Opp.C.1.515, Nonn.D.18.15, al., Par.5.31, Coll.231, ps.Pampr.1 recto 18 (I.110 Heitsch), A.P.5.301.1 (Paul Sil.), inf.Amb.223; ἐρείσατε δ' ἵχνια, Orph.Arg.256. The expression is usually followed by ἐπὶ, εἰς, κατὰ et simil., or a simple dative; Paul's ἐν has the sense "inside", "within", cf. 313 inf. with n. ad loc.

297. οὐκ ἐθέλει: A future is strictly expected after ἐρείσει, but the present makes the apodosis more vivid. Late Greek tends to replace the future with the present (Keydell I.70*, cf. 52*f) and Nonnus does not admit the future of ἐθέλω (see Peek Lex.s.v.). N.Bănescu (Die Entwicklung des griech.Futurums, Munich 1915, 66f) cites a similar example with εἰ from Malalas, 384.9ff εἰ μὴ διὰ τῆς αὐρίου καὶ τῆς μετ' αὐτῆς δώσετε αὐτοῖς τὸν ὄρον καὶ ἀπαλλάξετε αὐτοῦς, ἀποκεφαλίζω ὑμᾶς.

παλίνορσον ἄγειν πόδα: "to bring back the foot". As often, παλίνορσον (first at Il.3.33) could be adjectival or adverbial. Cf. A.R.1.416; Call.fr.344 Pf. λάτρην ἄγειν παλίνορσον; A.P.7.608.3 (Eutolm.); Opp.C.1.249, H.4.664, al.; Nonn.D.37.386 πῶλον ἄγων π., 38.159, al., Par.12.40, al.; Coll.337, al.; Tryph.145, al.; ps.Pampr.3.91 (I.114 Heitsch); A.P.15.44.5 (Anon., on the charioteer

Porphyrus), ib.5.241.1 (Paul Sil.); etc. For ἄγειν πόδα, cf. ἵχνοσ ἄγειν, A.P.7.179.3 (Anon.), Nonn.D.14.377, 15.413, al., Par. 21.21 and esp. D.2.30 ποδοσ ἄγκυλον ἵχνοσ ἄγων. The verb ἄγω is similarly used with other parts of the body, e.g. ὄμμα παλινδίνητον Nonn.D.15.240, οὐασ A.P.16.244.2 (Agath.), cf. νόστιμον ἦτορ A.P.5.232.4 (Paul Sil.). Contrast Theoc.13.70, 14.42 ᾧ πόδεσ ἄγον.

297f. θελγομένοισ δὲ/ὄμμασιν, κτλ.: See n.sup. on 286-99 fin. on the incidence of the "wandering eye" motif in late rhetorical synkrisis, and see Fr.p.92 for a reference to this phenomenon in an ekphrasis of Procopius of Gaza. For its use in ekphrasis of a church, cf. Chor.Or.1.23f (8.22ff Foerst.-Richtst.); Proc. Aed.1.1.47f; Phot.Hom.10.5 (102.13ff Laourdas, cf. ib.101.21ff and n.sup. on 286-88 fin.). O.Wulff, 'Das Raumerlebnis der Naos im Spiegel der Ekphrasis' (BZ 30, 1929-30, 531ff), argued that the restless wandering of the observer's eye is a natural response to the unified and centralised structure of Byzantine churches such as S.Vitale and S.Sophia, which he contrasted with the more rigid directional focus of the basilica style of western architecture; further, that since the wandering eye motif is a feature of ekphrases of church interiors (such as those cited above), his thesis represented the contemporary response to and conception of the church interior. But the exx. collected in n.sup. on 286-99 fin. indicate that the wandering eye of the observer is a rhetorical motif by no means peculiar to architectural ekphrasis and hence perhaps less significant there than Wulff supposed.

θελγομένοισ.../ὄμμασιν: The charming or enchanting of the eyes is a poetic motif which occurs in a variety of contexts, e.g. Il.24.343, Od.5.47, al., of Hermes inducing sleep with his staff; Il.13.435, Poseidon confusing a victim in battle; A.P.16.13.3f (Plato) of the pipe charming and inducing sleep (reading θελγομένων βλεφάρων); A.P.5.174.3 (Meleagr.), Nonn.D.31.192, al., both of sleep; A.R.1.777 of a star, compared with Jason; Luc.Salt.85 of dancing (citing Homer's reference to Hermes' staff). By contrast, at A.P.5.270.9f (Paul Sil.) and ib.282.3f (Agath.) the eyes of an

attractive woman are described as enchanting. In Paul's expression, the enjambement reinforces the sense (Nonnus avoids enjambement, see A.Wifstrand Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos, Lund 1933, 98). The dative is sociative, as often in Nonnus, Keydell I.59*f, cf. esp. D.23.74, 47.139, where ὄμμασι is found in such a dative phrase.

298. ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα : The expression is Homeric (Od.2.213, al.) and very common in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex.s.v. ἔνθα I.3.

πολύστροφον αὐχένα πάλλει: "bends his neck with many a twist". Although the epithet is found first in Pindar (fr.202.3 Bowra θνατῶν πολύστροφον γνῶμαν), this active and literal sense of πολύστροφος does not occur before Nonnus, D.8.145 πολύστροφος ἔτρεχε Λητώ, 30.108 of a dancer, 40.464 ἥνιοχῆα, of a boat's tiller, 44.191 Μῆνη (voc.); also Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.194 πολύστροφον ὀλκὸν ἀπῆνης (the constellation) and esp. Nonn.Par.9.60 π.ἱκμάδα πάλλων in eadem sede, of Christ making mud to anoint the eyes of a blind man. See LSJ s.v.1 for the passive usage of πολύστροφος. In Homer, πάλλω is used of poisoning or brandishing a weapon or of shaking lots (LSJ s.v.I.1, 3), but the active is used transitively of movements of the limbs at A.R.1.1270 γούνατα, 2.45 χεῖρας and, in a line similar to Paul's, 3.1263 πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα μετάρσιον ἵχνης ἔπαλλεν (of Jason, like a proud horse, exulting in the invincible strength conferred by Medea's magic); Nonn.D.8.105, al. γούνατα, cf. Par.5.33, al.; D.6.48 κάμπυλον ἵχνης; 25.546 ποδὸς θέναρ; D.42.2 and Par.3.65 πόδα; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.112 σκέλος; Nonn.D.19.219 δάκτυλα and esp. 36.230 αὐχένα, of a horse. The verb is used in the same sense inf.999 (see n. ad loc. and Fr.p.113); cf. also inf. 915 and see further 317n.inf. Fr.(ad loc.) argued for his retention of the ms. πάλλειν, dependent on ἐθέλω, instead of the πάλλει of all other editors. The indicative is, however, to be preferred: a person entering the church does not merely wish to let his eye wander, but actually does so.

299. πᾶς κόρος: Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.63 τοῦτου κόρον οὐδεὶς τοῦ θεάματος ἔλαβε πώποτε, also of S.Sophia; Phot.Hom.10.5 (102.17

Laourdas) where κορύνυσθαι is likewise used of observing the beauties of a church. Similar reference to κόρος occurs elsewhere in an erotic context, of insatiable looking at the beloved, e.g. Nonn.D.11.101f, 42.47, al., Coll.257, Musae.78 with Kost ad loc. for further parallels, including Roman poetry (Kost postulates a Hellenistic original for this erotic motif), simil. Opp.H.4.324, A.P.5.255.3 (Paul Sil.); also A.P.7.575.6 (Leont.) τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐ δεχόμεσθα κόρον (epitaph); and of food, Opp.H.2.206f, Nonn.D.24.330, al., Par.6.41, Heitsch XXVI.2 recto 11 (I.87), A.P.4.3A.40 (Agath.) metaph. of his collection of poems. At Nonn.D.34.5f, satiety is associated with observation of the heavens, as it is sup. 286-88, see 286n.

εὐπῆληκος ἐλήλαται ἔκτοθεν οἴκου : Cf. 529f inf. καλύπτρη/εὐπῆληξ, also of the dome; at inf.489 the dome is simply called a helmet (πῆληξ). On the epithet, see 140n.sup. The conception of the dome of a church as a celestial helmet is apparently of great antiquity in the Near East, see E.Baldwin Smith The Dome (Princeton 1950) 77-79, who cites Plu. Per.13.6 for Cratinas' comparison between the roof (probably pointed rather than domical) of the Odeon at Athens and the helmet worn by Pericles (= fr.71 Kock), and compares also the 6th cent. Syriac hymn on the church of S.Sophia at Edessa, v.6 (English transl., C.Mango, The Art of the Byzantine Empire, New Jersey 1972, p.58). It seems more likely, however, that Paul formulated the idea independently on the basis of his use of anthropomorphic language of the dome (e.g. κάρηνον 274 sup., see n. ad loc.), than that he derived a 'mystical interest in a dome as a "beautiful helmet"' from Syrian and Palestinian sources, as suggested by Smith.

For ἔκτοθεν with genitive, first at Od.1.132, see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.3.1201, Opp.C.4.90, 252, Nonn.D.39.118, al., Par.19.61. The perfect passive form ἐλήλαται (ἐλαύνω) is Homeric, Od.7.113, al., cf. A.R.2.231 (part.), Opp.H.4.82, Tryph.106. (Nonnus does not use this tense).

300f. These lines mark the transition from the first synkrisis

to the second by introducing a reference to J., whose effort and achievement in building the church is about to be contrasted with that of the Giants of mythology (302ff).

300. τοῖον ἀειφρούρητος: Ms. τοῖος^υ ἀειφρούρητος^υ. The double nominative puts the emphasis of these lines on J., whereas the double accusative puts it on the church. Graefe and all subsequent editors have printed τοῖον ἀειφρούρητος; Du Cange wrote τοῖος ἀειφρούρητον. The accusative τοῖον is without doubt the preferable reading in the context: τοῖον then refers back to the previous description of the church and justifies the statement of 299, that one can never tire of looking at it. Nonnus generally uses τοῖος in such a way („Meist zurückweisend", Peek s.v.). The correct case of the epithet ἀειφρούρητος presents more difficulty: its position in the couplet 300f favours its attachment to νηδὺν, but νηδὺν then has an accumulation of epithets; objection to this has presumably governed the preference of editors for the nominative with κοῖρανός. But for the piling up of epithets after accusative τοῖον, cf. S.Aj.562f τοῖον πλωρὸν φύλακα Τεῦκρον ἀμφὶ σοι/λείψω τροφῆς ἄοκνον. Moreover, at 508 inf., Paul does use the epithet in the accusative with νηδὺν, (507f) ὄφρα σώσῃ/νηδὺν ἀειφρούρητον ὅλου κόσμῳ σωτήρ, explaining the significance of the mosaic cross in the centre of the dome of S.Sophia. (This line occurs in a passage restored by Fr. from examination of the imprint of the text on the facing page of the ms., the pages having at some time been stuck together by damp, see Fr.'s introduction p.108f. As far as can be seen from Preisendanz's facsimile of the ms., Fr.'s restoration is feasible, although νηδὺν survives only in a very faint reverse imprint on the facing page). The only other instance of the epithet is at Nonn.Par.3.124f (οὐπω) οἶκον ἀειφρούρητον ἐδύσατο πομπὸν ὀλέθρου/θεῖος ἄνῆρ βαρύδεσμος, of John performing baptisms prior to his imprisonment. Here again the use of ἀειφρούρητος with οἶκος, a word of similar sense to νηός, might suggest that it would best qualify νηδὺν in our line.

A further difficulty is whether the sense of the epithet should be active ("ever-guarding") or passive ("ever-guarded"). Adjectives

in -τος are generally passive in sense, but are sometimes used actively, especially in poetry and in compound formations, see P.Chantraine La formation des noms en grec ancien (Paris 1933) 306f, sec.244; E.Fraenkel on A.Ag.12; W.S.Barrett on E.Hipp.677-9. So it is with φρουρητός and compounds: νυκτιφρούρητος A.Pr.861, active; ἀφρούρητος Pl.Lg.760a, etc. (see LSJ s.v.), passive (cf. ἀφρουρος Pl.Phdr.256c, etc., active); φρουρητὸν A.P.6.230.4 (Quint.), passive; αὐτο-, ἕτερο-, θεοφρούρητον ps.Just.Qu.Chr. (PG.6.1456B-C), all passive. The related epithet ἀείφρουρος is used only actively ("ever-watching", "everlasting"; so Hesych.s.v., ἀεὶ διαμένων. ἀειθαλῆς), cf. Cratin.fr.98.7 Kock τῷ τ'ἄ.μελιλώτῳ; Opp.H.4.189 ἀ.πόνουσι, of a fish guarding his bride, and especially S.Ant.891f ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφῆς/οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος, describing Antigone's walled prison/tomb - a context very similar to the Nonnus passage where ἀειφρούρητον is used. It is not clear, however, whether Nonnus intended ἀειφρούρητος as an equivalent of ἀείφρουρος in the Ant. passage, or as a passive variant ("ever-guarded"), which would make equally good sense in the context.

At 508 inf., a passive sense is preferable, "that the saviour of the whole universe might save the ever-guarded church", i.e. guarded by Christ as symbolised by the cross; cf. 492 inf., where the same cross is described as ἐρυσίπολιν, "defending the city", also 738, where the phrase ἵλαος εἶη is used of the cross surmounting the ciborium. An active sense in 508 would require a proleptic interpretation of the epithet in the sense "ever-guarding" = "everlasting" (like ἀείφρουρος), "save the church and make it everlasting". In our line, if the epithet qualifies νηδὸν, the same argument applies (here the church would be guarded by J. and God, see below). If the epithet qualifies κοῖρανός it is certainly active: J. might be described as "ever-guarding" merely because he is emperor, or because he seldom slept (cf., for example, Proc.Arc.13.28, 30, 15.11), or because he had closely supervised the building of the church (cf., for example, Proc.Aed.1.1.67, 71, 77). Meineke (ap. Salzenberg-Kortüm) interpreted ἀειφρούρητος passively as a reference to J.'s bodyguard, described sup. 257-61, but this is hardly apposite here; neither does its position in the

line nor usage elsewhere favour its connection with the dative $\chi\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$ ("ever-guarded by"...). The need for an active interpretation of the epithet with $\kappa\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is a further argument for its attachment to $\nu\eta\delta\acute{\nu}$: if the passive sense is to be preferred at 508 inf., it is unlikely to be active in our line. This argument, that $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\tau\omicron\nu$ must be read in the accusative with $\nu\eta\delta\acute{\nu}$ and be passive in sense, is substantiated by the fact that the epithet of our line is explained by what follows: the church is "ever-guarded" because J.'s work has rendered Christ propitious forever (302f), and the church is a work of piety pleasing to God (307-10). So the passage 300-10 is a continuous unit.

$\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \nu\eta\delta\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\iota$: Cf. A.P.9.656.16 (Anon., aet.Anastasii) $\acute{\alpha}.\nu\eta\delta\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. (This epigram is imitated by Paul elsewhere, see, for example, nn. sup. on 150, 152). For the passive sense of the epithet, "flawless", see LSJ s.v.I and cf. also Epigr.Gr.740.1 $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha$; Orph.Hymn 15.10 $\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, al.; Opp.H.1.61 $\nu\acute{\eta}\alpha$; Greg.Naz. Carm.1.2.1.209 (PG.37.538A) $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$; Nonn.D.24.229 $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\ \beta\omicron\delta\tau\rho\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\pi\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\varsigma$, 47.474 $\Nu\acute{\alpha}\xi\omicron\nu$, al., Par.11.39 $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\nu\omicron\nu$, 18.61 $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, al.; A.P.1.10.18 (Anon.) $\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ (referring to Anicia Juliana's church-building), ib.16.41.1 (Agath.) $\kappa\eta\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\eta}\alpha$ (= curator divinae domus Placidiae, cf. Jones LRE III.103, n.39). On $\nu\eta\delta\acute{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\iota$, see 8n.sup.; the verb is here present for perfect or historic present, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.321-22, p.265f. (Homer does not use the historic present, see K-G.I.134, sec.382.2 fin.).

301. $\kappa\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma$: Of the Roman emperor, Epigr.Gr.863.10 (Hadrian); Opp.H.5.1 (Marcus Aurelius); A.P.16.340.6, ib.343.2, 349.2 (all Anon.; ?of Anastasius), ib.9.482.27 (Agath.; of Zeno); etc. On the use of terms such as this in 6th cent. poets, see Vasiliev in DOP 4 (1948) 40, and cf. $\kappa\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ 982 inf.

$\chi\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$: "succouring counsel", cf. 779 inf. The epithet occurs first in Nonnus, applied to people (D.13.409 $\theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\chi\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\iota\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\mu\omega$, al.; Par.3.161 $\chi\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\upsilon$, of Christ, al.) and to things (D.20.76 $\acute{\iota}\delta\nu\ldots\chi\rho\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\omega\nu$, 33.369 $\phi\rho\omicron\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$

...ὅφιν χραισμῆτορα μίτρης, al.). In Paul's expression, however, the genitive depends on βουλῇ, rather than on χραισμῆτορι. See further 314n.inf. The dative is instrumental, "by means of", cf. Nonn.Par.7.90f ἐμῷ χραισμῆτορι μύθῳ/ζωγράφας ὅλον ἄνδρα καὶ οὐ τμητῆρι σιδήρῳ and see Keydell I.59* on the wide use of the instrumental dative in Nonnus (*"insolentius usurpatur"*). For the thought, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.61 ὁπῆνικα δέ τις εὐξόμενος ἐς αὐτὸ [S.Sophia] ἴοι, ξυνίησι μὲν εὐθὺς ὥς οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει ἢ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ βοῇ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνυται, also ib.71, Phot.Hom.10.3 (100.29f Laourdas). The idea is not uncommon in encomium of imperial building activities, see G.Downey in *BZ* 38 (1938) 10f, n.3. The emperor is directed by God, and the architects by the emperor, cf. 270 sup., 554 inf.

302-10 Second synkrisis: auxesis of J. and his achievement. The theme of J.'s close contact with God, suggested in 301, is developed by means of a comparison between his monumental enterprise and that of the Giants: whereas the latter wasted their resources in an attempt to gain mastery of heaven by the upheaval of mountains, J.'s pious completion of a similarly ambitious undertaking in God's name has secured for him easy access to heaven. The synkrisis is therefore twofold (like the previous one), referring both to the comparable size of the two endeavours and to the differing relationship to God of the protagonists. This passage recalls the emphasis placed upon the close relationship between J. and God in the first iambic prologue, e.g. 6f Christ as J.'s constant συνεργόν; 21 J. protected by the hand of God; 31 God as J.'s bodyguard; 53, 61 J.'s and Theodora's παρρησία with God; 54f opposing J. is like fighting God.

Rhetorical synkriseis frequently employ mythological material (cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.114-16) and the practice continued among Christian writers, even though myth is often replaced by Biblical analogy (e.g. Eustrat.V.Eutych.43, PG.86(2).2324C ff, comparison between Eutychius and OT patriarchs; similar instances are to be found on virtually every page of this work) or, in the case of Gregory Nazianzus, by fable, see M.Guignet Les procédés épistolaires

de S.Grégoire de Nazianze (Diss., Paris 1911) 49ff. So, for example, Greg.Naz.Or.4.62 (PG.35.585A) Julian's Protean attitude to Christians; id.Or.43.22 (PG.36.525A-B) Gregory's intimacy with Basil at Athens like that of Orestes and Pylades or the Molionidae; Bas.Ep.14.2 (I.43.6ff Courtonne) his mountain retreat in Pontus superior to Calypso's isle; Proc.Gaz.Pan.13 (505.16ff) Anastasius' abolition of the chrysargyron tax like Heracles' slaughter of Hydra; Eustrat. V.Eutych.15 (PG.86(2).2292C) Eutychius did not rapidly assume the rank of presbyter like the giants, ὁμοῦ σπαρεῖς καὶ ἀναδοθεῖς, or like οἱ αὐθημερινοὶ πλαττόμενοι πῆλιννοι τοῦ λαοῦ προστάται; Phot. Hom.10.4 (101.10ff Laourdas) observers of atrium of church rooted to the ground as if turned to trees by a power like Orpheus' lyre (ekphrasis of church).

The myth of the war between the gods and giants was a popular subject for artistic and literary exploitation from the earliest classical period onwards, see F.Vian La guerre des géants (Études et commentaires 11, Paris 1952), esp. 286ff on the religious and political significance of the myth. This popularity continued in the imperial period, particularly among court poets seeking panegyric analogies for the achievements of the emperor, e.g. Aristid.26.103 (II.121.25ff Keil) the benefits of the Roman empire compared to the rule of Zeus, who brought order and banished the Titans under the earth; Heitsch XXII.1 verso, esp.6f (I.80f), with F.Cumont in Rev.ét.anc.4 (1902) 39f; cf. Alan Cameron Claudian (Oxford 1970) 468, on Claudian's fascination with the theme; also Greg.Naz.Or.4.115 (PG.35.653A) where Hesiod's Theogony and the war with the giants are cited as a likely subject of address under Julian's pagan rule, id. Or.4.85 (PG.35.613A-B) Julian's anger likened to the groaning of the giants under Etna. The theme is also important in Nonnus D. (bks.1-2 and bk.48), perhaps under the influence of Claudian, see Cameron op.cit.p.11.

The particular incident to which Paul refers derives ultimately from Homer (Od.11.315f ὅσσαν ἐπ'οὐλύμπῳ μέμασαν θέμεν, αὐτὰρ ἐπ'ὄσση/ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον, Ἴν'οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἶη), but it is commonly mentioned subsequently, particularly by Latin poets (e.g. V.G.1.281f, cf. Aen. 6.582-4; Hor.Carm.3.4.49ff; Prop.2.1.19f in recusatio of

epic themes, cf. Sid.Carm.9.88ff; O.Met.1.154f, Ex Ponto 2.2.9f, al.; Lucan 6.410ff; Sil.It.3.494ff; Stat.Theb.6.719ff, al.; Claud. Rapt.Pro.2.255-7, al.; cf. also Philo Alex.Conf.4f, II.230.7ff Cohn; Jul.Ep.98, 157.1ff Bid.-Cumont; Q.S.1.515ff) and, as in Paul, in the context of undertaking a difficult enterprise, e.g. Stat.Silv.3.2.64ff, al.; A.P.9.710 (Anon.); Claud.Stil.1.10ff, prooemium: the difficulty of covering all relevant themes, cf. Lib.Ep.1449.4 (XI.486.15ff Foerst.). See further J.Schmidt in RE XVIII.1.col.305ff, XVIII.2.1595. For Paul's favourable contrast between the giants' method of reaching heaven and the virtuous way, cf. Ant.Sid.XXXV ap.Gow-Page Hellenistic Epigrams (p.24, lines 424ff) = Diog. Laert.7.29, on the Stoic Zeno, and esp. Them.Or.15 (I.279.1ff Downey) Theodosius' achievements contrasted favourably with Alexander's victories ... (4ff) ταύτης δὲ μόνης τῆς νίκης αὐτουργὸς σὺ καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ, καὶ ταύτην ἐποικοδομῶν αἰεὶ καὶ συναύξων ἀναβήσῃ, ὥσπερ βαθμοῖς χρώμενος ταῖς εὐποιίαις, ὑψοῦ ἄνω καὶ ἔγγυς τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ Διὸς. οὔτοι γὰρ μόνοι οἱ βαθμοὶ ἀνάγουσιν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐκ ὕσσα οὐδὲ ὕλυμπος οὐδὲ Πήλιον, ἀλλόκοτοι ἀλλοκότων ἀνθρώπων βουλαὶ καὶ ἐλπίδες· μόνω δὲ ἄμβρατὸς οὐρανὸς ὅτῃ ἔνεστιν οἰκοδομεῖν τὴν ἀνάβασιν ταύτην εὐεργεσίαις ἀνθρώπων. (According to F.Cumont, Rev.de l'hist.des religions 62, 1910, 151f, the belief that heaven is close enough to be reached by means of earthly mountains and a ladder is found among ancient Egyptians; Cumont compares the Biblical ladder of Jacob).

Sentiments similar to those in our passage are expressed by Nonnus at D.20.94-6, νόσφι πόνων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνέμβατον αἰθέρα ναίειν· οὐ πέλε ρηιδίη μακάρων ὁδός· ἐξ ἀρετῆς δὲ/ ἄτραπὸς Οὐλύμποιο θεόσσυτος εἰς πόλον ἔλκει, referring to Hesiod's famous lines (Op.289ff) on the long and steep path to heaven, which were much quoted and discussed at all periods, see Rzach on Hesiod loc. cit. for many citations, including the quotation of Op.289 by Agathias at A.P.9.653.1, and cf. West's n. on Hes.Op.287-92. Paul may well have had these passages of Nonnus and Hesiod in mind here: he certainly refers to the Hesiod passage inf.964f, see n. ad loc.

302. σοῖς γάρ, ἄναξ, καμάτοισιν: The pattern of this line closely

resembles A.P.9.658.3 (Paul Sil.) σοῖς δὲ πόνοις, Δομνῖνε, κατηφέα
 νύκτα διώκεις, and confirms διώκεις, which Jacobs (followed by
 Beckby) emended to διώκει. For the dative expression here, cf.
 236, 253 sup. and for J.'s toils over S.Sophia, cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.
 67 οὐ χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὴν (S.Sophia) ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο μόνον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πονουμένη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, introducing
 anecdotes of how J. gave crucial practical advice to the despairing
 architects during the construction of the church, when it seemed
 about to collapse. The vocative ἄναξ indicates that this synkrisis
 (and indeed the whole passage, cf. 282 ὦ σκηπτοῦχε) is addressed
 directly to J., like the panegyrical first iambic prologue.

ἐφέλκεαι ἴλαον εἶναι: In ἐφέλκεαι, Paul uses an uncontracted
 form of the second person singular present indicative middle, in
 the Homeric manner, see Chantraine Grammaire homérique I.57, sec.23.
 This sense ("you draw on/attract") of the middle of ἐφέλκω occurs
 in Homer (Od.16.294, 19.13) and is frequent in late authors, see
 LSJ s.v. ἐφέλκω III.2, Hatch and Redpath s.v., PGL s.v.2a and cf.
 also A.R.1.1162; D.P.832; A.P.10.37.2 (Lucian), 12.87.6, 152.2
 (both Anon.); Orph.Lith.332; Opp.H.3.346, al.; Nonn.D.45.83, al.;
Tryph.315, 519; Agath.Hist.3.11.6; A.P.4.3C.6 (Agath.), 9.443.6
 (Paul Sil.). Paul's use of the verb presents some difficulty,
 however, since it is not normally constructed with an infinitive,
 the only comparable case being a doubtful reading in an inscription
 from Cyrene of a letter of Hadrian, published by P.Fraser in JRS 40
 (1950) 78, where line 6 reads ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ Πανελληνίου ἐφέλκει
 ἐπιστεῖλαι μοι, which Fraser (p.80) interprets "delays to send"
 (cf. LSJ s.v. ἐφέλκω I.4), but finds ἐφολκεῖ "perhaps epigraphically
 preferable". Du Cange wrote ἐφέλκεται in our line and translated
tuis...laboribus adscribendum quod in omnibus propitius sit
gloriosus Christus. This impersonal use of ἐφέλκομαι is, however,
 similarly unparalleled, while the introduction of the third person
 would not be consonant with the vocative ἄναξ and in conjunction
 with ἠθέλες (305), χατίζεις (308) and ἀναίξειας (309). A more
 plausible suggestion is offered by Ludwich (op.cit.p.4), who
 argued that the gloss which occurs in the margin of the ms. before

line 301 is correctly recorded by Graefe as γρ.(ἀφεται) ἴλαος εἴη, as opposed to Fr.'s Χρ(ιστος) ἴλαος εἴη, and that it constitutes an alternative reading for the end of 302. The phrase ἴλαος εἴη would then be in parenthesis as it is at 738 inf. and the difficult infinitive after ἐφέλκεαι removed. Preisendanz's facsimile edition indicates that Graefe's and Ludwig's interpretation of the first letter of the gloss is probably correct. There are, however, objections to the acceptance of the phrase as the correct reading for the line-end: (i) the parenthesis is more difficult here than at 738, since here it occurs in mid-sentence, although this is not unparalleled, e.g. A.P.1.34.2, 7.602.10 (both Agath.); SEG 8 (1937) 281.6 (6th cent.) and perhaps Call.Dem.7; (ii) it is arguable that the appeal, by introducing an undesirable suggestion of doubt, weakens the point that J.'s pious labours in themselves arouse Christ to favour; (iii) the origin of the ms. ἴλαον εἶναι would be difficult to account for and it is more likely that the more familiar phrase (Nonn.D.10.281, 15.391) was inserted by someone who found the infinitive puzzling. Paul, on the other hand, may well have been deliberately adapting the more usual ἴλαος εἴη to a consecutive construction when he wrote ἴλαον εἶναι. (So in Nonn.D. locc.citt. the ἴλαος εἴη is part of the construction and not parenthetical). The explanatory consecutive infinitive is widely used in Homer (Chantraine op.cit.II.p.301f, sec.441f) and this passage in Paul incorporates many Homeric reminiscences. The ms. ἴλαον εἶναι should therefore be retained as an unprecedented but explicable construction after ἐφέλκεαι.

On the epithet ἴλαος, see n.sup. on 244.

303. ὑπερκύδαντα: See 142n.sup.

διαμπερές: "forever", modifying ἴλαον εἶναι and picking up ἀειφρούρητον (300, see n. ad loc. fin.). When absolute, the adverb may be used either in the sense "through and through", "continuously", (Hesych.s.v., διόλου...τελείως διάμπαξ, cf. Od.10.88, Il.12.398, al., see LSJ s.v.I.2, adding A.R.3.671, al., Opp.H. 3.556) or, as here, temporally "for ever" (Od.8.245, etc., see LSJ

s.v.II, adding A.P.9.397.3, Pallad.). It is not common in late poetry and does not occur in Nonnus.

303f. ἔρεισαι/ῥοσαν...κατ'Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων: Cf. Nonn.D.2.375f ἀγχιφανῆς γὰρ/ῥωγάδα ῥωγὰς ἔρειδε, λόφος λόφον, αὐχένα δ' αὐχὴν, of Typhoeus' defences against Zeus (in imitation of Il.13.131 = 16.215). Nonnus uses ἔρείδω κατὰ with genitive of planting a sword in part of the body, D.16.366 κατ'αὐχένος ἄορ ἔρεισαι, cf.23.70. For κατ'Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων, cf. Il.1.44, Od.1.102, al.; mountain-peaks are also called κάρηνα at A.R.3.161, Orph.Lith.139 (sing.), Nonn.D.4.319, 11.216, al.; etc. On ἐρικνήμιδα ("with massive shoulders/spurs"), see n.sup. on 274f.

305. ὅσσης ὑπὲρ αὐχένα: For αὐχὴν of a mountain-peak, cf. Nonn.D.2.376 (quoted in n.sup.), ib.13.422f εἶχε δὲ δειρὴν/μηκεδανὴν, περίμετρον, ὁμοῖον αὐχένι πέτρης; A.P.12.55.1 (Anon. or Artemon) ἄλῖρρυτον αὐχένα Δῆλου, of the high ground of Delos. This sense is not mentioned by LSJ; αὐχὴν is used elsewhere in other topographical senses, see LSJ s.v.II.1, 2, 3, adding A.R.4.307 of an isthmus (the northern part of the Balkan peninsula), cf. Nonn.D.41.17, 38 of the peninsula of Berytus; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.172, 2.54 αὐχένα κόσμου ('etwa „das Rund"', Fr. on 1.172). It is probably not coincidence that Paul chooses in αὐχένα and καρήνων terms which he elsewhere uses in an architectural context of the church, see n.sup. on 274f and cf. ὑψαύχενι κόσμῳ 279 sup. with n. ad loc. For ὑπὲρ so used, see LSJ s.v.B.I, Peek Lex.s.v.II.1c.

306. ἄμβατὸν...αἰθέρα τεύχων: Homer writes ἴν'οὐρανὸς ἄμβατὸς εἶη (Od.11.316) in describing the giants' attempt to reach heaven, and ἄμβατός recurs in reminiscences of that passage (Pi.P.10.27; A.P.9.518.2, Alc.Mess.; Them.Or.15, I.279.10 Downey) but it is not otherwise common (Il.6.434, Hes.Op.681; ἀναβατός, Jos.BJ 5.195). Paul uses it again as an etymology for ἄμβων, inf.Amb.210, cf.ib.53. For Paul's use of τεύχω with accusative and predicative adjective, cf.Od.13.190f ὄφρα μιν αὐτὸν/ἄγνωστον τεύξειεν, with LSJ s.v.III, and esp. Nonn.D.35.305 καὶ βατὸν αἰθέρα τεύξων

ἐπιχθονίῳ Διονύσῳ, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.II.

ἀνδρομέοισιν ὑπ' ἵχνεσιν: Cf. Nonn. D.10.120 τρομεροῖσιν ὑπ' ἵχνεσιν in eadem sede. The ὑπὸ may mean simply "beneath" or be instrumental, as elsewhere in Paul and Nonnus, see 172n.sup. The adjective is Homeric (see LSJ s.v.I) and also used in later epic, Opp. H.1.92; Nonn. D.20.153, al., Par.3.33, al.; Tryph.121, 350; Jo. Gaz.Descri.1.56, al.; A.P.6.67.6 (Jul. Aeg.), 9.822.4 (Anon.); inf.565, 670, 1009, al.

307-10. ἀλλ' ὁσίοις μόχθοισιν, κτλ.: For the suggestion that the emperor may win access to heaven by good works on earth, cf. Agap. Cap.59 (PG.86(1).1181B) χρῆσαι δεόντως τῇ κάτω βασιλείᾳ, ἵνα κλίμαξ σοι γένηται τῆς ἄνω εὐδοξίας· οἱ γὰρ ταύτην καλῶς διοικοῦντες, μετὰ ταύτης καὶ κείνης ἀξιοῦνται; also ib.15 (1169A) where εὐσεβεῖα is deemed an emperor's finest adornment, which will achieve for him immortal glory; 45 (1177B) on imitation of God through good works; etc., and see Patrick Henry III in GRBS 8 (1967) 298ff, esp. 306f where it is suggested that J.'s building of churches is an expression of τὴν διὰ πραγμάτων εὐσεβῶν προσφορὰν, which God requires from the emperor as εὐχαριστίαν, Agap. Cap.5 (col.1165C).

The idea of the Roman emperor's posthumous apotheosis stemmed from the deification of Julius Caesar, although its origins can be traced back to Hellenistic Asiatic monarchies and beyond, see F.Cumont in Rev.de l'hist.des religions 62 (1910) 134ff. It subsequently became an element of the imperial cult inaugurated by Augustus and extended under later emperors, see (for example) Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Apotheosis, Vol.I.323ff, esp.324ff; L.R.Taylor The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Connecticut 1931); J.Beaudeau La religion romaine a l'apogée de l'empire I (Paris 1955) esp.413ff; A.Alföldi 'Insignien und Tracht der römischer Kaiser' in Mitt.des deutschen arch.Instituts, röm.abt.50 (1935) 82ff, now reprinted in id. Die monarchischen Repräsentation in römischen Kaiserreiche (Darmstadt 1970) 200ff; J.M.C.Toynbee 'Ruler apotheosis in ancient Rome' in Numismatic Chronicle Ser.6, no.7 (1947) 126ff.

In the Christian period, the emperor was envisaged as ascending to heaven to rule with God, by whom he had been guided in life,

cf. Eus.V.Const. 4.48 (137.17ff Heikel) ...ὅτι δὴ κὰν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ τῆς κατὰ πάντων αὐτοκρατορικῆς βασιλείας ἡξιωμένος εἴη κὰν τῷ μέλλοντι συμβασιλεύειν μέλλοι τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, (an orator's praise of Constantine), ib. 69 (146.20ff) on depictions of the dead Constantine in heaven; Cor.Laud.Just. 1.50f (of the dead J.) vivit pater, aethere vivit/et fruitur meliore die, ib. 4.338f (J.'s dying words) iussuque creantis/a regnis in regna vehor... (341f) cum carne relicta/spiritus ascendens claram penetraverit arcem, also 1.143f, 3.32ff. See further P.E.Schramm '„Mitherrschaft im Himmel". Ein Topos des Herrscherkults in christliche Einkleidung' in Polychronion: Festschrift F.Dölger (Heidelberg 1966) 480-85 (Schramm discusses the passages quoted sup. and adds many exx. from later western literature); O.Treitinger Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken (2nd ed., Darmstadt 1956) 155ff; and in general, W.Ensslin Gottkaiser und Kaiser vom Gottes Gnaden, Sitz.bayer.Akad.d.Wiss., phil.-hist.Abt. heft 6 (Munich 1943).

307f. ὑπέρτερον ἐλπίδος ἔργον/ἐξανύσας: "having accomplished a work beyond hope", i.e. having built a church superior to all expectations of it. For the idea, cf. 118 sup. and for this use of ὑπέρτερον, cf. 142 sup., where it is also used of the church, and see n. ad loc. This sense of ἐξανύω is Homeric, Il. 8.370 Θέτιδος δ'ἐξηήνυσε βουλᾶς, see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.1.897 ἔπος, 1320 ἄεθλους, al.; Opp.H.5.624 πόνον, al.; not used by Nonnus.

308. ὀρέων μὲν, κτλ.: "you have no need at all of stepping on mountains". The substantive ἡ ἐπεμβᾶς -ᾶδος is a new coinage by Paul. Fr. (p.113) found it "sehr bedenkliches", and certainly the formation is gratuitous, since the sense is identical with that of the infinitive τὸ ἐπεμβαίνειν. It is, however, theoretically acceptable, see P.Chantraine La formation des noms en grec ancien (Paris 1933) 350f, sec.283f and cf. esp. ἡ ἐμβᾶς -ᾶδος "Boeotian slipper", Hdt.1.195, etc.; Fr. notes that there are many formations in -ᾶς, -ᾶδος in Nonn.D., collected by Ludwig, loc.cit.Fr.p.113, n.2. The noun occurs again inf. 934f ταῦτά σοι...δηναιδὸν ἄξει/ζωοφόρου

λυκάβαντος ἔπεμβάδα, where the sense is more metaphorical, "mounting up", "increase", "accumulation", see n. ad loc. Cf. also A.P.9.668. 5f (Marian.) καὶ γλυκερῆς τρίστοιχος ἔπεμβαδὸν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλω/ μαστὸς ἀναθλίβει χεύματα Ναϊάδος (of a triple fountain in a park), where the adverb ἔπεμβαδὸν is similarly coined from ἔπεμβαίνω. The genitive here is objective, cf. S.Phil.17f ἡλίου.../...ἐνθάκησις, lit. "a sitting in of the sun", i.e. a place for sitting in the sun. The verb ἔπεμβαίνω can take a genitive, but Paul elsewhere constructs it with a dative, cf. 186 sup. with n. ad loc. The term ἔπεμβάδος is itself genitive after χατίζω, as regularly, e.g. Il.2.225, Od.8.156, al., see LSJ s.v.II; also A.R.1.1173; Opp.C.3.457; Nonn.Par.5.21, 21.87, D.23.147, 42.298, al., esp. D.20.381 where it is similarly followed by a final clause.

309. ὥς κεν ἀναΐξειας: A final clause in primary sequence would normally take the subjunctive, as at 234 sup. But the use of the optative, particularly with ὥς κεν/ὥς ἄν, is Homeric (Od. only, 2.53, 16.297, al.), the optative expressing "le sens de possibilité de la proposition finale", and deriving from the original use of ὥς as a relative particle, see P.Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.272, sec.401, K-G.II.386, sec.553.5b, Goodwin GMT sec.329.1, p.117f. The practice is imitated in later writers, see Gow on Theoc.2.142, 10.45 and cf. Theoc.24.100; A.R.4.766f, 841, al.; Opp.H.3.273; Nonn.Par.17.92f. (Keydell I.76* notes that Nonnus uses subjunctive and optative with the same force in final clauses and gives exx. of the optative following present indicative. At D.20.373, 48.737 ὥς κεν is constructed with optative, but in historic sequence). The compound ἀναΐσσω is Homeric (Il.3.216, 4.114, al.), constructed with εἰς at Nonn.D.28.15, 36.185; for its use in an expression similar to Paul's in 309f, cf. A.R.4.842 ἀναΐξοσα κατ' αἰθέρος, of Thetis (after ὥς κεν with optative in primary sequence, see sup.); also Orph.Lith.111 ἄψ δ' αὖτις γαίηθεν ἀναΐξας ἐδίωκον, and the simple verb at A.P.4.3B.49 (Agath.) ἐνθα κεν αἶξειας (also primary sequence).

309f. εὐσεβίης δὲ, κτλ.: The suggestion recalls Proc.Arc.13.11f

ἔπειθον γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κολακεύοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὅτι μετέωρος ἀρθεῖη καὶ ἀεροβατοίῃ. καὶ ποτε αὐτῷ παρεδρεύων Τριβωνιανὸς ἔφη περιδεῖς ἀτεχνῶς εἶναι μὴ ποτε αὐτὸν ὑπὸ εὐσεβείας ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναληφθεὶς λάθοι, cf. Hes.Mil.fr.64 (Müller FHG IV.176) Τριβωνιανὸς κολακεύων Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα, ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐκ ἀποθανεῖται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ σαρκὸς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀρπαγῆσεται. ἦν δὲ ὁ Τριβωνιανὸς Ἕλλην καὶ ἄθεος. The latter passage implies a pagan apotheosis, but the reference of Procopius and Paul to εὐσεβεία puts the anecdote into Christian terms, compare, for example, Bas.Sel.V.Thecl.1 (PG.85.485A-B) ὡς τῆς γε τῶν ἀρετῶν κορυφῆς ἀκλίως καὶ ἀμεταπτώτως ἐχούσης ἀεὶ, καὶ τὸ πᾶν σῶμα τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑγιῶς τε ἔξει, καὶ ἀπόνως εὐθυπορήσει πρὸς οὐρανὸν, κτλ. The patriarch Sergius is praised in similar terms by George of Pisidia, Van.Vit.233f (PG.92.1598) εἰ καὶ πέτη γὰρ, καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα τρέχεις, / ταπεινὸς ἦσθα, καὶ συνέρχη τοῖς κάτω.

The idea of the ascent of the soul to heaven on wings goes back to Pl.Phdr.246a ff, 248c, etc.; its adoption in a Christian context is, however, well-established, e.g. Clem.Alex.Prot.10 (76.8ff Stählin) τάχα που ὁ κύριος ἀπλότητος ὑμῖν δωρήσεται πτερόν (πτερώσαι προῆρηται τοὺς γηγενεῖς), ἵνα δὴ τοὺς χηραμοὺς καταλιπόντες οἰκήσητε τοὺς οὐρανοὺς; Greg.Nyss.Hom.XV in Cant. (PG.44.1101A) διὰ τοῦτο ἐπεφάνη ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάρις φωτίζουσα ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἀποθέμενοι τὴν ἀσεβείαν, καὶ τὰς κοσμικὰς ἐπιθυμίας, πάλιν δι' ὁσιότητός τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης πτεροφυήσωμεν, cf. Proc.Gaz.Cant.6.4 (PG.87.1709C-D) and see PGL s.v. ἀρετῇ B.3b fin., πτερόν 4, 5, πτερόω et simil.

Paul's expression also recalls earlier artistic depictions of imperial apotheosis in which the dead person is shown being conveyed aloft either on the back of a winged spirit (e.g. Vatican apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina; apotheosis of Sabina, Capitol Museum), on an eagle or peacock (e.g. coins showing apotheosis of Sabina and Faustina; apotheosis of Titus, Arch of Titus; apotheosis of Julian and Flavia Helena, Grand Cameo of Roumania, see M. Gramatopol in *Latomus* 24, 1965, 870ff; other exx. ap. F.Cumont in *Rev.de l'hist.des religions* 62, 1910, 134ff), on a winged horse (Marcellus on the Grand Cameo of France in Paris), in a chariot with winged horses (Vatican apotheosis of Julius Caesar) or in a chariot guided by the winged figure of Sol (apotheosis of Marcus

Aurelius from Ephesus, now in Vienna). Constantine the Great was similarly depicted (on a coin described by Eusebius, V.Const.4.73, 147.29-148.2 Heikel) as a charioteer, but in the act of being taken up by a right hand stretching out from heaven, see J.A.Staub in DOP 21 (1967) 44f, H.A.Drake In praise of Constantine (Univ. of California publ.: classical studies, Vol.15, California 1976) p.9. A group of deities in heaven similarly welcome the emperor depicted in the act of being raised aloft by winged figures in a 4th cent. diptych in the British Museum, see O.M.Dalton Catalogue of the ivory carvings of the Christian era of the British Museum (London 1909) No.1 and Plate I; E.Kitzinger Early medieval Art in the British Museum (Trustees of British Museum 1940) 13ff and plate 6. See further Mrs.A.Strong Apotheosis and After-Life (London 1915) 65ff (with plates); F.Cumont loc.cit.sup.p.151ff; E.Bickerstein in Archiv für Religionswiss. 27 (1929) 9ff; plates in J.Ferguson The religions of the Roman Empire (Thames and Hudson 1970) p 118-20.

Such artistic representations, together with the use of intransitive ἐλαύνω ("go in a chariot", "drive", "ride", LSJ s.v.1b, see 310n.inf.), suggest that Paul here perhaps envisages J. as being literally carried aloft by a winged personification of Eusebeia, rather than himself being metaphorically endowed with spiritual wings on account of his piety, as the theological writers imagine.

εὐσεβίης: Nonnus uses this poetic form of εὐσεβεία, D.13.20, 31.93, Par. 3.121, 4.99, al.; cf. Opp.H.2.688; Orph.Hymn 27.14, 86.7 (both plural); Procl.Hymn 1.45, 6.12; A.P.9.649.1 (Mac.Cons.), 16.41.6 (Agath.); etc.

310. ἰθυπόροις περύγεσσι, κτλ.: For the expression, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.1.2f (PG.37.397-8) τυτθαῖς περύγεσσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα/σπεύδομεν (image for the undertaking of a difficult enterprise); A.P.1.19.9f (Claud.) αἰθέρος ἀμφιβέβηκας ἐφ'ἐπτάζωνον ὀχῆα,/ἀγγελικαῖς περύγεσσιν ἐν ἄρρητοις θαάσων (of Christ); ps.Ap.Met.Ps.138.15 ἰθυπόρους πτέρυγας. The epithet ἰθυπόρος occurs first at Opp.H.5.677 ἄηταις, see A.W.James Studies in the language

of Oppian of Cilicia (Amsterdam 1970) 112ff and cf. Nonn.D.3.28f αἵρης, 10.402 ποδὸς, 37.283 ἄρματος, al., Par.12.140 κελεύθου, 19.153 καλᾶμου; A.P.6.64.4 (Paul Sil.) κανόνα γραμμῆς ἰθυπόρου ταμίην, ib.68.1 (Jul.Aeg.) αὔλακας ἰθυπόρων γραφίδων (both of the implements of the calligrapher Philodemus). Paul's dative phrase is instrumental-sociative.

πρὸς αἰθέρα δῖον ἐλαύνεις: Similar language is used of the charioteers depicted on the roof of the imperial box in the hippodrome, cf. A.P.16.380.2f (Anon.) καλῶς ἐπήρθη καὶ πρὸς αἰθέρα τρέχειν/ Πορφύριος, ib.382.3f (Anon.) πρὸς οὐρανοῦς ἂν ὥρτο Φαυστίνοιο τρέχων/ ὥς ζῶν σὺν ἵπποις, see n.inf. on 970-72; also Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1. 1.122 (PG.37.979) κοῦφη δὲ πρὸς αἰθέρα ταρσὸν ἀεῖραι, of the Christian life of his mother.

This intransitive use of ἐλαύνω is Homeric, see LSJ s.v.1b and cf. Call.Dian.141 ὅτ' ἐς Διὸς οἶκον ἐλαύνεις, Opp.C.4.76 θοῶς εἰς Εὐρον ἐλαύνειν, Nonn.D.38.277 χθαμαλὴν ἐπὶ νύσσαν ἐλαύνων (Ἠέλιος), 25.373, 29.211, al.; etc. For αἰθέρα δῖον, cf. Il.16. 365 αἰθέρος (feminine in Homer) ἐκ δίης, Od.19.540 ἐς αἰθέρα δῖαν; Call.fr.1.34 Pf. ἐκ δίης ἡέρος, al.; etc.

311-14. Transition to new theme. The double rhetorical question takes up that of 279ff, see nn.sup. on 279-314 fin. and 279-85 (noting esp. ps.Pampr.4.17f, I.118 Heitsch, where a double rhetorical question, there indicating διαπόρησις, similarly concludes a prooemium) and cf. Viljamaa op.cit.p.99f. Procopius of Gaza uses the same technique as a means of returning to his subject after a historical synkrisis, Pan.14 (506.15ff) ἀλλὰ τί μοι λέγειν ἐπῆλθε Πεισίστρατον,...κτλ. In both Procopius and Paul the suggestion is that the writer has been carried away and diverted from his subject more than he intended, and certainly Paul's picture of J.'s ascent to heaven is remote from the description of S.Sophia.

This passage implies in the words ἐκτοθι νηοῦ (312) and ἵομεν ἐν τεμένεσσι (313) a physical move inside the church, cf. 350f inf. οἷξατέ μοι κληῖδα, κτλ; this may be no more than a conventional

means of indicating that the description of the inside of the church is about to commence: similar phraseology is used elsewhere to mark the logical sequence of a panegyric or *ekphrasis*, e.g. Jul.Or.2.64A (81.24f Hertlein) ἐπαναβῶμεν οὖν αὐθις εἰς ἵχνος καὶ ὄθεν ἐξέβην, Them.Or.1.(I.17.24f Downey) ἀλλ' ἐπανεκτίεον τὸν λόγον ἐκτρεπόμενον τοῦ ἵχνους ἐφ' ὅπερ ὥρμησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Proc.Gaz.Pan.17 (507.16) καὶ δὴ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ βαδισοῦμαι τῷ λόγῳ, Proc.Aed.1.1.17 τανῦν δὲ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τούτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῖν ἰτέον, and, in describing S.Sophia, *ibid.*54 ἐπὶ τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ τοῦ νεῶ ἴωμεν; Agath.Hist. praef.15 ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ μέγιστα τῶν πραγμάτων ἰτέον. Paul uses similar expressions to denote transition, *sup.* 134, *inf.* Amb.26; cf. 66f *sup.* with n. ad loc. But both here and at 350ff, the dramatic presentation (313 ἴομεν, "let us go", see n.*inf.*; ὕμνησατέ μῦσται) is in sharp contrast to the usual prosiness of such transitions, recalling rather the excited atmosphere of the opening of some of Callimachus' *Hymns* (Ap., Lav.Pall., Dem.), where imperatives are similarly used to suggest the unfolding of a ritual celebration under the poet's own direction, see further n.*inf.* on 350-53. There, as here, the audience is imagined to be physically present, and not merely reading the successive chapters of a description, as in the prose passages quoted *sup.* References in the following passage in Paul to the opening up of the door of the church on the morning of the inauguration ceremony (320f, 328) continue the idea of 313, which looks forward to the beginning of the poem proper.

311. δηθύνω: Homeric, present and imperfect forms only, see LSJ s.v.; also in later epic, A.R.2.75, 985; Opp.H.2.332, C.3.445, al.; Nonn.D.1.379, 16.8, al.; Musae.333; Coll.27, 345; also A.P.5.223.6 (Mac.Cons.), *ib.*279.1 (Paul Sil.). For the construction with infinitive, cf. Nonn.D.2.569 δηθύνεις τέο μέχρις ἀνέμβατον αἰθέρα ναίειν (Zeus taunting Typhoeus after felling him with a thunderbolt), Par.2.61 οὐ μὲν ἄναξ δήθυσε πέδον Καναναῖον ἀμείβειν.

λαθικηδέας ἥμαρ ἑορτῆς: "the day of the care-banishing feast". The epithet is Homeric, Il.22.83 μαζὸν, used subsequently in

connection with Dionysus or wine, see the exx. cited by LSJ s.v., adding Epigr.Gr.1035.5; Nonn.D.7.339, 19.54, 21.234; also A.P.16.273.1 (Crinag.) of a doctor's skill, Epigr.Gr.1027.20 θάνατον. Paul uses it again proleptically, inf. 893f σύμβολον ἄλλος (sc. εἰσορόων) οὐρανίου Χριστοῦ νόον λαθικηδέα τέρπει. Here it recalls the ideas of 168ff sup., esp. 174f ὅλαις δ'ἐπέτασεν ἑορταῖς/εὐφροσύνην εὐρεῖαν, ὅλας ἥμβλυσε μερίμνας. For ἥμαρ ἑορτῆς, cf. Nonn.Par.7.140, 11.227, 19.162.

312. μῦθον ἐλίσσομεν: The closest parallel for this expression is Call.fr.1.5 Pf. ἔπος δ'ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἐλ[ίσσω], where Pfeiffer would take ἐπὶ τυτθὸν together as an adverbial phrase rather than understanding ἐπ'...ἐλίσσω in tmesis; for the expression, he compares Page GLP 106.3f (Anon., in Philic.Cercyr.) εὐύμνα κυλίων/ῥήματα. Cf. also Ael.NA 5.38 τακερῶς ἐλίττειν τὸ μέλος (of the nightingale, suggesting the rippling notes of its song). Callimachus' expression appears to be an extension of the use in Alexandrian and later poets of ἐλίσσω in the sense of ἀνελίσσω, "to unroll" (a book), Call.fr.468 Pf. γράμματα (= συγγράμματα) δ'οὐχ εἴλισσεν ἀπόκρυφα; Page GLP 114.16 (?Posidipp.) βίβλον, cf. A.P.9.161.1 (Marc.Arg.), ib.12.208.4 (Strato), Nonn.Par.7.191.

ἔκτοθι νηοῦ: Cf. Nonn.Par.2.85, 9.164.

313. ἴομεν ἐν τεμένεσσι: Editors before Fr. punctuated after ἴομεν and took ἐν τεμένεσσι with the following clause; the position of δ' after θεὸν then presents some difficulty, see Hermann Orphica Addenda p.XXIX, Graefe ad loc. Fr.'s punctuation after τεμένεσσι (first proposed by Hermann, according to Graefe loc.cit.) removes this problem and gives a good contrasting phrase to μῦθον ἐλίσσομεν ἔκτοθι νηοῦ. The use of ἐν and dative rather than εἰς and accusative after a verb of motion is as old as Homer (LSJ s.v. ἐν A.I.8, K-G.I.541f, sec.447 Aa; but in Paul's expression, the idea of "motion to and subsequent position in" is not strong); it is particularly common in late and NT prose (Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.218, esp.n.3, p.177f; J.Humbert La disparition du datif en grec, Paris 1930,

58ff; Mayser II.2.372f; Keydell's index to his edition of Agath. Hist.p.225; E.Mihevc-Gabrovec, Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos, Ljubljana 1960, 33); it occurs passim in Nonnus D. (Peek Lex.s.v. ἔν A.I). No doubt Paul is here following Nonnian usage primarily. Fr. (p.115) compares 984 inf. ἔγχος ἄγει βασιλῆος ὑπ' ἵχνεσιν.

In view of the following imperative ὑμνήσατε, Paul certainly intended ἵομεν to be construed as the epic, short-vowelled form of the subjunctive ("let us go"), see Chantraine Grammaire homérique I.457, sec.217 and cf. Il.2.440, al. in eadem sede; see also n.sup. on δεῦρο 141.

θεὸν δ' ὑμνήσατε μύσται: Initiates (of Christianity) are called upon to invoke God's assistance for Paul's poem, in what may be seen as a Christian development of the traditional preliminary invocation of the Muse (Il.1.1 μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεᾶ, etc., cf. 139n.sup). Similarly μύσται are instructed at 350 inf. to open the doors of the church. The precise identity of the μύσται is left vague: like ἵομεν ἐν τεμένεσσι, these words are a formula in the Callimachean manner indicating that the poem is about to begin (see n.sup. on 311-14 fin.) and no actual choir is envisaged. Elsewhere the same term is applied more specifically to clerics and laymen associated with S.Sophia in various capacities, e.g. 432 a choir singing psalms in the narthex, 865 the lamplighter, 974 the patriarch Eutychius; cf. also 686, 718. In 334 the words μυστίδι φωνῇ refer to the choir which sang in the church of S.Plato. By the 6th cent., μύστης and related terms deriving from pagan mystery religions were well-established in Christian usage, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.8.67f (PG.37.452) ἐχέφρονα μύστην/οὐρανίων (of man), Nonn.Par.4.111 of true believers in general, other exx. collected PGL s.v. μύστης et simil. Paul's use of the term is, however, consistent with his general principle of avoiding exclusively Christian vocabulary which might spoil the purity of his style. Compare the more extensive use of vocabulary associated with the mystery religions in the prologue of Eus.Laud.Const. (p.195-6 Heikel), including the terms μύστης (195.12, 196.3) and ἀνάκτορα (196.1; cf. 351 inf.), and see

H.A.Drake In praise of Constantine p.51f and p.156.n.10: Drake argues that these terms should not be interpreted as exclusively Christian references in Eusebius. So the emperor Constantius II, in an address to the senate, described the pagan orator and philosopher Themistius as ἱεροφάντης δὲ τῶν αἰδύτων τε καὶ ἀνακτόρων φιλοσοφίας, Them. Orationes III.124.18f Downey-Norman.

314. ἱκέσιον: With καλέοντες, "calling/invoking in supplication". Fr. (ad loc.) rightly compared the adverbial use of χαρίσιον at 348 inf. and suggested that Paul's use of ἱκέσιον here is a development of that at Nonn.Par.4.103 ἱκέσιον κλίνοντες ἐρειδόμενον γόνυ πέτρῃ, where ἱκέσιον goes closely in sense with the verb, although grammatically qualifying γόνυ.

ἐμῶν χραισμήτορα μύθων: "to assist my words". On χραισμήτορα see 301n.sup. and for its use as a predicate, cf. Nonn.D.21.132 Ἄρεα μοῦνον ἔχων χραισμήτορα, 33.369 (quoted 301n.sup.), Par.3.81, 161, al. (of Christ). For καλέω with predicative accusative, cf. Nonn.D.4.53 βροτὸν ἄνδρα κάλεσεν ἑοῦ συνάεθλον ἀγῶνος, simil.40. 72f and, in a context similar to Paul's, D.13.50f Ὀμηρον ἀοσητήρα καλέσω/εὐεπίης ὅλον ὄρμον, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. καλέω A.I.4. The ms. reading χραισμήτορι (?confusion with 301) was corrected by Du Cange.

315-53. The second encaenia. It was December when the doors of the church were opened, summoning people and emperor (315-22). That dawn ended the night of sorrows and brought a bright light of joy to all (322-25). It was fitting that the celebration should be on the eve of Christ's birth (326-30). Vigil was kept on the preceding night in the church of S.Plato (331-36). At dawn the people and officials gathered, singing hymns and carrying candles. The patriarch accompanied and led the procession, and the streets were crowded (337-47). At the church the people gave thanksgiving, thinking that they were setting foot in heaven (347-49). Open the doors, priests, and pray for my poem (350-53).

Other sources confirm and supplement the factual details which Paul here provides, cf. Theoph.A.M.6055 (238.18ff de Boor) τῷ δὲ Δεκεμβρίῳ μηνὶ κδ' γέγονε τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας τὸ δεῦτερον. ἡ δὲ παννυχὶς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐγκαινίων γέγονεν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν ὁ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Εὐτύχιος μετὰ τῆς λιτῆς, συμπάροντος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καθεζόμενος ἐν τῷ ὀχήματι καὶ φορῶν τὸ ἀποστολικὸν σχῆμα καὶ κρατῶν τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον, πάντων ψαλλόντων τό. "Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν"; Cramer Anecdota graeca parisiensia II.114.26ff*; Mal.495.9ff. On the year, see 1n.sup.

The anonymous Descr.S.Soph.27 (I.104f Preger)** describes only the first encaenia (i.e. that before the collapse of the dome described in ch.28, p.105ff, but wrongly dated to the second year of Justin II, see n.sup. on 198-203). In its details, however, it is a conflation of the first and second encaeniae, with the addition of information which does not appear in other sources. Much of the latter is at best very dubious (e.g. J.'s preliminary sacrifice of cattle, sheep, etc., 104.11ff). The date of December

* On this source, see 1n.sup., footnote **.

** On this source, see 1n.sup., footnote *.

given in the Descr. (104.8) fits both encaeniae (see the sources collected sup. for the second encaenia, and for the first, Theoph. A.M.6030, 217.17f, Cramer 112.34f. Theophanes gives the date of the first encaenia as the 27th, whereas the Anon.Descr. gives the 22nd; Cramer mentions only the month. Cramer and Theophanes agree with Paul that the second encaenia was on the 24th). The Descr. mentions that Strategius distributed alms (105.6f): this he presumably did in his capacity as comes sacrae largitionis, an office which he held at the time of the first encaenia in 537 (Stein B-E II.433, Corp.Iur.Civ.III.813 Kroll; Strategius is called μάγιστρος in the Descr., referring to his previous office of magister officiorum, see Stein loc.cit. and ib.378 n.1. On Strategius and the reasons for his mention in the Descr., see T.Preger in BZ 10, 1901, 458-60). But the Descr. names the patriarch at the encaenia as Eutychius (105.1), rather than Menas, who officiated at the first encaenia (Theoph.217.19, Cramer 113.2), and mentions the extension of the festivities until Epiphany (105.9ff), a detail which agrees with Paul's account of the second encaenia, 74-80 sup., see 1n.sup. and Fr.p.110 with n.1. Du Cange (commentary on Paul Sil., secs. 5 and 6, p.66f Bonn) collected information supplied by Theophanes and other late chronicles on the two encaeniae.

Note how Paul adapts the words of the psalm (LXX Ps.23(24).7, 9 ὄρατε πύλας) which, according to the chronographers, was sung by the procession, so as to form an introduction to his ekphrasis of the interior of the church, see further n.inf. on 350-53.

315-19. The season is described in elaborate poetic detail, first (315-6) generally in terms of the agricultural year and then (317-9) more specifically by reference to the sun's position in the zodiac. Such elaborate references to the season of the year or the time of day are common in epic poetry from the time of Homer and Hesiod, e.g. dawn: Il.11.1f, al., A.R.1.519ff, Nonn.D.27.1ff (beginning ὄρτι δὲ), Tryph.668ff (ὄρτι γὰρ...); evening: Il.11.86ff, Od.13.31ff, A.R.1.1172ff, ps.Pampr.3.177ff (I.117 Heitsch); spring: Nonn.D.3.1ff; autumn: Hes.Op.414ff; spring and autumn, winter and summer: Opp.C.1.114ff; midsummer: Nonn.D.48.306ff,

cf. Hor.Carm.3.29.17ff; May: Hes.Op.383; November: ps.Pampr.3.24ff (I.112 Heitsch; ἄρτι μὲν...). Also relevant to our passage are A.P.Appendix III (ed. Cougny, Paris 1890) bk.IV.47.51f (attr. Hermes Trismeg. or Orph.) εἰ δ' ἄν, ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο/ χειμεριναί, στεῖχοντος, κτλ. (in an earthquake prophecy); Chaucer Canterbury Tales (ed. Robinson, 2nd ed., London 1957) prol.1ff "Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote/The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,/...(line 5) Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth/ Inspired hath in every holt and heeth/The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne/Hath in the Ram his halve cours yronne," etc. So too Agathias dates the earthquake of 14th December 557 in terms similar to Paul (Hist.5.3.2) ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔτους ἢ τοῦ φθινοπώρου ἔληγεν ὥρα ἔτι τε τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀνομάτων συμπόσια ἐτελεῖτο, ἥπερ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις νενόμισται, κρύος μὲν ἤδη ὑπῆρχεν, ὁποῖον εἶναι εἰκὸς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐπὶ τὰς τροπὰς ἐλαύνοντος τὰς χειμερίους καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰγυπτῶτα φερομένου... κτλ., cf. Cameron Agathias (Oxford 1970) Appendix C, and for the date, see Theoph.A.M.6050, 231.14ff, Cramer 113.31ff. Paul's passage at this point serves to mark the new beginning promised by the rhetorical prooemium of the preceding lines (279-314) and to elevate the ensuing account of the encaenia: compare the opening lines of Corippus' account of the Avar embassy to Justin II (Laud.Just.3.151ff), and of the description of Justin's inauguration as consul (ib.4.90ff).

315. ἄρτι μὲν ἀμβλυνθεῖσα: Cf. 319 ἄρτι κατηφῆσαντα. These two phrases, each consisting of ἄρτι with aorist participle and extending to the third trochee, constitute a species of parallelism or cyclus analogous to such examples as 85/88, 269/71, 286/299 sup., also 322/332 inf. Precise tense usage enhances the fastidious structure of 315-20: "Its edge lately blunted by the vintage, the sickle was awaiting the next year's harvest, and the sun was driving to the region of the goat, having left the archer lately made downcast. Came the venerable dawn..." (abbreviated). Alternatively ἄρτι might be translated "now", and taken as modifying ἀνέμινε 316. This sense of ἄρτι occurs in the Koine (Moeris, ed.Pierson, Leipzig 1830, p.63; Arndt and Gingrich s.v.3) and

sometimes in late literary authors, e.g. Coll.235ff, with imperfect; Nonn.Par.13.34, with present, al. (but not for certain at ps.Pampr. 3.24, I.112 Heitsch, where the restoration ἔπρεπον is very dubious). But in many alleged instances of ἄρτι in the sense "now", the verb is aorist and ἄρτι means not "now", but "lately", "just", "just now", "only now". Thus Paul uses ἄρτι with aorist in A.P.10.15.1ff ἦδη μὲν...ἀνοίγει/.../ἄρτι δὲ...ἐπωλίσθησε, "Now summer is opening her bosom..., and the ship has just slid...". This would seem to confirm that ἄρτι is best taken with the aorist participle in 315 and 319 here. (Nonnus uses ἄρτι in this sense with aorist participle in beginning a new section at D.27.1, 41.1, but in these exx. the main verb is also aorist and ἄρτι is less precisely attached to the participle).

ἀμβλυνθεῖσα γένυν...ἄρπη: "the sickle, its edge blunted"; γένυν is accusative of respect (K-G.I.315f, sec.410.6). On the ἄρπη, see West on Hes.Th.175. Even if not identical in origin with the δρέπανον (= δρεπάνη; see West loc.cit.), these three terms are used interchangeably in later poetry to refer to an agricultural sickle which might also serve as a weapon, especially that with which Kronus castrated Uranus or Perseus' scimitar. For its use of cutting grapes, cf. Nonn.D.42.296 ἄμπελος ἡβώουσα πεπαίνεται ἄμμορος ἄρπης (at Hes.Sc.292 a δρεπάνη is used for this purpose), and of harvesting in general, Hes.Op.573; A.R.3.1388; Nonn.D.17.154, 47.120, Par.4.167, 12.97, and especially D.11.503f ὀξύτομου γένυν ἄρπης/ἄγγελον ἀμητοῖο, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.32 εἰς γένυν ἄρπης. For γένυς in the sense "edge", see also LSJ s.v.II, adding Opp.H.5.259; Nonn.D.15.32 σιδηρεῖης γένυν ἄρπης (weapon), ib.6.145, of a carding comb, al.; A.P.6.84.4 (Paul Sil.) ξιφέων...γένυς. Nonnus does not use ἀμβλύνω or associated words, but cf. A.P.6.65.6 (Paul Sil.) for ἀμβλύνω of a pen, ib.67.4 (Jul.Aeg.) λαῶν, ὅς ἀμβλεῖαν θῆγε γένυν καλάμου (i.e. pen), and see further LSJ s.v.II; metaph. 175 sup., see n. ad loc.

μετὰ βότρυας: "after the grapes", i.e. after harvesting the grapes. The preposition is here used in the pregnant sense

characteristic of Nonnus, see Peek Lex.s.v.II.1, Keydell.I.66* and Koechly loc.cit.ap.Keydell for exx. from other authors.

316. ἀνέμιμνε: Cf. 257n.sup.

θερειγενὲς ἔργον: "the summer work"; the ms. reading θερηνενὲς was corrected by Graefe. The epithet is extant elsewhere only at Nic.Th.601 ἐν δὲ θερειγενέος καρπὸν κέρσαιο κυμίνου, Nonn.D.12.95 οἶνοπα βότρυν ἔχουσα, θερειγενὲς ἄνθος ὀπώρας, 16.109 θερειγενέος ...φλόγα διψάδος ὥρης, al.

ἔσσομένης...ἀμάλλης: "of future sheaves". According to Hesychius s.v. ἄμαλλαι, an ἄμαλλα consisted of a hundred trusses (citing Istros fr.54M) or two hundred trusses (citing Philetas gloss.fr.46). Hesychius also attributes the word to Homer, but Homer in fact has only the compound ἀμαλλοδετήρες (Il.18.553, 554, shield of Achilles; δρεπάνη occurs in the same passage). Nevertheless this attests the antiquity of the form of the simple noun. The latter was known to Alexandrian writers (cf. Philetas cit.sup., Call.fr.186.27 Pf.) and later, D.P.358; Q.S.11.156, 171 (both similes); Plu.Publ.8.1; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.7, 58; with single lambda, Philostr.Jun.Imag.10.13; Semus fr.19 Müller (ap.Athen.14.618d, cf. ib.7.305b). The term is also mentioned or explained in other lexica, commentaries, etc., Schol.Theoc.10.44 (single λ); Pollux 1.222 (70.1 Bethe); Phot.s.v. ἀμαλλεῖον, 86.16 Reitzenstein; Etym.Magn.76.47, also ib. cod.S ap. Reitzenstein Etym.Magn.226.25f note (both versions quoted by Pfeiffer on Call.loc.cit.); Eustath. on Il.18.553, 1162.28 (IV.97.11 Lips.); also P.Masp.III.331, fr.iii verso 1, 2 (p.158; fragments of a Byzantine commentary on Il.loc.cit., restored on the basis of Hesychius); Tzetz. on Lycophr.34 (II.29.27 Scheer; single λ). For a modern discussion of the formation of the noun, see P.Chantraine Dict.étym. s.v. ἀμάω, ἀμάομαι, who considers it to be technical in origin.

For ἔσσομένης in eadem sede, cf. Nonn.D.4.390, 37.441 νίκης, 42.173 φιλότητος. At Hes.Sc.286ff, Il.18.550ff (Achilles' shield)

descriptions of the harvest and of the vintage are similarly juxtaposed.

317. νότοιο παρὰ πτερὸν: Cf. Nonn.D.18.327f παρὰ πτερὸν αἴθοπος Εὐρου/φοιταλέω Σύρον οὐδ'αὖ ἐμέτρεεν οἶνοπι δίφρῳ (of Pherespondus, acting as Dionysus' herald), ib.3.55ff παρὰ πτερὸν αἴθοπος Εὐρου/.../...φάνη λιμενοσκόπος Ἥως, also 21.325, 39.350, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.131f παρὰ πτερὸν.../ὀρνυμένου χειμῶνος, inf.573, Amb.204. For the wings of the wind, see LSJ s.v. πτερὸν III.3, adding Call.fr.110.53 Pf.; Orph.Hymn 82.2; Nonn.D.1.203, 25.216, 37.90, 642, al.; cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.227f. In Nonnus the expression πτερὸν Εὐρου et simil. is little more than a periphrasis for Εὖρος, or even for ἀνατολή/ἡώς et simil., and so it is in our line, cf. also inf.441, 459. For Paul's association of Capricorn with Notus, cf. Nonn.D.6.222f καὶ Νοτίου νιφόεσσαν ὑπὸ κλίσιν Αἰγοκερῆος/θερμοτέρῳ σπινθῆρι μεσημβρινὸς ἔξεεν ἄγκῶν (of Zeus' revenge for the death of Zagreus).

The preposition παρὰ is local, in the same sense as if constructed with the dative, see Keydell I.66*, Peek Lex.s.v.III.1.

ἡνία πάλλων: Cf. Nonn.D.38.301 δίδου δέ οἱ ἡνία πάλλειν (of Helios handing over his chariot to Phaethon); ib.48.306ff ἡνίκα πάλλων/...μεσημβρινὸν ἦχον ἱμάσθλης/Ἥελιος, cf. 37.162; 13.193 = 37.758 τεύχεα πάλλων, al.; also Opp.H.5.167 γένυν ἀντία πάλλει, of a hooked fish. This sense of the verb ("brandish", "shake") is classical, see LSJ s.v.I.2; for a different usage, see 298n.sup.

The idea of the sun's chariot is as old as Hesiod and the Homeric Hymns, see RE VIII.1.col.88, Daremberg and Saglio s.v.Sol, Vol.IV.2.1376f. It is usually associated with the sun's daily journey across the sky, but is also mentioned, as here, in connection with his annual journey through the zodiac, e.g. O.Met.2.74ff, Nonn.D.38.233ff (both of the Phaethon story. It seems that there may have been a version of this in which Phaethon wished to drive the sun's chariot on its course for a whole year, rather than for a single day, as in all extant accounts, see RE XIX.2.col.1513).

318. αἶγος ἐς ἰχθυόεντος ἀθαπείας...μοίρας: "to the heatless

degrees of the fishy goat", i.e. to the sign of Capricorn. The sun enters Capricorn on December 21st, so Paul's description is appropriate for December 24th, the date of the second consecration of the church; cf. Agathias' description of December 14th (Hist.5.3.2, quoted in n.sup. on 315-19). The correct name for Capricorn is Αἰγοκερεύς/Αἰγοκέρως, see LSJ s.vv., and cf. Nonn.D.1.250, 38.279 ἰχθυόεντος... Αἰγοκερῆος, al. In astronomical contexts, αἶξ elsewhere denotes the star Capella, see LSJ s.v.I.3, adding Nonn.D.1.451, 23.314. Nonnus and Paul call Capricorn ἰχθυόεις (Il.9.4 πόντον, Od.3.177 κέλευθα, etc.) because he is usually portrayed with a fish's tail, and derives ultimately from the Babylonian Goatfish, see V.Stegemann Astrologie und Universalgeschichte, Studien und Interpretationen zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis, Stoicheia Heft 9 (Leipzig 1930) 63f; RE III.col.1550f. (Stegemann adds that he is lord of the fishes). Fr. (ad loc.) noted too that, according to Aratus, the Fish Ἰχθύς lies close below Capricorn, Phaen.386ff νεῖοθι δ'Αἰγοκερῆος, ὑπὸ πνοιῇσι νότοιο, Ἰχθύς...αἰωρεῖται/..., Νότιον δέ εἰ κικλήσκουσιν, cf. 701f. This suggests an alternative way of accounting for the goat's epithet ἰχθυόεις, especially since Aratus and Ptolemy did not know of the fish's tail of Capricorn (RE loc. cit.). The ms. of Paul has ἰχθυόεντος, but the Nonnian parallel makes the correction certain. For ἄθαλπέας, cf. Nonn.D.2.658, 38.285 ἄ.Αἰγοκερῆος, al. The adjective is not extant before Nonnus, but cf. Hr.Acut.29 ἄθαλπέως. For Capricorn as the traditional beginning of winter, see Stegemann op.cit.p.64, who collects the evidence of Nonnus. Technical writers use μοῖρα of a division of the zodiac, as well as of an astronomical/geographical degree, see LSJ s.v.I.5, Soph.Lex.s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.38.266 εἰ μὴ ἀναπλήσειας εἰκοσι καὶ δέκα μοίρας, i.e. the distance of thirty degrees from the beginning of one sign to the beginning of the next (also from Helios' instructions to Phaethon).

ἦλαε: "was driving/riding"; intransitive, as at 310 sup. For this form of the imperfect of ἐλάω, as if from ἐλάω, cf. Opp. H. 5.493f ὅπη νόος ἦϊθέοιο/ἦλαεν; A.R.1.755 conj. Platt, accepted by Fränkel and Ardizzoni (for ἦλασεν), on the analogy of ib.3.872

ἔλαεν δὲ δι' ἄστεος, cf. also GVI 1844.7 (Rome, 2nd cent.A.D.?)
 τίς δ' ἔλαέν μιν; (of a horse). Homer has a plural form of the
 imperfect ἔλων, Il.24.696, Od.4.2, cf. Chantraine Grammaire homérique
 I.354, sec.167. Graefe and Bekker wrote ἤλασε in our line. For
 ἔλαύνω of the sun's chariot, cf. Nonn.D.38.263 (Helios to Phaethon),
 Agath.Hist.loc.cit. in n.sup.

319. κατηφῆσαντα: The verb is Homeric, Il.22.293, Od.16.342,
 often in the form of a participle, as here, see LSJ, PGL s.v.
 Cf. κατηφῆς 181, 215 sup., κατηφείη 204. Nonnus has only κατηφῆς
 (D.25.382, 37.609, al.), κατηφιᾶω (D.33.230, 37.701, al.). Here
 Paul's expression includes both the senses "downcast" and "dim",
 i.e. because of the loss of the sun, see n.sup. on κατηφῆς 181.

ἄφετήρα βελέμων: "the discharger of darts", i.e. Sagittarius,
 the sign through which the sun passes prior to Capricorn, cf.
 Nonn.D.1.250f καὶ θρασὺς ἰχθυόεντος ὁμόδρομος Αἰγιοκερῆος / Τοξευτῆρ
 βέλος ἦκεν. The sense is certain, but the noun ἄφετήρ -ῆρος
 (from ἀφίημι) is extant only elsewhere at Iamb.Protr.21.λη' (125.23f
 Pistelli) ὥσπερ ἀπὸ ρίζης καὶ ἄφετήρος τῆς μολόχης ὠρμημένος.
 The -τήρ, -τωρ suffix is regularly used to form agent nouns in
 Homer and subsequent poetry and also in Koine Greek, see Chantraine
Formation des noms 321ff, esp. secs.259, 263, L.R.Palmer A Grammar
of the post-Ptolemaic papyri I (London 1945) 108f. (Regularly
 nouns derived from simple verbs take the suffix -τήρ/-τωρ, whereas
 those derived from compounds are formed in -της. In Attic-Ionic,
 however, this distinction is not observed and the suffix -της
 is generally used, cf. Polyb.4.56.3 λιθοφόρους τέτταρας καὶ τοὺς
 ἀφέτας τοῦτοις, where ἀφέτας denotes soldiers firing a catapult;
 also of a starter in races, as a technical term in astrology
 and of a freed slave, see LSJ s.v. ἀφέτης. Cf. also ἄφετήριος,
 "for letting go", of a military engine, Jos.BJ 3.5.2 = 3.80
 al., see further LSJ s.v.). In the Iamblichus passage, ἄφετήρ
 may denote an agent "the sender up of the mallow", i.e. the agent
 of growth (so Stephanus, Sophocles s.v.), but is perhaps rather
 abstract "the starting-point" (so LSJ). Paul probably formed the
 word as an equivalent to ἀφέτης, on the basis of similar formations

in Homer, etc. Note the Homeric epithet of Apollo, ἄφῆτωρ (Il.9.404 only), which is also an agent-noun formed from ἀφίημι, "the sender out", either of arrows or colonists, see Chantraine, Dict. étym.s.v. and Radt-Schmidt s.v. in Snell Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos. For Ἀφέται as the name of a place in Magnesia, see Beck ibid.

320. ἦλυθε δ' ἠριγένεια σεβάσμιος: Cf. Musae.335 ἦλυθε δ' ἠριγένεια (v.l. ἦλυθεν ἠρι-), "came the venerable dawn", beginning the line and signalling the dénouement, much as here; Orph.Arg.367 ἐφέσπετο δ' ἠριγένεια, al.; Nonn.Par.6.163 ὑστατὶς ὅτε φέγγος ἐλεύσεται ἠριγενείης, ib.20.114, etc. Originally an epithet of Ἥως (Od.4.195, etc.), ἠριγένεια is already used substantively (= ἥως) at Od.22.197, 23.347, Hes.Th.381, and so regularly in later epic, see the exx. collected by Kost on Musae.loc.cit. and cf. Gow on Theoc.24.39, inf.616. For σεβάσμιος in poetry, cf. Orph.Hymn 28.10, 79.7, Epigr.Gr.1015.9, GVI 2061.2 (3rd/4th cent.), Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.1.139; more often in late prose, see LSJ, PGL s.v., but it is included in Hesychius, who glosses it τιμητόν, προσκυνητόν.

320f. οἴγομένη δὲ, κτλ.: For the bellowing gate, cf. Il.5.749 = 8.393 αὐτόματα δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ἥραι, with Epigr.Gr.1110.5 (ca. 2nd cent) and, for the use of the line in a Christian context, Eudoc.Homerocent.1908 (p.113 Ludwig); Il.12.460 μέγα δ' ἀμφὶ πύλαι μύκον (of the gate of the Achaean camp under Hector's assault); Nonn.D.45.328f καὶ ὥς βοέων ἀπὸ λαιμῶν/ἀκλινέες πλεῶνες ἐμυκήσαντο μελᾶθρων (under the influence of Dionysus); also Od.21.47ff. In the first Homeric passages (Il.5.749, 8.393), the gates of heaven bellow as they open of their own accord (αὐτόματα) to let out Hera and Athene. This automatic door-opening is a response to the power of the deity, and is a motif which occurs elsewhere in classical and other ancient literature, see O.Weinreich Türöffnung im Wunder-, Prodigien- und Zauberglauben der Antike, des Judentums und Christentums, repr. in Religionsgeschichtliche Studien (Darmstadt 1968), esp. ch.1; K.J.McKay in CQ N.S.17 (1967) 184ff. Significant for our context is the appearance of this motif

at Call.Ap.6f, a passage recalled by Paul inf.350f, see n.inf. on 350-53. The similarity between the Callimachus passage and LXX Ps.23(24).7-10 (the psalm sung by the procession at the reinauguration of S.Sophia, see n.sup. on 315-53) has been noted, but interdependence is probably to be discounted, see Weinreich op.cit.p.415ff = 253ff (repr.), McKay loc.cit.p.190f. At 350f inf. Paul adapts Callimachus and the psalmist so that the μύσται are commanded to open the doors. In our passage, οἰγομένη is used without an agent, but there is no explicit indication that Paul intended to suggest a supernatural door-opening (as God entered His church on the day of its consecration).

Homer uses ἄμβροτος of anything associated with the gods, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Nonn.D.13.22 Διὸς ἄμβροτος αὐλή, al., Par.14.11 ἐς ἄ.οὐδαν, al., see further n.inf. on 332f. The epithet ἀρτίδομος (recens exstructus, Stephanus) occurs elsewhere only in the vulgate reading of Nonn.Par.19.62 ἀρτιδόμῳ δ' ἐκάθητο λιθοστρώτῳ παρὰ χώρῳ, where, however, Scheindler accepted Marcellus' correction ἀγχιδόμῳ ("dwelling near", "built nearby", Bacch.13(12).89 ἑταίραις, of Nymphs; Coll.247 μελᾶθροις). The latter epithet is indeed recommended by NT Ev.Jo.19.13 which has simply ὁ οὖν Πιλάτος... ἤγαγεν ἔξω τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθοστρωτον, κτλ. In our line, however, ἀρτίδομος is certainly correct, whether Paul derived it from Nonnus, or from a lexicon or onomasticon, or coined it himself on the analogy of many other such compounds in ἀρτι- (see LSJ, Peek Lex.col.191-93).

322. λαὸν ἔσω καλέουσα: Cf. 439 inf. and note the verbal parallelism with 332 inf., εὐφροσύνην καλέουσα, cf. n.sup. on ἄρτι 315. Here λαὸν is contrasted with ἥρανον (on which see 178n.sup.) in the Homeric sense "subjects", see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Nonn.D.17.104 (sing.), 35.18 (pl.), etc.

ἔσω: Nonnus admits only this form; Homer prefers εἴσω, but also admits ἔσω, Il.24.155, Od.11.579, al., both c.acc. In Nonn. D. it is always followed by a genitive case, but Homer uses absolute εἴσω, see LSJ s.v. and cf. also A.R.4.712, al.; Opp.H.1.326, 2.98, al.; Nonn.Par.10.30, 20.25; etc. For Paul's use with καλέω,

cf. A.R.3.48 εἶσω τέ σφ' ἐκάλει and Nonn.Par.2.48 εἶσω μεγάροιο καλέσας.

322-25. εὔτε.../.../ὥς ἔτεδν....: "As..., so in truth; εὔτε is comparative (= ἥτε), not temporal, and ὥς correlative (= οὕτως, see LSJ s.v. ὥς A.a3). Cf. Il.3.10ff εὔτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην, /... (13) ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσσας ὄρνυται ἀελλῆς / ἐρχομένων; Q.S.3.142ff εὔτε λέοντος / ἄγροται ἐν ξυλόχοισι τεθηπότες, ... /... (147) ὥς ἄρα Πηλεΐδαο χόλος..., ib.221ff, 280ff and often, see LSJ s.v. εὔτε III, K-G.II.490f, sec.580, Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.250, sec.369, R.II, and cf. 906 inf., where εὔτε ("as") introduces an example of a previous generalisation. Bekker construed these lines differently, putting a comma after ἥρανον and taking εὔτε κελαινῇ...κτλ., as a following temporal clause; ὥς ἔτεδν...κτλ., is then exclamatory (quam vere...; see LSJ s.v. ὥς D.I.2). But a temporal clause with this meaning would be redundant after 320 ἤλυθε δι' ἡριγένεια σεβάσμιος, and the change from aorist to present tense unaccountable. Moreover, the repetitions (μινύθει 323, 324; κελαινῇ/νύξ 322f, νύξ ἀχέων 325; πᾶσιν 323, πάντας 325) support the view that all from εὔτε to αἴγλη belongs to the same syntactical circumscription and that εὔτε and ὥς introduce correlative clauses. For the dark/light imagery used in the same context, cf. 169f sup., also 182f, with nn. ad locc.

322f. κελαινῇ/νύξ: Cf. Il.5.310, 11.356 (both nominative; metaph. of loss of consciousness); E.HF 834 (genitive; of night personified); A.R.4.1171 (accusative), ib.1631 (dative), Orph.Arg.304 (accusative), all literal.

323. μινύθει: Homeric, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.286, 4.1308, and, for Paul's usage, cf. esp. Theoc.21.22f τὰς νύκτας ἔφασκον/τῷ θέρεος μινύθειν (of nights growing shorter as the days grow longer); Nonn.D.5.162ff Σελήνην/...λίθον...ὅς εὐκεράοιο θεαίνης/ λειπομένης μινύθει καὶ ἀέξεται, ib.7.75; also Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.191f καὶ σφεδανὴν ἀκτῖνα μεσημβρίζουσιν ἀέζων (Helios)/ πασσοδίην μινύθουσιν ὅλην (Iris) ἀπέκερσε καλύψας. The verb exists only

in the present and Ionic imperfect forms. Hence the recurrence of the present in 324, although an aorist is strictly required to correspond with ἐπέδραμε.

παῶσιν: Dative of interest or advantage, see K-G.I.417ff, sec. 423.17, cf. GVI 9, quoted in n.inf.

ἄεξεται: Cf. Il.8.66 = Od.9.56 θῆρα μὲν ἦως ἦν καὶ ἄεξετο ἱερὸν ἥμαρ; Hes.Op.772f μηνὸς/...ἄεξομένοιο; Opp.H.5.590 μήνης...ἄεξομένης; Nonn.Par.9.23 εἰσόκεν ἥμαρ ἄεξεται (metaph.), D.5.164 quoted sup.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.197 of Iris; also GVI 9 (?479/8) Ἑλλαδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἥμαρ ἄεξειν/ἵεμενοι θανάτου μοῖραν ἐδεξάμεθα.

ἡμάτιον φῶς: Cf. Orph.Hymn 8.2 οὐράνιον φῶς; Nonn.Par.12.139 αἰθέριον φῶς; A.P.9.651.2 (Paul Sil.) ἡματίῳ φέγγει. Homer, A.R. and Nonnus D. (cf. Keydell I.43*) do not admit the contracted form of φῶς, but it appears at the line-end in Nonn.Par.1.3, 24, al., Procl.Hymn 3.1; cf. Orph.Hymn 8.18, 43.8, al., A.P.16.385.4 (Anon. Byz.), Musae.224 (corr. Barth, accepted by Ludwig, Kost and other editors). Homer uses ἡμάτιος (= ἡμερήσιος), usually in the sense "by day", see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.2.1100, 3.1199, Opp.H.1.407, Nonn.D.38.52, 78, al., inf.889 (adv.); cf. also A.Ag.22f ἡμερήσιον/φῶς.

324. ἔτεδον: Adverbial ἔτεδόν is Homeric, see LSJ s.v. ἔτεδός II.1, adding A.R.2.209, 4.292, al.; Call.Del.83; A.P.7.42.2 (Anon., on Callimachus' Aetia); Nonn.D.3.160, 42.377, al.; Musae.219; A.P.5.289.9 (Agath.); etc. With ὥς (but not in Paul's sense), A.R.1.763, Call.fr.75.9 Pf., Opp.H.1.649, Nonn.D.34.302.

μεγάλου νηοῖο: Cf. inf.414 and see n.sup. on lemma between lines 134 and 135.

325. πάντα ἐπέδραμε χάρματος αἴγλη: "the bright gleam of joy spread over all". For the idea, cf. inf. 904 εὐφροσύνης ἀναπέπταται εὐδίου αἴθρη, and for the expression cf. Od.6.45 λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν

αἴγλη; A.R.2.670f ἐπιδέδρομε νυκτὶ/φέγγος; Opp.C.3.37 ὀλίγη δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη, s.v.1. αἴγλη (of lions); Nonn.D.38.153f ἡθέου γὰρ ἐπ'αστράπτουσι προσώπῳ Ἡελίου γενετῆρος ἐπέτρεχε σύγγονος αἴγλη. This metaphorical use of ἐπιτρέχω is widespread, see LSJ s.v.II.2, adding A.P.12.82.5 (Meleagr.), A.R.3.139, Call.fr.274.1 Pf., Opp.H.4.677, Nonn.D.12.311, 42.301, al. The verb is commonly either absolute or c.dat., but for Paul's construction with accusative, see LSJ loc.cit.fin., adding Opp.H.3.410, and, in other senses, A.R.4.489, D.P.489, Nonn.D.6.244, 12.64, etc. Homer uses αἴγλη of the light of the sun and moon (Od.4.45), see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.1.1282, Orph.Arg.1246, both of dawn, cf. 338 inf.; A.R.4.301, Nonn.D.27.18, 38.244, al., Agath.Hist.5.8.4, A.P.9.782.1 (Paul Sil.), all of the sun; metaph. Nonn.Par.3.6 βαπτίσματος ἔνθεον αἴγλην, 12.146 φεραυγέες υἷες αἴγλης, al., Synes.Hymn 1.131 (p.10 Terzhagi), 3.27 (p.36), both of God, ps.Synes.Hymn 10.14 (p.64) of Christ, other exx. PGL s.v. The abstract use of χάσμα in the sense "joy" (as opposed to concrete "source of joy", LSJ s.v.I) is as old as Homer, see LSJ s.v.II, adding A.R.3.257, 724; Nonn.D.5.93, 45.2, al., Par.3.147, 11.96, al.; Tryph.311; A.P.9.768.6 (Agath.).

326-30. ἔπρεπέ σοι, ..., ἔπρεπε.../ἔπρεπεν.../.../ἔπρεπεν: On Paul's use of such anaphora as a means of auxesis, see 152n.sup., noting esp. Nonn.D.11.17 ἔπρεπέ σοι...ἔπρεπε; for emphatic repetition extending over several lines, cf. 177-85 sup., inf. 597-601 ὁλκὼν, 934ff τῶτα, 944ff and 975ff εὐθὺς, 991ff χεῖρα, 997ff λιτὰ; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.96ff (PG.37.1235). The date of the festival is now first specified as the eve of Christ's birth, i.e. December 24th.

326. ἔπρεπέ σοι, κτλ.: Impersonal ἔπρεπε is regularly constructed with dat.pers. and infinitive (328 πετάσσαι), see LSJ s.v.III.4, K-G.II.12f, sec.473.4 and cf. A.P.9.697.1f (Anon., 4th cent.), 16.344.5 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius); Theoc.10.57f (inf. only).

σκηπτούχε μεγασθενές: Both terms have previously been applied to

J., although not in conjunction, σκηπτουχος 156 (see n. ad loc.), 174, 238, al.; μεγαθενές 178 (see n. ad loc.), 185.

Ῥώμη: Ms. ῥώμη. Fr. and Bekker printed the dative, following the suggestion of Graefe ad loc.; Ludwich (op.cit.p.22) would retain the vocative. In lines of similar formation (collected 152n. sup.), the last word may be vocative (152 sup., 350 inf.; A.P.9.147.1, Antag.; Prop.2.34.65), dative (185 sup.; Nonn.D.11.17) or other (accusative: 993 inf.; nominative: Anon. ap Powell p.79.18; genitive: Theoc.1.70, Coll.171). In lines 152 and 350 (which most closely resemble the present line), the vocative at the line-end is preceded by a vocative epithet; this would not be so in our line were Ῥώμη to be read. There would, moreover, be a certain clumsiness in a line containing apostrophes to two different entities, expressed in this way. The dative, therefore, is preferable. For the omission of the iota subscript, cf. Preisendanz, op.cit.col.LXXVIII iota mutum frequentissime adscripsit, interdum omisit, of the scribe J; 984f n.inf.

327. ἀμβροσίῳ θεοῦ προκέλευθον ἑορτῆς: "as harbinger of the feast of God immortal". The feast is, of course, Christmas. On προκέλευθος, cf. 259n.sup. Strictly speaking it was not the door, but the opening of the door, that was the harbinger of Christmas; but Paul's Greek is perspicuous and forceful. It is not necessary to treat προκέλευθον as an adverb equivalent to πρό, as did Fr. The epithet ἀμβρόσιος is regularly used in Homer and later epic of anything associated with the gods, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.512, 4.430, al.; Theoc.11.48, 17.32; Opp.C.1.44; Procl.Hymn 7.45; Nonn.D.1.513, 25.379, Par.6.97, 9.173, al.; inf.676; see also PGL s.v. In none of these instances, however, is it applied to a god himself. For Paul's use of the epithet in this latter context, like ἀμβροτος (see n.inf. on 332f), cf. h.Merc.230 νύμφη.

328. ὑμετέροις λαοῖσι: The dative goes not with ἔπρεπεν, but with πετάσσαι, as often in Nonn.D., e.g. 13.23f οὐδέ σοι ἦνραι/μή πω ἀεθλεύσαντι πύλας πετάσουσιν Ὀλύμπου, 45.301, al., see Peek

Lex.s.v.A. Du Cange first supplied to the dative λαοῖς of the ms., the final iota required by metre. On πετάννυμι of opening doors, see n.sup. on 174f.

329f. ἔπρεπεν.../...γενέθλιον ἡμᾶρ ἰκέσθαι: Here the accusative γενέθλιον ἡμᾶρ is ambiguous: it may be either subject ("...that the birthday should have come") of object ("...to have come to the birthday") of ἰκέσθαι, since in Homer, Nonnus and elsewhere in poetry, ἰκνέομαι may be constructed with an accusative of the goal or object of direction, see K-G.I.311f, sec.410.4, LSJ s.v.I.1 fin., and Keydell I.56*, adding Nonn.D.40.467. If ἡμᾶρ is the subject of ἰκέσθαι, then ἔπρεπεν is here constructed with accusative and infinitive, see K-G.II.28, sec.475.4, and cf. also Athanas.Ar.1.4 (PG.26.20B) τί γὰρ ἔπρεπε ποιεῖν αὐτόν; Nonn.D.16.69f, A.P.16.335.5f (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius), inf. Amb.171. Either interpretation is possible, but the poetic construction with ἡμᾶρ as object of ἰκέσθαι is perhaps to be preferred, since then the construction is the same as that of 327f (without dat.pers.), while Musae.44 πασσυδίῃ δ' ἔσπευδον ἐς ἱερὸν ἡμᾶρ ἰκέσθαι, gives a good parallel for the idea and for the line-end (although Musaeus uses ἰκέσθαι in a more concrete sense, implying "journey to"). For γενέθλιον ἡμᾶρ, cf. A.P.6.261.3 (Crinag.) ἡμᾶρ ἐπεὶ τόδε σεῖο γενέθλιον. The prose expression for "birthday" is ἡ γενέθλια ἡμέρα, often abbreviated to ἡ γενέθλια/-ος, cf. also τὸ γενέθλιον / τὰ γενέθλια, "birthday feast", see LSJ s.v.I, Soph.Lex.s.v.1, 3, PGL s.v.1 and esp.ib.3 for its use of Christ's nativity, celebrated on 25th December. Cf. also Call.fr.202.21f Pf. τὴν γενεθλίην/ ἑβδόμην Ἡρ[η] θ[υγ]ατρὸς ἡμέρην, i.e. septimo post puellam natalem die celebrando (Pfeiffer ad loc.); for γενέθλιος meaning "pertaining to birth", but accompanying nouns other than ἡμᾶρ and ἡμέρα, cf. Nonn.Par.3.28 ὀπλοτέρην δέξοιτο γενέθλιον ἄσπορον ἀρχὴν (i.e. second birth), id.D.41.190 ἵππος ἀνεκροτάλιζε γενέθλιον ἦχον ἀράσων (at Beroe's birth), 23.231, al.

329. ἐξεΐης: Epic for ἐξῆς. Here it is temporal, as ἐξῆς always is in NT (Arndt and Gingrich s.v. ἐξῆς 2) and often in papyrus

documents (Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v. ἐξῆς I, with Kiessling Suppl. 1, 1940-66 s.v.), but not commonly in poetry, see LSJ s.v. ἐξῆς 4. Homer uses ἐξεῖης/ἐξῆς in the sense "in order", "in a row", Il. 6.241, Od. 4.449, al., see LSJ s.v. ἐξῆς I.1a and cf. Opp. C.1.503, Orph. Arg. 233, Nonn. D. 17.337; also "next in order", A.R. 1.742, 2.380, al.; D.P. 76, 81, al.; Opp. C.2.489; Nonn. D. 19.253. (Nonnus uses the term only in the two instances cited).

θέσκελον ἥμαρ: On θέσκελος see 144n.sup., and cf. esp. Nonn. Par. 9.70 ἥως (of the sabbath). The epithet is used here because the day saw the revelation of the θέσκελον ἔργον of S.Sophia (cf. 238 sup.). Both here and in 330 Du Cange wrote the nonsensical ἡμᾶς for ἥμαρ.

330. ζωοτόκου Χρίστοιο: "life-giving Christ". This figurative use of the epithet occurs first in Nonnus, D. 26.191 γαίης, 38.417 ζωοτόκου Διὸς ὄμβρος, al., Par. 5.109 τύμβων (of the Resurrection); Jo. Gaz. Descr. 2.22 ζωοτόκου Δήμητρος ἐπιπλήσασα γενέθλης (in a description of a cornucopia); also occasionally in patristic writers, see PGL s.v.

331. καὶ δὴ, κτλ.: The narrative is resumed after the rhetorical auxesis of lines 322-330. The particles are connective, and also convey a sense of climax, "And now the night had been accomplished...", cf. Denniston Greek Particles p.248. Other examples of καὶ δὴ in later poetry are more strongly deictic in sense; cf. Musae. 329f καὶ δὴ λύχνον ἄπιστον ἀπέσβεσε πικρὸς αἵτης/καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ ἔρωτα πολυτλήτοιο Λεάνδρου, and the passages collected by Gow on Theoc. 5.83. Nonnus does not use this collocation.

νῦξ τετέλεστο: "the night had been accomplished". Homer uses τελέω of time, Od. 5.390, 10.470 περὶ...τελέσθη, cf. Hes. Th. 59 with West ad loc., and see LSJ s.v. τελέω I.7. For the pluperfect passive so used, cf. Nonn. Par. 7.33f ἡμετέρου γὰρ/οὕτω μοι τετέλεστο χρόνου δρόμος. Paul's expression is sonorous (cf. NT Ev. Jo. 19.30 τετέλεσται, Christ's last word from the Cross, rendered

by Nonn.Par.19.159 τετέλεστο, πανυστατίῳ φάτο μύθῳ; 2Tim.4.7 τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα); in view of the description which follows, it recalls too the use of τέλεω, common in patristic writers, of celebrating or solemnising rites, feasts et simil., see PGL s.v.9 and cf. LSJ s.v.III.3.

προηγέτις εὐποδος ἡοῦς : "guide of Dawn of the lovely foot". For the line-end, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.203 προάγγελος αἴθοπος Ἡοῦς (of Ἑωσφόρος). This feminine form of προηγέτης = προηγήτης (from προηγέομαι) is extant only here and at 917 inf. (LSJ Suppl. list TAM 2.189.7, of Hecate, but there the epithet is in fact προκαθηγέτις, which is attested elsewhere, see LSJ s.v. LSJ Suppl. is, however, correct in stating that the masculine form προηγέτης is used of Apollo and Artemis at TAM 2.188.7). A.R. and Nonnus use the feminine προηγήτειρα, see LSJ s.v. For εὐπους, used by Nonnus of the Ἥραι and a favourite epithet of Paul's, cf. 172, 260 sup. with nn. ad locc.

332. εὐφροσύνην καλέουσα: For εὐφροσύνη in a similar context, cf. 175 sup. and see n. ad loc.

332-36. θεοῦ δ' ὑπεδέξατο κῆρυξ, κτλ.: Paul refers to the παννυχίς or vigil kept the night before the encaenia in the church of S.Plato, cf. Theoph.A.M.6055, quoted in n.sup. on 315-53. The "immortal witness of God" is S.Plato himself, who is here imagined as welcoming in person the vigil kept in his church. Meineke (ap. Salzenberg-Kortüm) compared 429ff inf., where the nocturnal singing of psalms in the narthex of S.Sophia is said to charm the ears of Christ, 429f ἐνθα δέ τις κατὰ νύκτα διαμπερὲς ᾠχὸς ἀνέρπων/εὐκέλαδος Χριστοῦ βιαρκέος οὐατα θέλγει). On the church of S.Plato, built by Anastasius and restored by J., and situated in the Portico of Domminus, near the Forum of Constantine, see R.Janin, La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, pt.I, t.iii (2nd ed., Paris 1969) 404f; C.Capizzi L'imperatore Anastasio I (Or.Christ.Analecta 184, Rome 1969) 198. For an oratory dedicated to S.Plato, built by Theodore of Sykeon adjacent to his church of

S.George, see Vie de Théodore de Sykéôn 55 (ed. A.J.Festugière, *Subsidia hagiographica* 48, Brussels 1970, I.47.12f) with Festugière's note, t.II.p.206.

332. ὑποδέξατο: From Homer onwards, ὑποδέχομαι is regularly constructed with accusative and dative in the sense of welcoming into one's house. So it is here. Cf. LSJ s.v.I.1, adding A.R.1.210, 2.653, Theoc.16.6, Nonn.D.23.26. The object is usually personal; κελᾶδμα χορείης here implies persons. As Fr. notes (ad loc.), here and at 336 (ἔβόησαν) the aorists strictly stand for pluperfects, as often, since they are parallel to τετέλεστο, describing events of the night now over.

332f. κήρυξ/ἄμβροτος: S.Plato was a "herald of God" in that he had been a martyr, see Festugière loc.cit.sup., and cf. PGL s.v. κήρυξ 2 for many exx. of this term used of those who preach the Gospel or proclaim Christ in any way, adding Nonn.Par.1.15 (of John the Baptist), ib.181 (of the OT prophets), al., inf.700 (of the prophets); Eustrat.V.Eutych.98 (PG.86(2).2384C-D) προσετέθη τοῖς πατριάρχεις ὡς Πατριάρχης, τοῖς κήρυξιν ἡ μεγάλη φωνή, ὁ μάρτυς τοῖς μάρτυσιν, κτλ. (of the dead Eutychius). The epithet ἄμβροτος (unlike ἄμβρόσιος, cf. 327n.sup.) is regularly used of persons, see LSJ s.v.1 and cf. also Orph.Hymn 30.7 δαῖμον, 55.26 Ἄδωνιν; Nonn.D.8.134 (of Hera), 44.174 Ἥβη; Synes.Hymn 4.3 (p.39 Terzhagi) θεὸν, 6.2 (p.48) of Christ. See further n.sup. on 320f.

333. λάων: Ms. λαῶν, marg. γρ.πέλων et γρ.τελών κελᾶδμα; τελεῖν Graefe; κλύων Meineke; †λαων Fr., Πλάτων? app.crit. (but regarded as "höchst bedenklich" in n. ad loc.). R.C.McCail (CQ N.S.20, 1970, 306-8) has argued convincingly, taking up the suggestion of Arthur Ludwich (op.cit.p.25), that the ms. λαῶν is correct except for the circumflex accent. This should be replaced by paroxytone (λάων) and the word construed as the present participle of the very rare epic verb λάω (Od.19.229, 230, h.Merc.360, cf. Hesych.s.v. λάετε, and other lexicographers cited by McCail). The sense intended by Paul, and by Agathias at A.P.5.237.5, is

"seeing", and hence here "waking" or "watching". Both writers may be indulging in interpretatio Homerica, by suggesting (probably on the basis of scholia and lexica, McCail 307, n.5) what they conceived to be the correct meaning of the verb in one or both of the ancient instances. The rarity of λάω led to the puzzlement of the scribe of our line (J) and provoked his and subsequent conjectures, which, however, (except for τελείν) recognise that a present participle is required. See further the detailed argument of McCail, adding now Frisk Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch Bd.III (1972) 144, Chantraine Dict.étym.s.v. λάω.

ἀγρύπνοιο κελάδημα χορείης: "the strains of the unsleeping choir". The noun κελάδημα is used in classical Greek of the sound of wind (Ζεφύρου E.Ph.213, lyr.) and rivers (Ar.Nub.283, anap.), and later more generally of any loud noise, A.P.6.350.1 (Crinag.) σάλπιγγος; Nonn.D.6.203 αἰθέριον κελάδημα πύλαι κανάχιζον Ὀλύμπου, 8.363 βροντῆς, 15.72 ἄρασσομένης...βοείης, 43.202 εἰναλίων... λεόντων, 47.23 of a pipe, al.simil. For Paul's application of the word to human utterance, cf. A.P.2.42f (Christod.) ἀπὸ στομάτων δὲ τινάξαι/ῆθελε μὲν κελάδημα θεοπρόπον, of the seer Polyidus of Corinth. Paul probably here has in mind the use of κελαδέω in the sense "sing of", "celebrate loudly", see LSJ s.v.II. For ἀγρύπνοιο χορείης (in Bacchic contexts), cf. Nonn.D.45.226 φοιτάδος ἀγρύπνοιο...χορείης, simil.19.5 ἄγρυπνον ὀπιπευτῆρα χορείης; also 5.116 ἄκοιμήτοιο χορείης; 9.115 τελέτην ἄγρυπνον, 12.397 ἔορτῇ, al.; Musae.292 ὑμεναίων, and other similar exx. from the Anthology and elsewhere collected by Kost ad loc., esp.A.P.5.279.4 (Paul Sil.) πόθοις. For the epithet in Christian contexts, cf. Nonn.Par.1.62 ἱερῆας, al., and see PGL s.v. Here χορείης is simply "choir", of the priests who kept the vigil, cf. 344. This is the usual sense in patristic writers, see PGL s.v.2. Paul elsewhere uses the term in other senses, see nn.sup. on 155 and 288.

334. θεσπεσίους τεμένεσσιν ἑοῖς: So Fr. The ms. and all other editors have τεμένεσσι νέοις. But Fr. is doubtless correct to argue that νέοις is unlikely here. According to Procopius (Aed.1.4.29)

J. built the church of S.Plato "from the foundations" (ἐκ θεμελίων ἐδείματο. In fact he restored the church built by Anastasius, see Janin, cit.sup. in n. on 332-36) ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰουστίνου βασιλεύοντος, i.e. in the period 518-27. The edifice would scarcely still be described as "new" in 562, cf. McCail, cit.sup. 333n., p.308, n.2. The epithet θεσπέσιος, first in Homer (Il.1.591 βηλοῦ, Od.13.363 ἄντρον, al.) is widely used at all periods in prose as well as poetry, of anything marvellous, awful or divine, see LSJ s.v.II, adding A.R.1.977 ἔδνοισιν, al.; Theoc.15.66 sc.ὄμιλος (perhaps colloquial, see Gow ad loc.); A.P.16.151.2 (Anon., on a statue of Dido) κάλλει, al.; D.P.424 θεσπεσίου ῥοδὸς Ἰλισσοῖο, al.; Opp.H.2.683 πατὴρ (of the Roman emperor), 4.8f αἰοιδῆς/δῶρῳ θεσπεσίῳ; Orph.Lith.681 ὀνειῖαρ, al.; Nonn.D.13.15 τραπέζης (of Rhea), 40.76 δείματι, al., Par.9.141 Χριστοῦ, 17.7 ζῶνθ. αἰώνιον, al.; Coll. 248 χαρίτεσσιν; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.118.148 φέγγος, al.; A.P.16.41.3 (Agath.) συνῶριδος, i.e. J. and Theodora; Agath.Hist.2.29.4 ζητήσεως, al.; and see PGL s.v.

ὅθι : Regular in epic for οὗ, Il.2.722, Od.14.73, al.; A.R.1.216, al.; Call.Del.241, 242, al.; Theoc.16.75, al.; Orph.Hymn 59.8, al.; Opp.H.1.115, al., C.1.273, al.; Nonn.D.11.33, 17.330, al., Par.1.176, 8.33, al.; A.P.6.65.5 (Paul Sil.); etc.

μῦστιδι φωνῇ: Instrumental dative. The line-end is Nonnian, D.22.5, 35.229, 40.368. Cf. also D.3.263, al. = Par.4.99 μ. τεχνῇ, D.9.127 κίστην, 27.205 γύψῳ, al., Par.12.6 ὥραι (of Easter); Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.29.299 (PG.37.906A) ἐδωδῆν, Orph.Arg.905 ἀρήτειρα. Earlier μῦστις is used only substantivally, as a feminine form of μῦστις, see LSJ s.v., PGL s.v.1. Ludwig (op.cit. p.26) corrected Fr.'s accentuation from paroxytone (so too Du Cange and Bekker) to proparoxytone (ms., Graefe, LSJ s.v., see Chandler Greek Accentuation p.184, lines 3 and 22). On the ambience of μῦστις and related terms used by Paul, see 313n.sup.

335. παννυχίους Χριστοῖο, κτλ. : Theophanes calls the vigil in S.Plato ἡ παννυχίς (A.M.6055, quoted in n.sup. on 315-53) and

the noun is used elsewhere in Christian contexts in this sense, see PGL s.v.1. The adjective παννύχιος (cf. πάννουχος) in Homer always agrees with the subject of the verb, see LSJ s.v., and it is usually predicative, see Kost on Musae.230 (who considers παννύχιος and πάννουχος together). For the attributive use in oblique cases, cf. Nonn.D.22.135 ὕμνου, Musae.230 ὁδῶν, A.P.5.259.5 (Paul Sil.) παλαιστραῖς, Thdr.Lect.fr. (PG.86(1). 225B) εὐχὴν, and esp. Epigr.Gr.1049.11 (Egypt) παννυχίοις δ' ὕμνοῦμεν ὑπ' εὐφροσύναις τὸν ἄνακτα/Ἀ]ρμαχίν. It would be possible to take Χριστοῦ βιαρκέος as objective genitive depending on ὕμνους, "hymns to Christ the Saviour" (cf. Pl.Lg.801d ὕμνοι θεῶν, so Athen.14.627f; Orph.Hymn 29, tit. ὕμνος Περσεφόνης, al.simil.; Nonn.D.16.286 ὕ. Ἐρώτων, 27.174 ὕ. ἐνυοῦς; other exx. LSJ s.v. ὕμνος). But ἄνδρες would then be unqualified, which would be strange (contrast sup. 168 ἄνδρες, οἷσι μέμηλε θεοῦδεᾶ θεσμᾶ γεραίρειν). More probably, therefore, Χριστοῦ is possessive genitive, depending on ἄνδρες. For βιαρκῆς, cf. A.P.6.179.1 (Arch.) λινωσταςίης; Nonn.D.17.370 γαίης, Par.8.140 τοκῆος (God), 15.52f ἐφετμᾶς/ἡμετέρας (Christ's words), 17.21 μυθοῦς σοῦς (i.e. of God). Paul uses the epithet of Christ again inf. 430, cf. also 665 ἀνάσσει (?S.Sophia), Amb.43 λοετροῦ (of baptism).

336. ἀσπασίως ἐβόησαν: "had gladly cried". Cf. inf. 665, Amb.38. The adverb is Homeric, often going closely with the verb, see LSJ s.v. ἀσπασίως, and cf. also A.R.1.270, 1173, al.; Theoc.16.7; Opp.H.1.467, 471, al.; Orph.Arg.116; A.P.16.300.6 (Anon.), ib.5.248.8 (with μάλλον), 275.4 (both Paul Sil.). For βοᾶω with cognate accusative, see LSJ s.v.II.3, K-G.I.320f, sec.411.3b, and cf. also Opp.H.5.300f νίκης...βοᾶωσι/...παίηονα, Nonn.D.37.324, al. τοῖον ἔπος βοᾶων, cf. Par.5.53. On the tense, see n.sup. on ὑπεδέξατο 332.

ἀσιγήτοισιν ἀοιδαῖς: The dative phrase is loosely appended in order to include the idea of the continuity of the hymns, but ἀοιδαῖς is redundant after ὕμνους. For a similar accumulation of datives, cf. Nonn.Par.5.157f μαρτυρίην βοᾶωσιν ἐμὴν ὑποφήτορι μῦθω/ἀθανάτῳ σάλπιγγι. For ἀοιδῇ redundant after ὕμνον, cf. Nonn.D.39.359 θεσπεσίῃ λάλον ὕμνον ὑποτρύζοντος (sc. Βραχυμήνος) ἀοιδῇ; but this is an intentional echo of Call.fr.1.1 Pf. οἶδ' ὅτ[ι] μοι

Τελχίνες ἐπιτρούζουσιν ἄ[οιδῇ. On the force of the dative ἄοιδῇ in Callimachus and Nonnus, see Pfeiffer on Call.loc.cit. In our passage, the dative must be classed as sociative, like εὐιέρους ὕμνοισιν 143 sup., see n. ad loc. The epithet ἀσίγητος occurs first in Callimachus, Del.286 λέβητος (of Dodona), then often in Nonnus, D.3.79 βοείης, 13.133 πηγῆς (of Castalia), 33.231 χεῖλεσι, al., Par.6.218 βίβλων, 9.78 Φαρισαίων, 11.227 ἑορτῆς, al.; also Bas.Hom.Jul.9 (PG.31.260A) ὀδυρμῶν, and see PGL s.v. for the adverb ἀσιγήτως used of praising God.

337. ἀλλ'ὅτε δῆ: The particles have the same function as at 265 sup. (see n. ad loc.): with this third mention (cf. 320, 331) of the dawn, the account of the festal procession to S.Sophia at last begins. Theophanes (loc.cit., see n.sup. on 315-53) clarifies Paul's description: the chronicle uses the term λιτή, which denotes a formal ecclesiastical procession with prayer or litany, usually, as here, made in celebration, but sometimes also expiatory, see the exx. collected PGL s.v.2, Du Cange Glossarium s.v., adding Niceph.Hist.Syn.p.18.25f de Boor εὐχαριστηρίου λιτᾶς (for the deliverance of Cpl. after the siege of 626). These exx. (notably that from C.Tyr. (518) Act (p.90.12 Schwartz) μετὰ ψαλμωδιῶν καὶ κηρῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ οἴκῳ καταντήσαντες τὴν λιτὴν... πληρώσωμεν) indicate that the hymns, or perhaps strictly psalms, and candles mentioned by Paul 342f inf., and probably likewise the χαρίσια δῶρα of 341, were regular elements of such a λιτή. Paul does not make clear that the procession set out for S.Sophia from S.Plato, nor that J. himself participated in it, as described at some length by Theophanes.

οκιδέσσαν ἀναστείλασα καλύπτρην: Cf. A.P.4.3B.3f (Agath.) μηδ'ἔτι Περσὶς ἄνακτις ἀναστείλασα καλύπτρην/ὄρθιον ἀθρήσειεν (sc. ἐς βασιλῆα). Paul personifies Daylight (ῥοδόπηχυν αἴγλη, see 338n.) as a woman who puts on a dark veil at night and draws it back at dawn. The καλύπτρη was large enough to cover the head, shoulders and torso, see R.Horn Stehende Weibliche Gewandstatuen (Munich 1931), Taf.5.3, 23.1, etc. By a slightly different

iconographical convention, Night is sometimes represented as a shadowed and dark-clothed female figure wearing or holding a dark veil, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.245 νύξ δὲ μελαγκρήδεμνος and the imagery used by Paul inf.904f πᾶσι μὲν εὐφροσύνης ἀναπέπταται εὐδίας αἴθηρ/ψυχαίην ἐλάσασα μελαγκρήδεμνον ὁμίχλην (the κρήδεμνον and καλύπτρη are probably identical); cf. also the picture of Nyx displaced by Orthros in Paris ms.Gr.139, ninth cent. (D.Talbot Rice The Art of Byzantium, London 1959, pl.IX).

The metaphorical use of καλύπτρη to denote night, darkness et simil. is as old as A.Ch.811 δνοφερᾶς καλύπτρας, where it refers to the gloom enshrouding Agamemnon's palace; so of dark cloud, Opp. H.4.66f ἡνίκα μῆνη/κέκρυπται, νεφέων δὲ κελαινιδῶσι καλύπτραι; Nonn.D.2.502 ἥ δὲ (ἄτμις) πανυχομένη νεφέων ὥδινε καλύπτρην, cf. ib.175f, 10.301, 36.39; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.126 νεφέλης...μελανστέρνοιο καλύπτρην; and of primaeval darkness, Nonn.D.41.96 χάεος ζοφδεσσάν ἀπεστυφέλιξε καλύπτρην (of Beroe). For σκίοεις in this context, cf. Nonn.D.33.266f ἤδη γὰρ σκιδέντι θορῶν αὐτόχθονι παλμῶ/ἄσφοφς ἀννεφέλοιο μελαίνετο κῶνος ὁμίχλης, Par.6.62 καὶ σκίοεις ὅτε κῶνος ἀνέδραμε γείτονος ὀρφνης; Tryph.236 ὄρθρον ὑπὸ σκιδέντα. Although ἀναστέλλω commonly means "tuck up" when used in connection with clothing, its meaning here is clearly "draw back".

338. οὐρανίας...ἄντυγας: "heavenly vaults". The expression is Nonnian, see 187n.sup.

ῥοδόπηχυν...αἶγλη: Cf. inf.769 βολαῖς ῥοδοπήχεος ῥοῦς. The noun αἶγλη (metaph. 325 sup., see n. ad loc.) is here personified, as equivalent to the Homeric Ἥως, Ἡριγένεια, which have already appeared sup. (320, 331). The epithet is not Homeric, but is used of Ἥως at h.Hom.31.6, Theoc.2.148 (codd.; Gow ῥοδόεσσαν), and in Hesiod and early lyric as an epithet of women, see LSJ s.v., adding Page Suppl.Lyr.Graec.S.460.11, Orph.Arg.159, 1315, Nonn.D.7.252, 26.360, 47.90, al., A.P.5.227.3 (Mac.Cons.).

ὑπέδραμεν: "stole over", "overran". Homer uses the verb to describe the action of a suppliant in running in under a weapon

in order to clasp someone's knees, Il.21.68, Od.10.323. Its sense here, however, is closer to that of Sappho fr.31.9f Lobel-Page λέπτον δ' αὐτικά χροῦ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμηκεν, a sense elsewhere confined to prose (Hippocrates and, of emotions, Polybius, etc.), see LSJ s.v.IV. It is rare in poetry at all periods, but Hesychius recognises Paul's sense in the gloss ὑπεισερχόμενοι (s.v. ὑποτρέχοντες).

339. δὴ τότε: For this combination after a clause introduced by ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ, cf. A.R.1.1167; Nonn.D.22.4, 29.293, 37.88 (the last in a dawn-description analogous to Paul's), Par.4.201; also Il.22.209 καὶ τότε δὴ.

συναγείρετο: So ms., Fr.; συνεγείρετο Du Cange, Graefe (who conjectured συναγείρετο), Bekker. The ms. reading is undoubtedly correct, cf. Il.24.801f αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα/εὖ συναγειρόμενοι δαίνυντ' ἔρικυδέα δαίτα, 11.687 οἳ δὲ συναγρόμενοι Πυλίων ἡγήτορες ἄνδρες; Theoc.22.76; Orph.Lith.327 (of λαοί); Nonn.D.27.250, Par.1156; Tryph.144. The compound συνεγείρω is rare in poetry (only ps.Phoc. 140), and is weaker in our context than συναγείρω. At 646 inf., all editors write συνεγείρετο, although Graefe suggested συναγείρετο in his apparatus. But Ludwich rightly observed (op.cit.p.2) that here too the ms. has the compound of ἀγείρω, which should be retained.

339f. πᾶς τε θούκων/ἀρχός: "every ruler/lord of thrones". The noun ἀρχός is Homeric for a leader or chief, regularly c.gen., see LSJ s.v. and cf. also Theoc.25.43, Nonn.D.3.220, 7.119, 36.279, Par.3.2, 12, 124, al. Above (see 148n.sup.) Paul uses the term θούκος/θῶκος of J.'s throne; below (362, 366, 421) it is applied to the synthronon of S.Sophia, to the women's seats in the gallery (541), and to the patriarch's throne (965, see n. ad loc.). Here, however, Paul is probably not referring to ecclesiastical dignitaries, since θούκων/ἀρχός is coupled with the laity (λαὸς 339) and the following descriptive phrase ὑποδρήσων...ἐφεταμίς (340, see n.inf.) suggests that the reference is to secular officials or government ministers. The patriarch and his ecclesiastical procession (ἱερῆς...

χορείης) are mentioned at 344. For θώκος/θῶκος used of secular office, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.2.7.5f (PG.37.1551) ὕστατον ἀντέλλεις θῶκων ὑπερ ἡγαθεοῖσι/Καππαδόκοισι, of the judicial orator Nemesis (note also ib.1.1.7.13f, col.439 θῶκων/ἀμφὶ μέγαν, of God's throne, for division of a θῶκος-expression between two lines, as in Paul); A.P.7.688.2 (Pallad.) τῶν μεγάλων ὑπᾶτων θῶκων; Nonn.Par. 19.68 Πιλᾶτος θρασυεργὸς ἐπ'εὐλαίγγι θούκῳ; Epigr.Gr.903.1 τῆς Ἀσίης ὑψαυχένα θῶκων ὑπάρχων, ib.912.2 ἐξόμενον θῶκων ὑπόθεν αἰπτῳτάτων, and other exx. from late epigram collected by L.Robert in Hellenica 4 (1948) 41-43; also Anon.Laud.Beryt.92 (I.97 Heitsch) where θῶκοις denotes professorial chairs. Likewise θρόνος, A.P.16.73.1 (Anon., 5th cent.) ὑπᾶτων θρόνον; Just.Nov.82.1 (A.D.539) (402.12f Kroll) the throne of the praefectus praetorio per Orientem, ib.p.402.7 throne of the praefectus urbi; A.P.7.602.7 (Agath.) throne of pr.pr.per Or., ib.1.36.4 (id.) throne of proconsul of Asia; Niceph.Hist.Syn.p.4.5 de Boor, throne of praefectus urbi.

340. ὑποδρήσων, κτλ.: This phrase is descriptive of the functions of the θῶκων ἀρχός. But the subsequent participles (κομίζων 341, ἀνάπτων 343) and the verb ἤπνευ(342) refer to the activities of the λαός and the θῶκων ἀρχός together on this occasion. (The καὶ of 341 follows on from συναγείρετο 339 and continues the narrative. The weaker τε of 339 merely adds a second subject to the sentence, cf. Ludwig op.cit.p.14f on Paul's sparing and discriminating use of the particle τε). The two participles and verb can be singular because the two individually-expressed subjects are each singular (cf. 2 sup. θεός τε καὶ βασιλεὺς σεμνύνεται), and because the initial verb συναγείρετο is singular. Graefe marked a period after ἐφετμαῖς and certainly some punctuation is required, perhaps a comma or colon rather than Graefe's full stop. (The comma after ἀρχός might be omitted). The ambiguity of the singular participle ὑποδρήσων, which Du Cange interpreted as referring to both subjects like the two subsequent participles (tum populus omnis coit, omnesque palatii procures, fortissimi imperatoris praecepto,...) may be an indication of hasty or unrevised composition.

The expression ὑποδρῆσων...ἐφετμαῖς is similar to phrases used by Paul at 270 sup., 554 inf. and even closer to a line in an epigram preserved in a 4th cent. context by John Malalas and to a line from Greg.Naz. (quoted 270n.sup.): Paul has here adapted a familiar phrase without observing the ambiguity of the participle in its present context.

σθεναροῦ: See 186n.sup., noting esp. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.23.18 βασιλεῦς.

ἐφετμαῖς: Homeric, Il.5.508, al., frequently plural as here, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.3.390 (sing.), 4.688 (pl.), al.; Call. Del.227 (sing.); Opp.H.5.496 (sing.); Orph.Hymn 11.18 (pl.); Orph.Arg.6 (pl.); Nonn.Par.9.152, 14.79 (both pl.), al. (not in D.); Coll.99 (sing.).

341. χαρίσια δῶρα κομίζων: "bringing gifts of thanksgiving". Cf. A.R.1.419 ἀπειρέσια δῶρα κομίσσω, 4.1705; Nonn.D.4.259f πάση/ Ἑλλάδι φωνήεντα καὶ ἔμφρονα δῶρα κομίζων (of Cadmus), 42.396 ποῖᾶ σοι ἐννοσίγαιος ἐπάξια δῶρα κομίσσει, also 42.416; A.P.1.10.18 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἀμεμφέα δῶρα κομίζειν, ib.16.62.1 (Anon.) ταῦτά σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ Μηδοκτόνε, δῶρα κομίζει, of J. This is the usual sense of κομίζω (cf. LSJ s.v.II.4, 5, 10) in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex.s.v.; cf. also A.R.4.1515, al., Call.Lav.Pall. 29, al.; Orph.Hymn 12.14; Nonn.Par.10.12, al.; Coll.312, al.; Tryph.186, al.; Musae.151, al.; A.P.5.276.1 (Agath.); etc. Paul uses the term χαρίσιος again at 348 inf. In both places, the ms. has χαρήσια /-ον, corrected by Du Cange. In sense, it is equivalent to the Koine χαριστήριος (see LSJ s.vv.χαρίσιος, χαριστήριος, PGL s.v. χαριστήριος), but this form is very rare: first at Call.fr.383.1 Pf. Ζηνί τε κα[ὶ] Νεμέη τι χαρίσιον ἔδνον ὀφείλω] (suppl. Lobel e fr. 193 Schneider), with which Pfeiffer compares our line and Greg.Naz. Carm.2.2.4.205 (PG.37.1521) ἀμφοτέροισι χαρίσιον (-ίστιον codd.) ὕμνον ἀείσω; add also Dam.Isid.216 χαρίσια ὀλίγα ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀποδίδοντι, cit. Suidas s.v. χαρίσιον, after the gloss χαριστήριον: LSJ's distinction of a second sense "free" in this instance is unfounded. Hesychius (s.v. χαρίσιον) recognises only the Aristophanic

sense "cake", (LSJ s.v.II), cf. Pollux 6.72, 73.

342. ἱκεσίοις στομάτεσσι: Instrumental dative. On this use of ἱκέσιος, see LSJ s.v.3 (tragedy), adding Nonn.D.13.13 χεῖλεσιν, 15.202 καρῆνου, al., Par.15.64 μύθῳ; Tryph.263 παλάμῃσιν; A.P.5.300.5 (Paul Sil.) οἴκτοις. See also 314n.sup.

θεουδέας ἦπυεν ὕμνους: The verb ἦπύω (Dor. and Arc. ἀπύω) is Homeric in the sense "call to", "invoke" (Il.14.399, Od.10.83, al.), but the sense "sing", "utter" is later, cf. LSJ s.v.2, 3, noting esp. Mosch.2.124 γάμιον μέλος ἠπύοντες, and adding A.Pers.122 ὁᾶ, τοῦτ' ἔπος... ὅμιλος ἀπύων; A.P.9.99.3 (Leon.Tar.) τῷ δ' ἔπος ἐκ γαίης τόσον ἄπυε (vine addressing goat), ib.16.17.1 (Anon.) ὦ Πᾶν, φερβομέναις ἱερὰν φάτιν ἄπυε ποίμναις; A.R.4.230 δεινὰ δὲ παντὶ παρασχεδὼν ἦπυε λαῶ; Orph.Arg.5f ὄφρα... βροτοῖς... ἀοιδῶν/ἠπύσω; Nonn.D.41.251 μελίρρυτον ἦπυε φωνήν, 4.197 τοῖα νοοπλανέεσσι μελήδοσιν ἦπυε κούρη. On θεουδέης, see 168n.sup.; here and at 350, 963, Paul's usage is more akin to that of Homer and Nonnus D., and the sense may be "reverent".

343. ἄργυρον... κηρὼν ἀνάπτων: "kindling silver-white candles". This is clearly the sense of ἀνάπτω (LSJ s.v.II.1) after κηρὼν, "candle", cf. Mal.467.16 τινὼς γὰρ ὑφάψαντος κηροῦς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, Chron.Pasch.605.3 Bonn ἄψασα κηροῦς ἡ Ἰουβεναλία, Const.Porph.de Caer. Appendix (497.19 Bonn) ἦψεν κηροῦς εἰς τὸ μνημα τῆς δεσποίνης (of J.); for this sense of the verb in late poetry, cf. Orph.Lith.373; Epigr.Gr.818.14, 1064.5; Nonn.D.25.290, 31.141, al.; Musae.239 (passive), 306 (middle), with exx. from A.P. etc., collected by Kost ad locc. (for A.P.7.201.7 read A.P.16.201.7), adding A.P.5.291.3 (Paul Sil.), inf.488, Amb.293, also inf.864. The use of κηρός (also κηριόλος; κήριον, κηρίων, see PGL s.vv.) of a wax taper or candle (cf. Lat. cereus) is common in late prose, frequently in the context of processions, see LSJ s.v.II, Soph.Lex.s.v., PGL s.v.2, Du Cange Glossarium s.v., adding Marc.Diac.V.Porph.47 (39.17 Grég.-Kug.), and compare the passage from C.Tyr.Act quoted in 337n.sup. It is not, however, usual in poetry,

where the term is more commonly applied to the wax used in encaustic painting (cf. LSJ s.v.I.1), e.g. A.P.1.34.2, 7.602.1, 16.80.6, 244.5 (all Agath.). Paul uses it of a candle again, inf.747. The epithet ἄργυρος (a less common equivalent of ἀργύρεος, inf.624, Amb. 94) is used in Homer of sheep (Il.24.621, Od.10.85), cf. Opp.C.1. 121 ἄργυφα...ὄπλα νηῶν, 2.39 ὕδωρ; Nonn.D.14.419f γλάγος αἰγῶν/ ἄργυφον, 33.31 μελέων...ἄργυρος αἶγλη, al.

εὐκαμάτοις ὑπὸ χεῖρεσι: The preposition ὑπὸ is instrumental, instead of a second simple dat.instr. after ἵκεσίοις στομάτεσσι, cf. 758 inf. and for this usage, see 172n.sup. On εὐκάματος (here "nobly-toiling") see 270n.sup. The ms. χεῖρεσσι was corrected to χεῖρεσι, metr.gr., by Du Cange.

344. ἔσπετο δ' ἄρητήρ: "the Priest accompanied"; a reference to Eutychius, patriarch of Cpl., cf. Theoph.loc.cit. in n.sup. on 315-53, and see further note sup. on lemma after line 80. It is not necessary to explain ἔσπετο as indicating that Eutychius arrived after the procession had assembled, as does Fr. ad loc.; it may imply that Eutychius and his clergy followed the secular ministers (θωώκων/ἀρχός 339f, see n.sup. ad loc.) in the procession, but ἔπομαι often means simply "accompany", see LSJ s.v. *ἔπω (B) I.1 and cf. Nonn.D.4.160 ἔσπομαι, ἣν ἐθέλης καὶ ὁμόστολος, 14.224, etc. The line recalls Il.11.472 ὁ μὲν ἦρχ', ὃ δ' ἄμ' ἔσπετο, which may help to account for the aorist ἔσπετο amidst a series of descriptive imperfects (339 συναγείρετο, 342 ἤπνευεν, 346 ἐστεΐνετο). In ἄρητήρ, Paul uses a Homeric term for "priest" (again of Eutychius inf. 963, 969; plural 421, of clergy of S.Sophia), cf. Il.1.11 of Chryses, al., see LSJ s.v., adding Epigr.Gr.800.2, 827.4, 6, 873.3; Nonn.D.13.480, Par.11.209 (of the High Priest Caiaphas); A.P.5.286.10 (Paul Sil.); also in Christian inscriptions, see PGL s.v. Alexandrian poets use the feminine form ἀρήτειρα, A.R.1.312, 3.252, Call.Cer.42; cf. Orph.Arg.905, Musae.68.

ἱερῆς δ' ἐξῆρχε χορείης: "and led off the holy choir". This technical use of ἐξάρχω with genitive of leading off a song, etc.,

is Homeric, Il.18.51 Θέτις δ' ἐξῆρχε γόοιο, al., cf. Hes.Sc.205 and other exx.cit. LSJ s.v.1; cf. also Arist.Poet.4.14, 1449a11 ἢ μὲν (sc. τραγωδία) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον (on the origins of tragedy). The usage is rare in later poetry, but cf. Theoc.8.62, Lyc.250, where the verb has a similar sense, but is followed by an accusative (cf. LSJ s.v.2). For χορείης, cf. 333n.sup. The epithet indicates that the choir was composed of priests, cf. 88 sup., 996, 1019f inf., with nn. ad locc., and see PGL s.v.1. Note the repeated connective δὲ in this narrative passage (344 bis, 346, 347, 348), a practice generally uncharacteristic of Paul, who uses particles sparingly and with discrimination; but compare the description of the earthquake 188-92 sup. and 162f with n. ad loc.

345. ἀρητὴρ πολύσμνος, κτλ.: The panegyric comment on Eutychius (compare the longer encomium of Anthemius 267ff) clarifies the reference of the vague ἀρητὴρ of 344. The patriarch is praised at length inf. 978-1026.

πολύσμνος: "much-hymned". Cf. inf. 979 πᾶτερ πολύσμνε, also of Eutychius; 434 of the Virgin Mary; 527, 923 of J.; Amb.300 of S.Sophia; also inf.375 λαὸν, active sense. The epithet occurs in early lyric and classical drama, see LSJ s.v. with id Suppl., and cf. also Orph.Hymn 55.1 of Aphrodite, 76.12 ζῆλον; Nonn.D.48. 188 γάμος ("of many songs"); Synes.Hymn 9.26f (p.58 Terzhagi) πολύσμνος δέ τις εἶη/παρὰ κούροις; Epigr.Gr.1062.5 (? aet.Leonis) Μαρίαν.

ὃν ἄξιον εὗρετο νηοῦ, κτλ.: Cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.23f (PG.86(2). 2300f) which describes how, on the death of the patriarch Menas (in 552), God made J. look to Eutychius as his successor, (ὃ Θεὸς) κλίνει καὶ τὴν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου βασιλέως καρδίαν εἰς τὸν ἄξιον ἄνδρα, 2301A. Note also ib.24 (col.2301D) θεωρήσαντες οὖν τὴν ἐνστασιν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὅσην σπουδὴν μετὰ τινος θείας ἐλλάμψεως ἐπεδείκνυτο, πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν, κοινῇ γνώμῃ, κοινῇ ψήφῳ, μιᾷ φωνῇ, πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ, τὸ ἄξιον, ἄξιον, ἐκράζον. This formal cry of ἄξιον

was regularly used at the election of bishops and senior clergy, see the detailed article of Du Cange Glossarium s.v. (who quotes the passage 2301D), Soph.Lex.s.v.2, PGL s.v.2. It was no doubt with this in mind that Paul wrote ἄξιον here: in similar expressions late authors prefer compound forms of ἄξιος, cf. Diosc.19.2 (I. 145 Heitsch; = 20.2, p.146) παντοίων ἐπέων πανεπάξιον οὖνομα εὔρες, A.P.7.149.3f (Leont.) τόσσης γὰρ χρόνος ἄλλον ἐπάξιον ἄνδρα τόλμης/ οὐχ εὐρῶν (these two exx. indicate that Du Cange's dative νηῶ in our line is a mistake); also Nonn.D.4.125 γάμιον ἄξιον εὔρε and, with εὐρίσκω middle, Musae.66 ἱερείαν ἐπάξιον εὔρατο Κύπρις. The middle of εὐρίσκω is often used with little distinction from the active, e.g. (late authors) Orph.Hymn 86.15 ὄφρα τ' ἂν εὔρωνται λύσιν ἄλγεος ἐρχομένοιο; Opp.H.4.119 στυγερὴν δὲ πόθων εὔροντο τελευτήν, al.; A.P.6.59.3 (Agath.) εὔρετο γὰρ μνηστῆρα, τὸν ἤθελε, 7.585.5f (Jul.Aeg.) τελευτήν/εὔρετο συλλήξας ὀλκάδι καιομένην, 16.338.4, 364.3 (both Anon. charioteer epigrams). (Nonnus uses the middle only at D.3.76 εὔρατο, "invented"). Here the aorist stands for pluperfect, as at 332, 336 sup. Kost, commenting on Musae.loc. cit., noted that the weak aorist form εὔρατο (as if from εὔρω), although rare in Attic, is common in later Greek, both literary and Koine, see his examples and cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.81.3, p.63f. It is, however, unlikely that our line should be emended in view of Call.Ap.97f οὐνεκα τοῦτο/Δελφός τοι πρώτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὔρετο λαός, id. Del.323f ἃ Δηλιάς εὔρετο νύμφη/παίγνια κουρίζοντι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι γελαστύν; compare the use of the strong form in late epigrams cit.sup.

346. Αὔσονίων σκηπτοῦχος: Cf. 174 sup.

346f. ὄλης δ' ἐστείνεται, κτλ.: A panegyric detail like that of 262-4, see n. ad loc. For ἐστείνεται, cf. 264. Here Paul exploits the ambiguity between the most common use of the verb, "be thronged" with people, animals, corpses, et simil. (Il.21.220, Od.9.219, Hes.Th.160, etc., see LSJ s.v.II.2, adding Nonn.D.26. 366 πόλις, 36.201 Λήθη; Tryph.543 Ἰλῖος; inf. 988), and the rather different use of a wide place made or seeming to be narrow, Od.18.385f

τὰ θύρετρα, καὶ εὐρέα περ μάλ' ἔδοντα, / φεύγοντι στείνονται; Nonn.D.36. 203f εὐρυτέρους πυλαῶνας ἔων ὤϊξε μελάθρων, / στεινομένων ἑκάτερθε (conj. Castiglioni; κτεινομένων L); Tryph.336 αἶ δέ οἱ ἐρχομένων θυρέων πτύχες ἑστεινόντο; A.P.9.656.13f (Anon.Byz.) κρύψον ἀμετρήτων μεγάρων στεινούμενον ἀλλὰῖς, / Πέργαμε, ... Πουφίνιον ἄλσος. It is in order to suggest this second sense that the pleonastic expression ἀτραπὸς εὐρυάγρια is introduced, the epithet constituting an oxymoron with ἑστεινέτο. Elsewhere the epithet is applied to cities, Il.2.141 Τροίην, Od.15.384 πτόλις, al., see LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.41.274 Ἀθήνην, Coll.220 Μυκῆνη; also h.Cer.16 χθῶν, Terp.6.2 δίκαι. It is listed in the Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II. 172, col.ii, line 45, see n.sup. on μελαγκρήπιδα 261.

347. μολῶν δ' ἐπὶ θεσπιδας ἀλλᾶς: "And having come to the divine courts", i.e. S.Sophia, cf. inf.987. At this period, ἀλλή might designate any grand court or hall, frequently the royal court or palace (LSJ s.v.IV, Soph.Lex.s.v., Arndt and Gingrich s.v.4; cf. Theoc.15.60 with Gow ad loc.; Nonn.D.3.125, 18.62, al.; Eustrat.V.Euty.23, PG.86(2).2300C; etc.), but also the courtyard of a temple or church, where people gathered (cf. inf.591, 614, and see LSJ s.v.III, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.3, PGL s.v.1 and esp. Du Cange Glossarium s.v.), and the courts of heaven, pagan or Christian (LSJ s.v.III, PGL s.v.3; cf. GVI 1325.4, 2nd or 3rd cent., Procl.Hymn 1.32, 2.6; Nonn.D.13.22, Par.3.17, 14.8; ps.Ap.Met.Ps.83. 2 with LXX Ps.83(84).3). Paul's use of the vague plural here, as opposed to the singular of 591 and 987, anticipates the analogy which follows in 348, οὐρανίας δὲ , κτλ. The epithet (cf. θεσπέσιος 334, al.sup., θέσκελος 329, al.sup., also θεουδής 342, al.sup.) has here lost its proper sense ("filled with the words of god", "inspired", of a song or singer, Od.1.328, 17.385, al., see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Nonn.Par.1.87 βίβλω, 5.54 φωνῇ, 13.81 and inf.702, both αἰοιδή, al.), and is used in the general sense of "awful", "divine", cf. h.Ven 208 ἄελλα; Nonn.D.10.278 μορφῇ (of the boy Ampelus), 25.452 ποίην, 36.82 χάρμη, al., Par.1.210 ῥιπῇ, 4.93 βουλῇ.

348. δῆμος ἄπας: A variant of λαὸς ἄπας 339 sup.

ἐπέβωσε χαρίσιον: Conj. Wilamowitz; ἐσέβωσε ms., γρ. ἐσεβόησε marg.; ἐβόησε Graefe; ἐσέβησε Ludwich. The rare χαρίσιον ("of thanksgiving", see 341n.sup.) here goes closely with the verb, cf. ἱκέσιον 314 sup. with n. ad loc. The ms. ἐσέβωσε (accepted by Du Cange and Bekker) looks like an aorist active of σέβω, but the active verb σέβω is elsewhere used only in the present and imperfect, see LSJ s.v. σέβομαι II, and does not occur elsewhere in late poetry. Of the conjectures, that of Wilamowitz is by far the best: the marginal ἐσεβόησε is unmetrical and merely suggests a desirable sense, while Graefe's ἐβόησε bears little relation to the ms. reading. Ludwich's proposed ἐσέβησε (op.cit.p.5f) is based on the mistaken assumption that χαρίσιον and the verb here must be equivalent to χαρίσια δῶρα κομίζων in 341 sup., and is in any case unlikely since the rare causal aorist of εἰσβαίνω is used elsewhere of putting something on board ship (II.1.310, A.R.2.167) or introducing someone to something (E.Alc.1055, Ba.466), see LSJ s.v.II. Wilamowitz's ἐπέβωσε, on the other hand, is close to the ms. reading and gives good sense, "cried out/sang (to God) in thanksgiving" (see LSJ s.v. ἐπιβοῶ I.1, 2; also ib.4 for the sense "applaud" in Koine Greek, where ἐπιβόησις is used in the sense "acclamation", see Soph.Lex.s.v. ἐπιβόησις and cf. PGL s.v. ἐπιβοῶ A.4). The verb is not, however, common in late poetry, A.P.9.334.1 (Perses) act.; Theoc.12.35 middle, with Gow ad loc. on contracted forms in -βωσ-. (Gow observed that the aorist ἐβωσ- of the simple verb occurs from Homer onwards). The idea that βοῶ or compound is required is supported by Greg.Naz.Carm.2.2.4.205 (PG.37.1521) χαρίσ[τ]ιον ὕμνον ἀείσω, and also by the chronographers' reference (locc.citt. in n.sup. on 315-53) to the singing of the psalm ἄρατε πύλας (LXX Ps.23(24).7, 9): Paul has mentioned the singing of hymns during the procession (342), but ἄρατε πύλας would be particularly appropriate for the arrival ἐπὶ θέσπιδας αὐλᾶς, and it is these words which Paul presently recalls (350f) as an introduction to his ekphrasis of the church interior. These considerations make it virtually certain that Wilamowitz's conjecture is correct.

348f. οὐρανίας δὲ, κτλ.: The analogy between the church and the heavens is by now familiar, cf. 286-8 sup., and esp. 173f sup. with nn. ad locc., noting Phot.Hom.10.5 for the same idea developed at greater length. For οὐρανίας ἄντυγας, cf. 338 and see 187n.sup., and for the epithet ἄχραντος in Christian and pagan usage, see 196n.sup.

349. ἐδόκησεν...ἵχνια θέσθαι: "they thought that they planted their steps". For the personal construction of δοκέω with infinitive in late poetry, cf. A.R.4.1479f ὡς τίς τε νέω ἐνὶ ἡματι μήνην/ ἢ ἴδεν, ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσιν ἰδέσθαι, Nonn.D.16.257 διδύμην ἐδόκησεν ἰδεῖν...λίμνην, 45.165 γαῖαν ἰδεῖν ἐδόκησαν, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. δοκέω III, A.P.5.300.3 (Paul Sil.) ὁ πρὶν ὑπερβασίῃ δοκέων τὴν παῖδα χαλέπτειν, and see LSJ s.v. δοκέω I.1 fin., K-G.II.5, sec.473.b1. For the expression ἵχνια θέσθαι (a variation of ἵχνος ἐπεστήριξεν 276 sup., ἵχνος ἐρείσει 296 sup., see nn. ad locc.), cf. E.IT 752 ἵχνος θεῖν ποδῶς, id.Or.140 (lyr.) λεπτὸν ἵχνος... τίθετε, ib.234 χρόνιον ἵχνος θεῖς, id.Phoen.1718 (lyr.) πόθι γεραῖον ἵχνος τίθημι; A.P.7.464.2 (Antip.) θεμέναν ἵχνος ἐπ'αἰδόνι, Nonn.D.4.334 ποδῶς ἵχνος ἔθηκε Ταναγραίῳ κενεῶνι, 42.72 χῶρον, ὅπῃ πόδα θῆκε, etc.; for ἵχνιον in a similar expression, cf. Nonn.D. 37.388 ἵχνιον ἄρματι πῆξας, A.P.6.70.6 (Mac.Cons.) ἵχνιον ἡδρασάμην.

350-53. The arrival of the λιτὴ at the doors of S.Sophia is the starting-point for Paul's ekphrasis of the church interior. The people's psalm ἄρατε πύλας (cf. Theoph., cit.sup. in n. on 315-53 and see 348n.sup.) is transformed into a command by the poet that the doors be opened for the beginning of his description (cf. 313 sup. ἵομεν ἐν τεμένεσσι). The ekphrasis is thus presented as a word-picture of the prospect which greeted those entering the new church for the first time, in literal accordance with the rhetoricians' precept that an ekphrasis should bring its subject clearly before the eyes of the audience, see n.sup. on opening title and lemma. These lines have the same introductory function and the same excited tone as 313f sup., and the request that the priests pray for God's assistance for Paul's poem is reiterated (352); here, however, the Callimachean model (see n.sup. on 311-14)

is evoked more specifically with a reminiscence (350f) of Call.Ap. 6f αὐτοῖ νῦν κατοχῆς ἀνακλίνασθε πυλάων, / αὐταὶ δὲ κληῖδας.

350f. οἷξατέ μοι, κτλ.: For the symbolism of the opening of the door, as at Call.Ap. loc. cit., see n. sup. on 320f. For the use of anaphora (οἷξατε) as a means of auxesis, cf. 152, 185, 326ff sup., with nn. ad locc., noting esp. the similar vocative μύσται at A.P. 9.147.1 (Antag.) ὦ ἴτε Δῆμητρος πρὸς ἀνάκτορον, ὦ ἴτε, μύσται, and also Callimachus' use of anaphora for the same effect at Ap. 1f, 6f, 17f. Here μοι is probably not ethic dative as it is at 152 sup., but dative of interest (like πᾶσιν 323 sup., see n. ad loc.), parallel to ἡμετέροις... μύθοις in 351, cf. Il. 6.298 τῇσι θύρας ὥϊξε, 24.457 ὥϊξε γέροντι. Like Callimachus (Ap. 7), Paul uses the Homeric κληῖδα, of a bar or bolt, Il. 14.168, Od. 21.241, al., see LSJ s.v. κλείς. The word is singular in this sense in Homer, as in Paul, but more commonly plural in late poetry, cf. A.R. 3.822 (pl.), Opp.H. 2.171 (pl.), Nonn.D. 35.240 (sing.), 44.21 (pl.), Coll. 252, 391, al. (all pl.), Tryph. 539 (pl.), A.P. 5.217.5 (Paul Sil.; pl.); also metaph. (cf. LSJ s.v. κλείς I.4), A.P. 7.738.1 (Theodorid.), D.P. 1036, Orph.Hymn 18.4, 25.1, al. (all pl.), Procl.Hymn 1.3 (sing.). On Paul's use of μύσται, see 313n. sup.; here too it is unnecessary to seek a precise identification for the μύσται, although Paul appears to be addressing a band of clergy already inside the church, ready to unbar the door, rather than the priestly participants in the παννυχίς or λιτή described 330ff. For θεουδέες, "holy" or perhaps "reverent", see nn. sup. on 168 and 342.

351. ἀνάκτορα θέσκελα: Cf. inf. 427. The noun ἀνάκτορον (sing. inf. 615, 884, also of S. Sophia) occurs first in Hdt. (9.65 of the shrine of Demeter at Eleusis, as at A.P. 9.147.1; Gow-Page, Hellenistic Epigrams II.31, suggested that the term was official in that connection); in tragedy it is used of a temple or shrine (see LSJ s.v.); then in Alexandrian poetry, Call.Ap. 77, A.P. 9.147.1 (q.v.), A.P. 6.128.1 (Mnasalc.), ib. 132.3 (Nossis), 277.3 (Damag.); also Epigr.Gr. 950.2 (aet. Hadrian.), Them.Or. 4 (I.75.14 Downey)

metaph. of Cpl., Eus.Laud.Const. prol. (196.1 Heikel) with 313n.sup.; of Christian churches, Chor.Or.1.30 (10.17f Foerster-Richtst.), Agath.Hist.2.1.8, cf. PGL s.v.1, 2 (also 3, of heaven). For Paul's poetic plural, cf. Them.Or.1 (I.5.12 Downey) in a simile for inner excellence, A.P.9.657.3 (Marian.) of the Sophianae palace (see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.111). On θέσκελα, see 144n.sup.

ἡμετέροισιν...μῦθοις: Dative of interest, see n. on μοι 350 sup. As at 177, 185 sup., Paul uses μῦθος (cf. ἐπέεσι 352) as a dat.rei denoting his poem, where a dat.pers. would be the normal construction. The ms. has ὑμετέροισιν, but the sense requires ἡμετέροισιν. This correction was made by Du Cange in his text as well as translation: Graefe and Fr. are wrong to note (ad loc.) that Du Cange retained ὑμετέροισιν in the text, while translating ἡμετέροισιν.

352. εὐχολὴν δ'ἐπέεσι κομίσσατε: Cf. Orph.Arg.800f ἔνθα περ αἰεὶ/εὐχολᾶς ρείθοισι καὶ ἱερὰ καλὰ κόμιζε. The verb is used of bringing an offering, here a prayer, cf. 341 sup. and exx. cit. ad loc. The dative ἐπέεσι, parallel to Χριστῷ βασιλῆϊ 341 and ρείθοισι Orph.Arg.loc.cit., denotes the indirect object after κομίζω; but here, as in the parallel cases, there is also an idea of advantage, "for (the benefit of)". For εὐχολή (Epic and Ionic form of εὐχή, "prayer", "vow"), cf. Il.1.93, Od.13.357, al., see LSJ s.v.I.1, adding A.P.6.137.2 (Anacr.); A.R.1.425, 4.713, al.; Epigr.Gr.753.2, 754.2, al.; Orph.Hymn 86.11, 87.11; Orph.Lith.176; GVI 1927.3 (1st/2nd cent.); Nonn.D.33.85.

352f. καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, κτλ.: "For as we touch the starting-rope we must direct our eyes towards you". The prayer of the μύσται to God replaces the pagan invocation of the Muse, see 313n.sup. Fr. follows Graefe in retaining the ms. ἄπτομένους (sc.ἡμᾶς); Du Cange and Bekker wrote ἄπτομένοισις. The latter has the advantage of avoiding ambiguity, since ἄπτομένους might agree with ὑμέας, while the construction of ἀνάγκη (ἔστι) with dative and infinitive is classical, see the exx. collected by LSJ s.v.1 and cf. K-G.II.13f, sec.473.5. But late poets also construct ἀνάγκη (ἔστι) with

accusative and infinitive, cf. Opp.H.3.31ff δὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη/πολλάκι μιν κρατεροῖσιν ἀνελκομένοισι μάχεσθαι/ἰχθύσιν; Nonn.Par.3.150f ἔμὲ δὲ βροτόν ἐστιν ἀνάγκη/ἥσσανα μέτρα φέρειν; A.P.11.376.9f (Agath.) ἡ σοὶ ἢ τῷ ἐλόντι τεὴν θεραπείαν ἀνάγκη/δουλεύειν κείνους. Since the application of ἀπομένους is clear from the context, from its position after ἀνάγκη and from the regular third foot feminine caesura after βαλβίδος (Maas Greek Metre sec.90; see further 928n. inf.), it is unnecessary to emend the transmitted text.

The βαλβίς marked the starting-point (and also the finishing-point) of a race. Ancient evidence suggests that it varied (probably partly according to the type of race) between a rope or stick held before the competitors, a line marked on the ground and a low barrier, see Neil on Ar.Eq.1159-60 and RE s.v. (II. col.2819). The term is used metaphorically in classical drama, see LSJ s.v.I, II. So too in later poetry, Opp.C.1.513 εἰσόκε τέρμα πόνοιο καὶ εἰς βαλβίδα περήσῃ; Nonn.D.2.173f ἄξονίης κτύπον ἠχοῦς/ἐκ Κρονίης βαλβίδος ἐδέχνυτο νύσσα Σελήνης, 19.153f ἡμετέρη γὰρ/νύσσα χορὸς, βαλβίδες ἐπισκιρτήματα ταρσῶν, al., Par.2.98 εἰς δολιχὴν βαλβίδα παλινδίνητον ὑφαίνων (of Solomon building the temple), 3.40 τικτομένης ἑτέρην βαλβίδα γενέθλης (of re-birth in Christ); A.P.4.3B.39 (Agath.) ὑπὲρ βαλβίδα θαλάσσης, ib.75 τριτάτην βαλβίδα νεήνιδος...βίβλου (describing the topics of the books of his Cycle of poems. For its use in a similar context to Paul, cf. Theoph.Sim.Hist. dial. 14 (22.5f de Boor) πρόαγε δῆτα, ὦ παῖ, καὶ βαλβίδα τινὰ τῇ διηγῆσαι τοῖς φιλακροάμοσιν ὥσπερ ἐντίθει προοίμιον (Philosophy addressing History); see also PGL.s.v. For ὄμμα τανύσσαι, cf. 286 sup. with n. ad loc.

921-77. Concluding panegyric of J. and transition to panegyric address to the patriarch. May you survive, J., for many years, relieving east and west of cares (921-23). You have subdued the seas and rivers by the building of harbours and bridges, witness the Sangarius bridge (924-33). These things will extend your years; they make you master of the entire world; they cause usurpers to destroy themselves before you act against them (934-41). If an enemy does come before you, you mercifully release his bonds and elevate him to office, and so win loyalty by love rather than by force (941-58). Hence Christ is the constant companion of your toils and guide of your counsels, in war and in your choice of a virtuous patriarch, appointed by the will of heaven (959-66). Let us digress a little from your victories to the patriarch; that hymn is also yours, for Victory has crowned you both for military successes and for toils on behalf of the city, and by your election of this patriarch, you at once routed all evil and won a peaceful victory for civil labours (967-77).

This concluding panegyric of J. balances the first iambic prologue (1-80), as the panegyric of Eutychius (978-1029) balances the second iambic prologue (81-134), spoken in Eutychius' presence (see lemma after line 80). The central section of this panegyric of J. (934-66) reiterates, in a different order, the major themes of the first iambic prologue, see n.inf. on 934-66, while the transition to the theme of the patriarch (967-77) contains reminiscences of the opening panegyric hexameters (135-67) see n.inf. on 967-77. But the opening lines (921-33) introduce new themes, which help to link this epilogue with the concluding lines of the ekphrasis proper, where the lights of S.Sophia are described as a beacon guiding sailors approaching Cpl. from east and west (906-20).

921-33. A prayer for the emperor's longevity and for his line is recommended by Menander Rhetor (Spengel III.377.28-30) as an appropriate conclusion to the βασιλικὸς λόγος, arising from the general sentiment of the epilogue that the security and prosperity of the empire under this emperor is such that the only prayers necessary are those requesting his preservation (377.10-22). For such prayers, see (for example) Liban.Or.13.53 (II.82.4ff Foerster), Them.Or.11. (I.229.28ff Downey), Claud.IV Cons.641f (prayer for repeated consulships of emperor), Proc.Gaz.Pan.30 (515.20f Bonn), simil.Prisc.Pan.309f; cf. also T.D.Barnes in AJP 96 (1975) 444 on the different emphasis of the Christian Eusebius at Laud.Const.10 (223.13-22 Heikel). So of J., Epigr.Gr.1064.8f ἄλλ' ἐνὶ πᾶσιν/κοιρανίην βασιλῆος ἀκοιμήτοιο φυλάξοι (an appeal to the martyr Sergius; there follow complimentary remarks about Theodora).

Paul exemplifies the security and unity of the empire by reference to J.'s building of harbours (recalling the mention of sailors (906ff sup.) and bridges, notably the recently-built Sangarius bridge, see further n.inf. on 930-33. It is implied that these complete J.'s world-empire by extending his control over water as well as land, an idea common in panegyric, e.g. A.P.9.526.3f (Alph.Myt.) ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πόντος ὑπέζευκται δορὶ Ῥώμης/καὶ χθών; Them.Or.19 (I.330.13f Downey) τοῦ πάσης σχεδὸν βασιλεύοντος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης (Theodosius I); Claud. III Cons.189f unanimi fratres, quorum mare terraque fatis/debetur (of Honorius and Arcadius); Diosc.1 verso 15 (I.129 Heitsch) ἄγ[αξ χθον]ῶς ἡδὲ θαλάσσης (of Justin II). The idea is taken up by Procopius (Aed.4.2.11f) in describing J.'s subjugation of the sea by building a sea-wall at Thermopylae, and by Agathias, who, in a close parallel to our passage, celebrates the Sangarius bridge as the culmination of J.'s achievement after his conquest of the nations of the world (A.P.9.641; for linguistic similarities, see nn.inf. on 930, 932). Praise of engineering achievements begins in classical Roman authors, see H.V.Canter in CJ 34 (1938-9) 406 (on aqueducts) and in general Z.Pavlovskis Man in an artificial landscape (Mnemosyne Suppl.25, Brill 1973) on imperial literature, esp.20f on a road, 43 a harbour.

For specific references to harbours and bridges elsewhere in panegyric, see (for example) Sid.Pan.Anth.62; Them.Or.11 (I.226.15ff Downey); A.P.9.788.7f (Anon., hymn to Tyche); Prisc.Pan.184-92; Proc.Gaz.Pan.19 (509.1ff); also Aristid.Or.26.100f (II.121.2ff Keil) of bridges and roads across mountains (linked with the theme of freedom of travel throughout the Roman empire, see further below).

The security of the seas is also a topic included by Menander Rhetor in the survey of the benefits of the present rule recommended for the epilogue of the βασιλικὸς λόγος, 377.13f *πλεῖται ἡ θάλασσα ἀκινδύνως*, repeated almost verbatim by Proc.Gaz.Pan.28 (515.4). At Liban.Or.59.171f (IV.294.23ff Foerster) and A.P.4.3B.28ff (Agath.), this topic leads into the more general theme of the complete freedom of travel throughout the world-empire, a theme perhaps hinted at by Paul in his reference to the traveller (929). But the theme of the swollen torrent preventing travel occurs also at A.P.9.277.2 (Antiphil.), cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.7.30-35 (PG.37.441) for a simile of a traveller crossing a dangerous river, whose heart fails him in midstream; moreover, danger to the traveller in crossing rivers is regularly mentioned by Procopius in the Aed. in connection with bridges built by J. (e.g. 4.8.16f bridge at Rhegium; 5.2.8, 13 two bridges at Helenopolis; 5.3.6 bridge at Nicaea; 5.3.9 Sangarius bridge; 5.4.2 bridge at Juliopolis; 5.5.6f Mopsuestia; 5.5.12 Adana; cf. also ib.5.1.3; other references to J.'s bridges at Aed.2.10.8 Antioch and 5.5.20 Tarsus). Of J.'s construction of harbours, the Aed. says virtually nothing - only one or two in the environs of Cpl. are mentioned, 1.8.7-9, 1.11.18-22, cf. also 1.5.2. This suggests that Paul's reference may owe more to the traditions of panegyric than to J.'s actual achievements in this field.

921. *μίμνε μοι, κτλ.*: The line-opening is Nonnian, D.11.75, 21.51; similar half-line 238 sup. For the construction with *ἐπί* and a temporal accusative, cf. Nonn.D.47.716 *οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτόθι μίμνεν ἐπὶ χρόνον*, also 23.11ff; Il.2.299 *μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρόνον*; contrast Od.15.545 *πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδε μίμνοις*. For *μένω* in similar context,

cf. A.P.16.72.7f (Anon.) ἔμπεδος ἀλλὰ μένοις, Βυζαντιᾶς ἔμμορε
ῥῶμα, /θεῖον Ἰουστινιανοῦ κάρτος ἀμειψαμένα. On σκηπτοῦχος see 156n.sup.

πολυχρονίους ἐπὶ κύκλους: Menander Rhetor (377.29; see n.sup. on 921-33 init.) uses the expression εἰς μῆκιστον χρόνον προελθεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν. For πολυχρόνιος ("long-lasting" or "long-lived"), cf. Call.Lav.Pall.128 βιότῳ τέρμα πολυχρόνιον, id.Dian.132, Del.282 (superlative); Nonn.D.32.213 μηκεδανὴν βιότοιο πολυχρονίῳ πορείην, 41.322 πόθου; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.118 νιφετοῖο; A.P.5.255.14 (Paul Sil.) πολυχρονίῳ πλέγματι συμφυέα, of vine stems, and see LSJ s.v.II and PGL s.v. for exx. from prose. Paul's choice of this epithet here reflects the association of this and cognate terms with the expression εἰς χρόνου πολλοῦ et simil., used in public acclamation of the emperor, patriarch and other dignitaries, see Du Cange Glossarium s.v. πολυχρόνιον, πολυχρονίζειν, Soph.Lex.s.v. πολυχρονέω 2, πολυχρονίζω 2, πολυχρόνιος, Stephanus s.v. πολυχρονέω. The word κύκλος is used by classical writers to denote the orbit of the heavenly bodies and hence the revolution or cycle of time, see LSJ s.v.III.1 and cf. also D.P.720, Opp.H.4.338f, Nonn.D.25.307, 41.410, al., all plural, referring to the cycles of the moon; Nonn.D.26.297, 32.215, al. κύκλα...ἐνιαυτῶν; and, for Paul's use without indicating a specific period of time, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.208 ἀπειρεσίων ἀπὸ κύκλων, A.P.7.575.5f (Leont.) μυρία κύκλα/ζῶειν. For similar usage in late prose writers, in particular of an indiction cycle of fifteen years, see PGL s.v.4a, Du Cange Glossarium s.v.

922. ἐς φάος ἑσπέριον τε καὶ ὀρθριον : "as the light of both west and east", "to bring light...". The use of φάος as a metaphor for happiness, salvation et simil. is common from Homer onwards, see LSJ s.v.II and cf. A.P.9.788.1 (Anon.), Nonn.D.19.23, 25, Par.1.10. 17.20, al.; so often in Christian contexts, see LSJ s.v.IIb, PGL s.v. φῶς II and cf. n.sup. on 169f. Moreover, light imagery is by the 6th cent. well-established in imperial panegyric, cf. Cor.Laud.Just.1.149 tu decus imperii lumen virtusque Latini (of Justin II) ib.2.171 Iustinum Sophiamque pares duo lumina mundi and see Cameron ad locc. for discussion of this topos in Latin

panegyric (going back to Hor.Carm.4.5.5), noting A.Grabar L'empereur dans l'art byzantin (Paris 1936) 102-6 on the association of such imagery with the iconography of the Pantocrator. Here Paul's metaphor picks up the theme of the final section of the ekphrasis proper (806ff), that of the φάεα (e.g.885) of S.Sophia, cf. n.sup. on 921-77 (fin.). On Paul's use of the forms φάος and φῶς, see n.sup. on φῶς 323.

Fr. (p.115) noted that here and at 370 sup., Paul uses εἰς where a simple accusative would be regular in earlier Greek. Paul's use of the preposition here is modelled on the wide incidence of εἰς in Nonnus D. "zur Bezeichnung einer Bewegung in Richtung auf eine Tätigkeit, einen Vorgang oder einen Zustand hin; oft finaler Bedeutung sich nähernd oder ihr gleichkommend (zur Angabe des beabsichtigten bzw. gewünschten Zieles oder Zwecks)", Peek Lex. s.v.II; e.g. D.30.233f καὶ οἱ ἀριστεύοντι σελάσφορον ὥπασεν αἴγλην/ εἰς φόβον ἀντιβίοισι, simil.34.144, al. In our line, the verb μίμνε does not suggest any kind of movement (rather the opposite), but the phrase εἰς φάος does have final overtones.

For the local use of ἑσπέριος, see LSJ s.v.II, adding A.R.3. 311, 1192; A.P.6.161.1 (Crinag.); D.P.30, 58, al.; Opp.H.1.793, C.3.172, al.; Nonn.D.13.333, 347, al.; A.P.9.210.7 (Anon., aet. Anastasii); cf. Ἑσπερίη, A.P.4.3B.7, 9.641.1 (both Agath.); PGL s.v. ἑσπέριος, Ἑσπερία 1, and 136n.sup. on local ἑσπερος. But ὄρθριος and cognate terms are not normally used to denote place. (For the adjective in a temporal sense, see LSJ s.v., adding Theoc. 7.123, Orph. Arg.758, 1247; Opp.C.3.305; Nonn.D.5.77, 27.7, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.59, 315, 331; A.P.9.396.1, Paul Sil.). The word is so used here for the sake of variety in a context where the sense is immediately made clear, like the similar use of αἴγλη in the sense of ἡώς at 338 sup.

922f. εἰς σὲ.../ἀμπαύειν...οἶδε μερίμνας: "upon you know how to rest their cares". With the emphatic opening εἰς σὲ, cf. εἰς ἐμὲ 232 sup. For ἀμπαύω followed by εἰς (but with the preposition in a different sense), cf. Opp.H.5.52f (τόσον εἶδαρ) ὅσον ἀπτον/ ἐς κόρον ἀμπαύσαι κείνων γένυν, tanta...esca...quae crudelem ad

satietatem componat ipsorum maxillam (Lehrs). At A.P.4.3B.38 Agathias writes ἴχνιον ἀμπαύσειας ἐπὶ ψαμάθοισιν Ἰβήρων and a similar construction with ἐπί or ἐν and dative, or perhaps ἐπί and accusative, might be expected in our line. For the latter (with ἀναπαύω middle), cf. LXX Is.11.2 ἀναπαύσεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, simil. NT 1Ep.Petr.4.14, see LSJ s.v. ἀναπαύω II.3; the middle of ἀναπαύω is used with a simple dat.loci at A.P.9.788.7 (Anon.) νῆες λιμένεσσι σῶντερον ἀμπαύονται. Nonnus, however, frequently uses εἰς instead of ἐπί (see Peek Lex.s.v. εἰς I.2c) and instead of ἐν (ibid.g), and also as a substitute for a "genuine" dative (ibid.f; cf. A.P.4.3B.57, Agath., in a line-end similar to ours, see 924n.inf.). Such replacement of the dative is characteristic of late Greek, see Keydell I.64* with references ad loc., and cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf p.150, sec. 207.2, p.169 (εἰς instead of ἐπί); sec.205, p.167 (εἰς instead of ἐν); sec. 207.1, p.167 (εἰς for simple dative). Active ἀναπαύω, constructed with following accusative only, is not uncommon in this sense ("rest", or "make to halt", "put an end to"), see LSJ s.v.I.2, adding A.R.4.1630; Call.fr.194.84 = 203.62, id.Dian.194; A.P.7.171.1 (Mnasalc.), 9.313.4 (Anyte), 9.338.2 (Theoc.), 12.226.2 (Strato) θυμὸν, 16.90.4 (Anon.) χόλον Ἡρῆς; Opp.H.1.629; Orph. Arg.1285; see also PGL s.v.A.2. Nonnus uses the verb only in the middle and intransitively (D.47.287, cf. 48.259, al., Par.4.21), but for Paul's connection of it with μερίμνης, cf. D.17.74 = 47.132 ἀμπαυμα μερίμνης (both of wine); simil.A.P.9.649.7 (Mac.Cons.) πόνων ἀμπαυμα (with J.A.Madden in Mnemosyne Ser.4, 30, 1977, 155f, on the Biblical associations of the expression). For οἶδα with infinitive in this sense (LSJ s.v. *εἶδω B.2) in later poetry, cf. Opp.H.5.103f, Nonn.D.4.300, 16.236f, al., A.P.5.293.5, 6.65.1, 9.664.3f (all Paul Sil.).

ἦώς/...καὶ ἔσπερος: Of place, as often, see LSJ s.v. ἦώς I.4, adding D.P.243, 332, al., Nonn.D.2.531, 26.293, al., A.P.5.301.3 (Paul Sil.), sup.13; for ἔσπερος, see n.sup. on 136. For the plural subject with singular verb, cf. sup.2, 339-43 with 340n. The unmetrical ms. reading ἔσπεριος was corrected by Du Cange.

πολύμνε: See 345n.sup.

924. σοὶ λιμένες, κτλ.: On the panegyric purpose of the reference to harbours, see n.sup. on 921-33. The first of the two treatises περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν ascribed to Menander Rhetor (Spengel III.331-67)* has a brief section dealing with the praise of harbours (351.20-352.5). Relevant to our line are the aspects suggested for praise at 352.1ff, λιμένας δὲ ἐπαινέσεις ἢ ὡς ἄκλυστους, ἢ ὡς νηέμους καὶ ὡς ἐπισκεπεῖς, ...κτλ. Cf. also A.P.16.64.3 (Anon.) ὄφρα καὶ ἐν λιμένεσσιν ἔην πετάσειε γαλήνην, on a statue of Justin I erected at the Portus Juliani (so Beckby ad loc.; this poem is discussed by Alan Cameron in GRBS 17, 1976, 278ff); the emperor is there imagined as transmitting his personal γαλήνη or serenitas (cf. inf. 944 with n. ad loc., 951; also 986, 1006) to the harbour over which his statue watches.

For γλαυκῶπιν and γαλήνην in eadem sede, cf. 294 sup. with n. ad loc. on γλαυκῶπις, and cf. also n.sup. on 182-84 on γαλήνη-imagery in general. The dative σοὶ (thrown forward for emphasis like εἰς σὲ sup. and here made doubly emphatic by asyndeton) should probably be classified as a dative of interest (K-G.I.417ff, sec.423.17), but Fr. (ad loc.) rightly argued that it is chiefly intended to suggest the agency of the emperor in achieving this calm by building the harbours ("Aber vor allem liegt dies darin, dass der Kaiser die Ursache ist, weil er die Häfen erbaut hat"). With Paul's use of emphatic second person pronouns here and in 922, cf. A.P.4.3B.57f (Agath.) σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄεθλον ἐμόχθεον· εἰς σὲ δὲ μύθων/ἐργασίην ἤσκησα, referring to Theodorus, to whom Agathias dedicated his Cycle of poetry. The verb ἀποκρίνω ("set apart"; here perhaps "keep apart", "preserve") is not common in poetry, occurring once only in Homer (Il.5.12, passive) and occasionally elsewhere in early poetry, see LSJ s.v.; rarely in later epic, A.R. 1.1351, Opp.C.2.51, passive; not in Nonnus.

925. πᾶσαν ἐς...πόλιν: The preposition ἐς is used instead of ἐν,

* See now the new edition of these treatises edited by D.A.Russell and N.G.Wilson (Oxford 1981), esp. Introduction p.xxxiv ff on their authorship and date.

an idiom characteristic of late Greek, and in particular of the vulgar language, cf. εἰς σὲ 922 sup., with references in n. ad loc., also LSJ s.v. εἰς I.2 fin. On the corresponding use of ἐν for εἰς, see 313n.sup.

ἄγχιᾶλοιο...χθονός: "of the maritime earth", i.e. that part of the earth which is next to the sea. But ἄγχιᾶλοιο could be a transferred epithet, belonging properly to πόλιν, "in every coastal city of the world". The epithet is Homeric, used with the names of cities (Il.2.640, 697), then more generally, see LSJ s.v., adding GVI 1466.3 (mid-3rd cent.B.C.) Σαλαμῖνος, ib.1745.6 (3rd cent.B.C.) Σμύρνης ἄγχιᾶλοις...ἐπ'αἰόσιν; A.R.2.914 ἄκτῆς, 4.1475 Χαλῦβων; Theoc.25.165 Ἑλίκης; D.P.880 οὖρεος, 912 Βύβλον, al.; A.P.5.17.1 (Gaetul.) ῥηγμῖνος, ib.7.619.2 (Anon.) κόλποις; Opp.H.4.503 αἰγιαλοῖο, al., C.1.56 πέτρῃσιν; Orph.Arg.462 Ὀμόλη; Nonn.D.13.397 Μύρμηκα, 40.342 ἀρούραις, al., Par.4.211 Καφαρναοῦμ (genitive); Tryph.38 νῆας; A.P.7.4.2 (Paul Sil.) σκοπέλῳ; inf. Amb 239 κολώνης. Also itself used as a place name, e.g. Proc.Aed. 3.7.18, al., Theoph.Sim.1.4.4, al.

925f. ἐκχύμενον δὲ/κύμα: "the wave outpouring". The sense is reinforced by enjambement. For the idea that harbours confine or oppose the sea (περιστέλλοντες here; see 926n.), compare Men. Rhet. 352.4f (λιμένας δὲ ἐπαινέσεις) ὥς πρὸ τῶν μεγάλων πελαγῶν προκείμενους. For the expression, cf. 208 sup. ἐκχυμένη φλὸξ with n. ad loc. on the use of ἐκχέομαι, and 1013 inf. (with n. ad loc.) where the adjective ἐκχυτός is used of wealth streaming forth like a river from the hand of the patriarch. Ludwig (op.cit.p.2f) rightly argued that these parallels in Paul indicate that Fr. is unjustified in questioning the text here and suggesting (in app.crit.) that ἐγγέομαι or ἐσχέομαι be read instead. Neither of these compounds occurs elsewhere in Paul or Nonnus. Fr. presumably felt that Paul ought to say that the harbours embrace the wave which is poured into them rather than poured out, but the ἐκ- of ἐκχύμενον need not signify that the wave streams out of the harbour, but merely that it streams forth (from the sea).

Ludwich further remarked (*ibid.*) that Fr.'s apparatus is incorrect in stating that the ms. reads ἔκχυμένου; in fact it has ἔκχυμενον, while ἔκχυμένου is the reading of Du Cange, who construed it as a genitive agreeing with Νηρέος (927), effusi maris fluctus.

There is, however, no reason to doubt the ms. reading: κύμα is self-explanatory and does not need the genitive Νηρέος, while the position of the latter at once makes it an unlikely partner for ἔκχυμένου and naturally associates it with 927.

926. περιστέλλοντες ὑπ'εὐκόλοισιν ἄγοστοῖς: "wrapping about in fair-curved/ fair-bosomed embrace". For the metaphor, cf. Men. Rhet. 351.22f καὶ φήσεις ὥπερ κόλῳ δέχεσθαι τοὺς καταπλέοντας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀγκάλας (of a harbour situated in the middle of a city), *ib.* 30ff ἂν μὲν εἷς (sc. λιμὴν) ὅτι ὥπερ σώματος εἷς κόλπος ἐστίν· ἂν δὲ πολλοὶ, ὅτι ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας πολλὰς χεῖρας προτείνει τοῖς κατὰίρουσι. The verb περιστέλλω is regularly used of wrapping a garment about the body (see LSJ s.v.I.1, adding Opp.C.1.100, A.P.11.354.11, Agath.), and so of laying out a corpse (this sense in Homer, Od.24.293, see LSJ s.v.I.2, adding Agath.Hist.2.31.6); but it occurs in various metaphorical senses from Pindar onwards (see LSJ s.v.III, PGL s.v., esp.1 "keep in" et simil.), although it is generally more common in prose than in poetry. But for its metaphorical use in late poetry, cf. Opp.C.1.405 οὐατα λεπταλέοισι περιστέλλοιθ' ὕμένεσσι (of a dog), Nonn.D.22.57 φύλλα περιστείλας θηήτορα κύκλον ὀπωπῆς (of a spyhole), also *ib.* 6.118 ("guiding"), and see Hesych.s.v. περιστέλλει. For the following ὑπὸ, cf. Men. Rhet. 351.23 (quoted sup.); the preposition emphasises the idea of protection or covering suggested by the verb, and is akin to the many instances of instrumental ὑπὸ in Paul and Nonnus, see 172n.sup. and cf. exx. inf.

The Homeric sense of ἄγοστός is "flat of the hand", "palm" (Il.11.425, al.; cf. A.R.3.120), but Paul's sense "arm" (like ἀγκάλη, ἀγκών, cf. Hesych s.v.), occurs in Alexandrian poetry and also in a metaphorical sense in A.P.6.144.3 (attr. Anacreon and Simonides), see LSJ s.v.II, with Gow's note on Theoc.17.129; note esp. A.P.5.255.15 (Paul Sil.) ὑπ'ἀντιπόροισί τ' ἄγοστοῖς (of

lovers' embrace) and add A.P.7.730.5 (Perses) ὑπὸ ματρὸς ἄγοστώ, Nonn.D.1.299, 37.33, 48.38 (all dative plural with epithet, as in our line, although no exx. with ὑπό), al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.10. The earliest instance of the epithet εὐκόλπος is in a context similar to Paul's, Archestr.fr.9.3 Brandt (preserved ap. Athen. 7.285b) καὶ λαβὲ πρόσφατον αὐτὸν (i.e. ἄφύην) ἐν εὐκόλποιο (Meineke; εὐκόλποισι A) Φαλήρου/ἄγκῳσιν ληφθένθ' ἱέροις, cf. Coll.228 χθονὸς εὐκόλποισιν ἐπ' ἡϊόνεσσι; elsewhere of goddesses, GVI 2020.6 (Corinth, ?2nd /1st cent.B.C.), Nonn.D.5.592, both of Persephone, A.P.2.104 (Christod.) Κύπριδος; and of a fishing-net, A.P.6.28.3 (Jul.Aeg.).

927. Νηρέος, κτλ.: "they soothe the foaming threat of Nereus". The metaphor of the previous line is extended with the suggestion that the sea is coaxed to calm by the soothing embrace of the harbours. The compound ὑποσσαινω (cf. σαινω, Od.10.217, al., "fawn", "wag the tail", of dogs, see LSJ s.v.) appears first in A.R., 3.396, 974, 4.410, all of addressing a person in a coaxing or soothing manner, cf. Nonn.D.3.228, 42.362; inf.1021f δῶροις/... ὑποσσαινων. (For the doubling of the sigma in the epic form of the compound, Ardizzoni, on A.R.3.396, compares the Homeric compound ὑποσσειω, Od.9.385; so also περισσαινοντες, Od.10.215, περίσσαινον, Od.16.4). Also in late prose (with single sigma), both of animals and men, see LSJ s.v.ὑποσσαινω, Soph.Lex.s.v., PGL s.v.1 (the sense in our line is not "revere" as stated PGL s.v.2), and cf. also Eustrat.V.Eutych.16 (PG.86(2).2292D) τὰ τοῦ βίου τερπνὰ καὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν ὑποσσαινοντα; Theoph.Sim.2.6.8, 2.7.8, 3.14.5 (passive), all of men.

Paul's use of ὁμοκλή here may appear to be similar to the exx. distinguished by LSJ s.v.II of the abstract sense of this term in late epic, "onset", "attack"; in these cases ὁμοκλή is not used of the human voice, as in Homer, but metaphorically of wind, winter, heat, fire et simil., see 228n.sup. But in our line the appearance of the term in conjunction with the personification Νηρέος (i.e. "of the sea"), and with ὑποσσαινουσιν (elsewhere only in connection with humans or animals), suggests that Paul had in mind

the Homeric and Alexandrian use of ὁμοκλή of animate beings, and that he intended the sense "threat" or even "threatening cry" as at 228 sup., rather than the abstract "onset". Cf. also 1023 inf. for the adjective ὁμοκλητήρ, "rebuking". For Νηρεΐς used as a synonym for θάλασσα et simil., cf. Opp.C.2.68, Nonn.D.25.51, 32.194. The poetic verb ἄφριάω (= ἄφρέω) appears only in late authors, cf. Opp.H.1.772, C.2.437 (both of the sea); present participle, Porph. ap.Eus.PE 3.11 (p.114C) θαλάσσης; also Opp.H.5.183 of a hooked whale; Opp.C.1.343, Q.S.7.319, Nonn.D.37.303, all of a horse; Q.S.6.221, 9.244, of a boar; Nonn.D.1.153 Μυγδονὶς ἄφριώσα φάραγξ, 15.152 Βασσαρίς, ἄφριώσα...κύματι λύσσης, al.

928. καὶ ποταμῶν, κτλ.: "And the water of rivers, roaring with its stream, has submitted". The dative ῥόω goes with βρυχώμενον rather than with ὑπόειξε (cf. Du Cange, fluctibus suis mugientes): with ὑπόειξε the dative would naturally mean "yielded to the stream", which makes no sense in the context (the rivers have submitted to bridges), while the feminine caesura (i.e. after ὑπόειξε in our line) is the regular metrical break in Nonnus and subsequent hexameter poetry, see Maas Greek Metre sec.90 (cf. sec.85); Keydell I.35*, sec.1; J.Merian-Genast de Paulo Silentiario byzantino (Diss., Leipzig 1889) 42f (who cites Hermann Orphica 696). Cf. Nonn.D.5.336 κινυρῇ βρυχήσατο φωνῇ (Actaeon), al.simil., 18.243 ἔβρυχάτο λεοντείοισι καρῆνοισι (some of the heads of Enyo), 38.357 Κυνὶ σειριᾶοντι Λέων βρυχήσατο λαιμῷ, et simil. The association of the verb with the noise of water occurs in Homer, of waves Od.5.412, Il.17.264 (where a river flows into the sea, cf. Aristid. Or.17(15).14), also Od.12.242, of rock re-echoing as Charybdis sucks in water; elsewhere in the Il., the verb is used of the death-cry of wounded men (13.393, 16.486), later more generally of men and animals (cf. Hesych.s.v. βρυχήσασθαι· ὡς λέων), see LSJ s.v., adding Opp. H.2.619 (wounded stag), C.4.161 (lion); Nonn.D.45.151 (lion), 45.347 (Pentheus), al.; Tryph.367 (Cassandra), Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.332 (lion).

ὑπόειξε: Aorist in perfect sense. Nonnus has only this form

of the verb, although Homer admits forms from both ὑποεἶκω and ὑπεἶκω, see LSJ s.v. ὑπεἶκω. For its absolute use in the metaphorical sense "yield", "submit" (usually of people), cf. Il.15.211, Nonn. D.14.197, Coll.67b, Epigr.Gr.1140.8 (aet. Iustiniani) and esp. A.R.2.1266, of a river; also in Attic tragedy and prose, see LSJ s.v. ὑπεἶκω II. The ms. ὑπόϊξε was corrected by Du Cange.

929. μιάινεται...ὀδίταις: ὀδίταις ms.; ὀδίταις Du Cange, Bekker; ὀδίτης Graefe, Fr. The variant in the ms. appears to be in the hand of the scribe J. Both the nominative and the dative present difficulties: if ὀδίτης is read as the subject of μιάινεται, then ἄρπακτῆρα ὀλκὸν is the direct object and μιάινεται is middle standing for active, "the traveller no longer sullies its robber current"; if dative ὀδίταις is read, it must be dative of the agent with ὕδωρ as subject of passive μιάινεται and ἄρπακτῆρα ὀλκὸν as accusative of respect, "the water is no longer sullied as to its robber current by travellers". Although the nominative ὀδίτης may initially appear to be the less unsatisfactory choice, ὀδίταις, the lectio difficilior, is probably to be preferred. The construction of passive μιάίνω with dative and accusative of respect has poetic precedent, A.R.4.716 ὀθνείῳ μεμιασμένοι αἵματι χεῖρας, Nic.Al.252f κνιδῆ/χρῶτα μαινομένοις, Nonn.D.45.288 χεῖρας ἔας ἐμῆνατο λύθρῳ (surely parallel to A.R.loc.cit., rather than middle in active sense, as listed by Peek Lex.s.v.μιάίνω B. This is the only possible instance known to me of middle μιάινεται standing for active); also Pl.Rep.10.621c, accusative of respect only. Paul's expression appears to be a bold extension of this usage, with ὀδίταις dative of agent on the analogy of the instrumental dative of the earlier examples. For dative of agent with passive verb, see Keydell I.58*, Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.72f, sec.94, K-G.I.422, sec.423.18c; contrast 194 sup. αἵμασιν...ὑπ'ἀνδροφόνοισι μιῆναι. Nonnus D. several times uses μιάίνω in the context of the pollution of rivers, and hence of the sea, by corpses, cf. esp. 23.101 ἄζεο, μὴ νεκύεσσι Ποσειδάωνα μιῆνης (addressed to the river Hydaspes), where the dative νεκύεσσι lends support to the dative ὀδίταις in our line; also 22.382, 398, 24.20. For pollution of the sea or rivers by

corpses, cf. also Il.21.218ff, A.Pers.272ff, 419ff, al.; also Jul. Or.2.60B-C (76.18ff Hertlein) where an explicit analogy is made between the emperor Constantius' battle with the usurper Magnentius at the R.Drave and the battle at the Scamander described in Il.21. Paul varies this theme by saying that until now the water of rivers has been violated by living travellers (ὁδίταις). This was perhaps suggested to him by the encomiastic topos of the danger to travellers in crossing rivers, used by Procopius in the Aed. in connection with J.'s bridge-building, see n.sup. on 921-33.

ἄρπακτῆρα δλκὸν: "the robber current". The noun ὄλκος (LSJ s.v.II "furrow", "track", "trace"; from ἔλκω) is first used of water by A.R., 1.1167 οἶδματος ὄλκου, "the furrows of the swell"; cf. D.P. 432f τοῦ διὰ μέσσου (i.e. the Aetolian plain)/σύρεται ὄλκον ἄγων Ἀχελῷος ἀργυροδίνης, cf. ib.733f, also 198 of the Syrtis, 55, 878, both of the sea; also A.P.16.323.9 (Mesomed.) of a stream of molten glass; then frequently in Nonnus D. in the sense "stream", "current" et simil. (cf. Peek Lex.s.v. "Von jeder zügigen Bewegung, besonders vom Ziehen oder Sog des Wassers (von Flüssen),..."; Hesychius glosses ὄλκος, inter alia, συρμός), e.g. D.12.129f πηγαίων ἀνέκοψε παλίσσουτον ὄλκον ἐναύλων/Σαργάριος, 27.151f ἦχι πολυσπερέων ποταμῶν πεφορημένον ὄλκῳ/Καυκασίου σκοπέλοιο Διιπετὲς ἔρχεται ὕδωρ, cf. Par.21.52 κύματος ὄλκῳ; also epigram on an aqueduct at Tralles, published by M.Pappaconstantinou in Rev.ét.anc. 11 (1909) 296ff, quoted and dated to the mid-fourth century by L.Robert in Hellenica 4 (1948) 112f, line 3f ὅς (i.e. Μόντιος) δολιχοῖς ἔργοισιν κατ'οὔδρας ὕδατος δλκὸν/κείμενον ὀρθώσας ἅστῳ τόδ' ἡγλάϊσας; Milet.1(9).343.10 (6th cent.) ὄλκοι καλλιρό[ων] ὕδατων, of water in a public bath; and in late prose, see PGL s.v.3 ("channel", "stream") and cf. LSJ s.v.II.3 for its use in late prose of an aqueduct. As at Nonn.D.27.151 (quoted sup.), δλκὸν in our line suggests the torrential force of a river in flood: so Procopius (Aed.5.2.8, 5.3.6, 5.4.2) describes the combination of flooding river and inadequate bridge as fatal to the traveller; cf. also A.P.9.147 (Antag.), Epigr.Gr.1078.2ff. At 597-601 sup. the term ὄλκος describes the streaming water of the fountain in

the centre of the courtyard of S.Sophia.

In ἄρπακτῆρα, Paul uses the same metaphor as at 221 sup. ἤρπασε Βασκανίη με (other exx. in n. ad loc.): the river seizes travellers like a predatory beast. (Procopius similarly describes the Sangarius as seizing, συλλαβῶν, the boats which were used to bridge it, Aed.5.3.9). The term ἄρπακτῆρ is used substantively by Homer, Il.24.262 ἄρνῶν ἡδ' ἐρίφων ἐπιδῆμιοι ἄρπακτῆρες (Priam speaking of the sons he has left alive after Hector's death); subsequently it appears in Alexandrian and later writers (usually in poetry), sometimes with a noun in apposition, as in Paul, Lyc.147 λύκους, Opp.H.1.373 κύνες (dogfish), ib.425 ἀλκίαιέτου, C.3.267 ἄρνειῶν ἐρίφων τε πολυπλόκον ἄρπακτῆρα (of the wolf); Jul.Or.2.87A (111.16 Hertlein) metaph. of soldiers; Nonn.D.6.92 νύμφιον ἄρπακτῆρα...Περσεφονείης, Tryph.164 δεύτερον ἄρπακτῆρα γάμου; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.106 ἄρπακτῆρι βελέμνῳ. On nouns formed with the suffix -τήρ, -τωρ, see n.sup. on ἀφετήρ 319. Callimachus has the form ἄρπακτῆς, A.P.7.80.6 = Epigr.2 Pf., of Hades (quoted in 221n.sup., there also implying a comparison with a beast of prey).

930-33. J.'s conquest of seas and rivers is epitomised by his bridge over the R.Sangarius in Bithynia, about eighty miles east of Cpl. Described by Procopius (Aed.5.3.8-11) amidst a series of J.'s bridges (and other works in connection with water supply, roads, etc.) in Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia and Cilicia (Aed.5.2-5), this was in antiquity and has remained by far J.'s most celebrated bridge. It was a work of considerable importance, since it lay on the main route towards the east from Cpl., cf. C.Texier Description de l'Asie mineure (3 vols., Paris 1839) I.55f (with plate 4). A large bridge, which may be J.'s, still stands, although the Sangarius no longer flows under it. The beginning of its construction is recorded by Theophanes A.M.6052 (234.15ff de Boor), i.e. for the year 559-60. This date cannot, however, be firmly trusted: since Procopius (Aed.5.3.10f) describes the bridge as currently in progress as he writes, Theophanes' reference was once used to date the composition of the Aed. (e.g. J.B.Bury HLRE II.420, n.2 fin.; G.Downey in TAPA 78, 1947, 181), but it is now

recognised that an annus mundi date in Theophanes is unreliable, since it could not have derived from Theophanes' probable source, Malalas, who uses an indiction system of dating; there are other reasons for dating the Aed. several years earlier, see (for example) B-E II.Excursus V, p.837, J.A.S.Evans Procopius (New York 1972) 43f. Hence the bridge was probably begun well before 559, but its construction no doubt occupied a period of several years, and it would still have been a relatively recent achievement when Paul wrote in 562. Agathias also wrote an epigram in praise of the completed bridge, see n.sup. on 921-33. The bridge is singled out for mention (along with the church of the Theotokos at Pege, Cpl.) in a brief survey of J.'s building works in Leo Grammaticus (130.14ff Bonn), who refers to Procopius' account, and in the same context in Cedrenus (678.15ff Bonn). The twelfth century chronographer Zonaras includes it in a more detailed list (14.7.4-6, III.159.3ff Bonn, mentioning in addition the church of SS.Sergius and Bacchus and the church of the Holy Apostles) and preserves Agathias' epigram on it. The bridge is also mentioned and the epigram preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Them.1, 27.8ff Bonn), who says that the epigram was inscribed ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πλακῶν, see Averil Cameron in Byzantion 37 (1967) 16. In the nineteenth century, the surviving bridge was admired by the French traveller Xavier Hommaire de Hell, Voyage en Turquie et en Perse (4. vols., Paris 1854) I.277ff.

930. τὸν πρὶν, κτλ.: Cf. A.P.9.641.5f (Agath.) ὁ πρὶν δὲ σκαφέεσσιν ἀνέμβατος, ὃ πρὶν ἀτειρῆς/κεῖσαι λαϊνῇ σφιγκτὸς ἄλυκτοπέδῃ, of the Sangarius; Proc.Aed.5.3.8 (after stressing the strong current and great depth and width of the Sangarius) διαγέγονε μὲν τὰ γε εἰς γέφυραν ἀνέπαφος πᾶσιν, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι ; also Polyb.21.37.4 Γνώσις ὁ ὑπάτος Ῥωμαίων διερχόμενος ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν Σαγγάριον ποταμὸν, τελῶς κοῖλον ὄντα καὶ δύσβατον (quoted in Suidas s.v. Σαγγάριος). Procopius goes on to explain that before J. the river was crossed by a system of boats lashed together, like that by which Xerxes crossed the Hellespont. Theophanes and Cedrenus (locc.citt. in n.sup.) simply say that there was previously a wooden bridge. Certainly the river must have been crossed by some

means, and Procopius' account is more reliable than that of the later chronographers. The 6th cent. writers all agree that there was previously no permanent bridge; Agathias' σκαφέεσσιν ἀνέμβατος doubtless means "not navigable", but this expression is not incompatible with Procopius' bridge of boats.

τὸν πρὶν...ἀγνηορέοντα: For this adverbial use of πρὶν with article and participle in late poetry, cf. A.P.9.19.1f (Arch.) ὁ πρὶν...λάμψας πλέον Αἰετὸς ἵππων, / ὁ πρὶν ὑπαὶ μίτραις κῶλα καθαψάμενος, ib.20.1ff (Anon.), 16.89.1 (Corn.Gall.) οὕτως ὁ πρὶν μακάρεσσι συνέστιος; Opp.C.4.253f μέλλεν ἀνήμερος ἡ πρὶν ἐοῦσα / γαῖα φυτηκομέειν; Nonn.D.44.232 ὁ πρὶν ἔων ταχύγουνος (Lycurgus), 48.873 ἡ πρὶν ἀλυσκάζουσα καὶ οὖνομα μούνον Ἑρώτων (Aura); A.P.2.24 (Christod.) (σάλπιγξ) ὁ πρὶν Ἀθήναις / Πειθοῦς...νοήμονα πυρσὸν ἀνάψας, cf. ibid.97; A.P.5.234.1 (Paul Sil.) ὁ πρὶν ... / ... Παφίης θεσμὸν ἀπειπάμενος, cf. ibid.3, ib.300.3 (id.) ὁ πρὶν ὑπερβασίῃ δοκέων τὴν παῖδα χαλέπτειν, and A.P.9.641.5f (quoted sup.), 9.787.1 (Sophr.) ὁ πρὶν ἀλωόμενος καὶ ἀνέστιον ἵχνος ἐλαύνων.

The verb ἀγνηορέω (from the Homeric ἀγνηορία, "manliness", "arrogance", see LSJ s.v.) is first attested in a papyrus fragment of Euphorion, used transitively in the sense "treat arrogantly", PSI 1390.C.2.9 (p.53) ο[ί] κεν ἀγνηορέωσι τοκῆας. Subsequently it is used intransitively by Nonnus in the sense "be proud/arrogant" as in our line, e.g. D.21.163ff ἵνα μὴ τις ἀγνηορέων βροτὸς ἀνὴρ / ἄλλος ἔχων μίμημα δοριθρασέος Λυκοόργου / μῶμον ἀναστήσειεν ἀμωμήτῳ Διονύσῳ, 37.338 εἰ μὲν ἀγνηορέεις Πελοπηίδος εἵνεκα τέχνης, al., Par.3.169f ὅς δέ κεν ἀνὴρ / παιδὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος ἀγνηορέων ἀπιθήσῃ; also Jo.Gaz.Deser.1.263 of Notus' steed; ps.Pampr.1 recto 26 (I.110 Heitsch).

ἀνικῆτοισιν...ῥέεθροις: The verb ἀγνηορέω is not elsewhere constructed with a dative, but its force here is causal: the river is proud because its streams are unconquered. Analogous is the dative τόξῳ at 161 sup., cf. also n. on 162f on the dative βελέμνοις. Keydell (I.59*) gives exx. of causal dative in Nonnus D. (note esp. 1.285 for singular ῥέεθρῳ so used); see also K-G.I.438ff,

sec.425.11, esp. p.439 "Namentlich bei den Verben der Gemütsstimmungen", with exx. For the adjective ἀνίκητος, first in Hesiod and early elegy, see LSJ s.v., adding Theoc.22.111 Πολυδευκῆς; A.P.6.97.3 (Antiphil.) βραχίονος (of Alexander); Epigr.Gr.949.3 (?2nd cent.A.D.) παῖδες (wrestlers); Orph.Hymn 19.9 βέλος (Zeus' thunderbolt), cf. 20.4; Nonn.D.36.466 σιδήρῳ (of Morrheus), 37.309 Οἶνομάου... ἀνικῆτων... ἵππων, al., Par.21.131 θανάτου; Musae.91 πυρὸς (of love), with other similar exx. collected by Kost ad loc.

931. Μυγδὼνα Σαγγάριον: The Sangarius is mentioned by Homer (Il.3.187, 16.719) and Hesiod (Th.344) and in later epic, A.R.2.722, D.P.811, Orph.Arg.716, Q.S.7.611, 11.38, Nonn.D.12.130, 48.327, al.; other ancient references collected in RE s.v. Sangarios (Lief.13a/14a. col.2269f), where variant forms of the name are listed, for example Proc.BG 3.29.12, Aed.5.3.8, Σάγαρις, v.l. Σάγγαρις.

For the epithet Μυγδὼνα, "Phrygian", cf. Nonn.D.10.232 Μυγδόνης αἰλητήρος, 14.14 Μυγδόνι...πυρσῶ, al., inf.Amb.138 Μυγδόνης ἄκρης. This form is not used adjectivally before Nonnus, but Hellenistic and Roman poets use Μυγδόνιος, Mygdonius in this sense, e.g. Mosch.2.97f (with Bühler's note ad loc.), Hor.Carm.2.12.22, 3.16.41, Ov.Her.20.108, al., Prop.4.6.8, Val.Flacc.3.47, al.; other exx. from Latin poetry are collected by Pape-Benseler s.v. Μυγδόνιος I.1; (Nonnus also has the form Μυγδόνιος, e.g. D.25.456, 28.91 of the river Hermus, as well as a feminine form Μυγδονίς, D.1.153, 43.347, al.). At A.R.2.787 the variant Μύγδονας recorded in the scholia has been accepted into the text by recent editors (Fränkel, Vian) in preference to the καὶ Φρύγας of the codd. Cf. also Paus.10.27.1 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (Mygdon) ποιηταῖς Μύγδονας ὄνομα ἐπὶ τοῖς Φρυγῇ τίθεσθαι καθέστηκεν. In Homer (Il.3.184ff) Mygdon and Otreus were kings of Phrygia to whom Priam went as an ally to fight the Amazons on the Sangarius. According to ps.Plu.Fluy.12.1 (VII.303.4ff Bernardakis), the river was named after Sagaris, son of Mygdon, who threw himself into it after being driven mad by the Bona Dea because he scorned her rites and insulted her priests (Γάλλοι). (At A.P.6.94.5, Phil.Thess., the σάγαρις is the two-edged sword used by the Γάλλοι for self-mutilation). Another son of Mygdon,

Coroebus, fell in love with Cassandra and fought and died at Troy, cf. V.Aen.2.341ff with Austin's note, ib.407ff; also E.Rh.539, Q.S.13.169. See further RE s.v. Mygdon 2 (Bd.XVI.1.col.997f).

Du Cange corrected the ms. μυγδόνι to accusative; he, and subsequently Graefe and Bekker, accented Μύγδονα, cf. A.R. and Paus. locc.citt. But national names in -ων are normally oxytone (Chandler Greek Accentuation sec.614), whence Fr. printed Μυγδόνα.

τις ἰδὼν: "whoever has seen". For this collocation in eadem sede, cf. A.R.2.605f ὃ δὴ καὶ μόρσιμον ἦεν/ἐκ μακάρων, εὖτ' ἄν τις ἰδὼν διὰ νηὶ περάσῃ (with Vian's n. ad loc. on the interpretation of ἰδὼν there); Opp.H.5.661f τὸν μὲν τις ἰδὼν προφυγόντα θαλάσσης/ ἄμφω γηθήσειε καὶ οἴκτειρων ἁκάχοιτο (of those witnessing a sponge-fisher's safe return to the surface); A.P.16.373.7 (Anon., on the charioteer Constantine) καὶ τις ἰδὼν μετόπισθε χερείονας ἥνιοχῆας; also inf. Amb.140 ἰδὼν δέ τις.

Βιθυνίδι γαίῃ: Dative of place, cf. 197 sup. with n. ad loc., 202 sup. The adjective Βιθυνίς appears in Alexandrian poetry, cf. esp. A.R.2.177 γαίῃ Βιθυνίδι (with the variants Θυνηίδι, Βιθυνηίδι), accusative ib.619; also ib.2.4 Βιθυνίς Μελίη, 2.730 εἰς ἄλα...Βιθυνίδα; A.P.6.209.1 (Ant.Thess.) Βιθυνίς Κυθήρη, ib.230.1 (Quint. ?Maecius) Βιθυνίδος...χώρης, and in prose, see Pape-Benseler s.v.1. At A.P.9.808.5, Cyrus writes γαίης Βιθυνίτιδος. Du Cange wrote Βιθυνίτιδι in our line, but the Alexandrian precedents, in which the first two syllables of Βιθυνίς are long, make the ms. reading certain. The accumulation of proper names in this line creates a pedigree for the "proud" river.

932. ῥῶτα λιθοτμήτοισι, κτλ.: "his surface girt about with a stone-cut bridge/spanned by a bridge of dressed stone". For the construction of this line, with ῥῶτα accusative of respect after διαζωσθέντα and an instrumental dative, cf. A.P.9.641.3 (Agath.) Σαγγάριε, κρατερῇσι ῥοᾶς ἄψισι πεδηθεῖς. For the compound διαζώννυμι, cf. inf. Amb.122 πάντοθεν ἀργυρέοισι διεζώσαντο μετάλλοις, of the roof of the chamber formed beneath the ambo; it occurs

elsewhere only in prose, particularly in writers of late literary Koine, often used metaphorically in geographical or topographical descriptions, see the exx. cited by LSJ s.v.II, adding Strabo

2.5.14 παρὰ τὸν Ταῦρον ἰοῦσα τὸν διεζωκότα τὴν Ἀσίαν, Philo Vit.Mos.

1.228 ποταμοῖς καὶ πηγαῖς διεζωσμένη (sc. ὀρεινῇ χώρᾳ). In the context of bridges, however, ζεύγνυμι is the verb regularly used, see LSJ s.v.II.3, adding A.P.9.708.1 (Phil.), Epigr.Gr.1078.12; also ζεύγμα, A.P.9.147.4 (Antag.), with Gow-Page ad loc.

Paul writes νῶτα here in an extension of the usage discussed above 209n., by which it may be used of "any wide surface", most commonly sea, earth or sky, see LSJ s.v.II.1, and for its use of the sea, cf. also Opp.H.1.60, al., Nonn.D.6.221, al., Coll.204, Musae.313, 336, A.P.9.651.1 (Paul Sil.). In Coll. and Musae. (locc.citt.) it refers to the relatively narrow expanse of the Hellespont, perhaps the closest parallel for Paul's application of it to a river here. But in Nonn.D. νῶτον/νῶτα is used very widely of any surface, often merely as a periphrasis, e.g. 1.235 νῶτα μαχαίρης, 12.346 ν.χαράδρης ("pit"), 36.41 πεπηγότα ν.χαλάξης, and many other exx., see Peek Lex.s.v. For νῶτα used in connection with γέφυρα et simil., as in our line, cf. Nonn.D.39.298f καὶ πληθῶν νεκρῶν/γεῖτονος ἄβροχα νῶτα γεφυρωθέντα θαλάσσης, and contrast ib.22.175 λαϊνέης μέσα νῶτα διαξύοντα (sc. ποταμὸν) γεφύρης. The latter is the only instance of the noun γέφυρα in Nonnus. The sense, like that of the verb γεφυρώω in the preceding example, is "dam", rather than "bridge". This is the Homeric sense of both verb and noun (see LSJ s.vv.), and the noun is used by Nonnus in a passage modelled on Il.5.85ff, where γέφυρα occurs (88, 89) in a simile in which the destructive rampage of a warrior is likened to a river in flood. In our line the noun of course means "bridge", but Paul uses the plural with singular sense, just as Homer uses γέφυρα only in the plural (and only in the Il., see LSJ s.v.init.). Du Cange wrote the genitive singular λιθοτμήτοιο γεφύρας, but the dative of the ms. is without doubt the superior reading.

The epithet λιθότμητος does not occur elsewhere. Ludwig (op.cit.p.12) was doubtful about its sense in the context ("mit der

Überlieferung einen passenden Sinn zu verbinden, ist mir nicht gelungen..." and proposed to read λιθοδμήτοισι, from λιθόδητος "stone-built", which occurs at A.P.9.570.4 (Phld.) λ. ...πετριδίῳ and P.Hib.II.172.90 λιθοδμητον. The latter is the Alexandrian onomasticon in which the rare epithet μελαγκρήπις is listed, see 261n.sup. This is not, however, sufficient basis to justify altering λιθόδητος in our line. There is, on the contrary, no reason to doubt its authenticity: it means "stone-cut" and hence "of cut/dressed stone", and it is introduced to make clear that the wooden or pontoon bridge has been replaced by one of stone, cf. Proc.Aed.4.8.17 νῦν δὲ αὐτὴν (the bridge at Rhegium) Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς λίθοις λογάδην ἐμβεβλημένοις ἐς ἀψίδος μετεωρίσας μέγα τι χρῆμα, which is contrasted with the former γεφύρῳ ξυλίνῃ (16). Paul's epithet is formed on the analogy of many similar compounds in -τητος, several of which occur only in late authors, e.g. ἐρίτητος, Opp.C.4.106; φιλότητος, Nonn.Par.14.16 (where its sense, as an epithet of ἥως, is uncertain); ἀνεπίτητος, Hesych.; other exx. Buck-Petersen p.484. At 607 and 647 sup., Paul has the compound πολύτητος (earlier at A.P.11.66.1, Antiphil., Opp.C.2.252, H.5.288), used respectively of marble and of mosaic decoration; cf. also 684 τμήμα λίθων. At A.P.5.270.2, Paul uses a rare compound in λιθο-, λιθόβλητος ("set with stones", of a head-dress, in the same sense as Agathias uses λιθοκόλλητος at A.P.5.276.10; λιθόβλητος appears in another sense at A.P.9.3.2, Ant. ?Thess.). Paul's use of ἐρίκνημος (274) and ἐρικνήμις (304) sup. has already illustrated his use of compounds elsewhere unattested. On the sense of -τος formations, see n. sup. on ἀειφρούρητος 300.

933. κρήγυον: "true". Paul's choice of this word is further evidence of his pursuit of *recherche* language. The term occurs once in Homer, Il.1.106 μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πῶ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας (Agamemnon to Calchas), where modern commentators render "good". Later prose writers (philosophy and the Hippocratic corpus) and Alexandrian poets use the word in this sense (see LSJ s.v.) and also apply it to people in a related moral sense "good" (LSJ s.v.3).

But, by a different interpretation of the Homeric passage, such writers also use κρήγυς to mean "true", as in our line, see LSJ s.v.2 and the discussions of Gow on Theoc.20.19, id. Epigr. 19.3 (the latter perhaps implying that the word appeared in Hipponax), and Headlam on Herodas 6.39. Headlam refers to our line, which appears to be the only instance of κρήγυς in poetry after the epigram of Archias (A.P. 5.58.1). Theon (Progym., II.81.10ff Spengel) cites κρήγυον, along with ἀντιφερίζειν, μάρνασθαι, as a "poetic" word. Hesychius mentions only the senses ἀγαθόν, ὠφέλιμον, ὑγίης, but Etym. Magn. and Suidas both gloss ἀληθές and ἀγαθόν. These two also suggest etymologies, as does the lexicon published by J.A.Cramer, Anecdota graeca oxoniensia (Oxford 1835) II.454.13, but no satisfactory etymology has been proposed by ancient or modern commentators, see Chantraine, Dict. étym. s.v. (fin).

ἡμετέρων ἐπέων... ῥυθμὸν: For the periphrasis, cf. A.P. 16.316.2 (Mich. Gramm.) δίζυγος εὐεπίης ῥυθμὸν, of Agathias' double achievement as orator and poet. Paul uses ἐπέων to refer to his poem sup. 179, 352, while ῥυθμὸν here supports Graefe's conjecture of ῥυθμὸν for the ms. reading θυμὸν at 137 sup. καναχήποδα ῥυθμὸν ἀράσσω, see n. ad loc. for parallels for ῥυθμός used of song, music, etc.

ἐλέγξει: This is a certain correction for the ms. reading ἐλίξει. It is suggested in the margin of the ms. and adopted into the text by Du Cange and all subsequent editors. The mistake in the ms. perhaps arose from confusion with the line-end of 939, where the ms. has ἐλίξεις (see n. ad loc. inf.); line 867 sup. also ends with ἐλίξει in the ms., cf. ἐλίσσει 909. The verb ἐλίσσω would in itself be acceptable with ῥυθμὸν, on the analogy of 312 sup. μῦθον ἐλίσσομεν (an echo of Callimachus, see n. sup. ad loc.), but it does not give the required sense here. On the other hand, the Homeric sense of ἐλέγχω, "dishonour" or "reproach" (cf. the Homeric sense of ἔλεγχος, LSJ s.v.A), is appropriate in our line, cf. esp. Il. 9.522f τῶν μὴ σύ γε μῦθον ἐλέγξης/μηδὲ πόδας, Phoenix appealing to Achilles to heed Odysseus' embassy; also Od. 21.424 οὐ σ' ὅξεινος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐλέγχει, spoken to Telemachus by the disguised

Odysseus, after Odysseus had strung the bow. (These two are the only instances in Homer). Later poets use the verb in the same sense, e.g. Call. fr. 329 Pf. νυκτὶ δ' ὅλη βασιλῆας ἐλέγχομεν with Pfeiffer's n. ad loc.; Nonn. D. 4. 141f ἄκρα δὲ χειρῶν/αἰδέομαι κρίνειν, ἵνα μὴ γάλα λευκὸν ἐλέγξω, 10. 210f οὐ γὰρ ἐλέγξει/οὐράνιον τεδὸν εἶδος Ὀλύμπιον αἶμα Λυαίου, al., Par. 6. 131 Ἰησοῦς δ' ὀάριζεν ἀγῆνορα λαὸν ἐλέγχων, 8. 134f τίς βροτὸς ὑμείων με δυνήσεται αὐτὸς ἐλέγξαι/ἀμπλακίης ἐπίηρα; al.; Coll. 297 μὴ με καταισχύνειας, ἐμὴν <μῆ> Κύπριν ἐλέγξει; cf. PGL s.v. A for the sense "reprove" in patristic writers. Also A. P. 9. 619. 3f (Agath.) ἐνθάδε γὰρ τέγγουσα τεδὸν δέμας εὖρες ἐλέγξει/Ἥρην (of Aphrodite): here the sense may be stronger, "overcome", "get the better of" (cf. LSJ s.v. II. 5, PGL s.v. G), as it is sometimes in Nonnus (e.g. D. 1. 42) and as in Paul's epigram A. P. 5. 217. 5 χρυσὸς ὅλους ῥυτῆρας, ὅλας κληῖδας ἐλέγχει.

934-66. Paul here rehandles in hexameters and in a new sequence, the panegyric themes of the first iambic prologue (1-80), omitting only the concluding compliment to the empress Theodora (58-65) and the transitional sentiments of 66-80. In both passages, the major theme is the frustration of usurpers who plot against J., which leads on to a more general discussion of the emperor's clemency (18-57, 937-58). The opening sentiment of the hexameter passage (934-5), that the emperor's benefactions secure his throne, is parallel to the conclusion of the iambic treatment of J.'s clemency (58 σώζει σε ταῦτα), while the theme of Christ's protection of J. in all his enterprises, which unifies the early part of the iambic prologue (6-21), concludes the hexameter passage on J.'s clemency and begins the transition to the subject of the patriarch (959-66). And J.'s world-wide empire, first referred to in the iambic prologue (10-16; subsequently 135-38, 147-49, 157-60, 226-36, 239f, 922f) is given a further brief mention (935-7).

934f. ταῦτά σοι, κτλ.: Cf. A. P. 16. 62. 1f (Anon.) ταῦτά σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ Μηδοκτόνε, δῶρα κομίζει/... Εὐστάθιος, on J.'s equestrian statue. Paul now replaces the prayer of 921f with a confident assertion of J.'s security and longevity (note the verbal echo

μίμνε μοι/ταῦτά σοι). The confident tone is marked by the repetition of ταῦτα in asyndeton at 935 and 937; compare the confident single ταῦτα at 236 sup. A similar note of triumph appears in other panegyrics from the period after J.'s peace with Persia in 561, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just. praef.30f and cf. 135ff sup. and n.sup. on 1-80. The emphatic repetition of a word after the bucolic caesura is a stylistic device of Alexandrian and Nonnian poetry which Paul uses several times, cf. 152 sup. with n. ad loc. Such repetition occurs most often within a single line, but it may be extended over several lines in passages of special rhetorical emphasis, cf. sup. 178-85, 326-30 with n. ad loc. At 58 sup. (a passage parallel to ours, see n. sup.), Paul achieves a similar effect by the bold repetition of ταῦτα in the middle of a line. Here, as at 58, ταῦτα refers to all J.'s benefactions and virtues as a ruler, which have been exemplified in the preceding section (921-33). The dative σοι here is emphatically placed like that of 924 sup. For similar datives after active ἀέξω, cf. *Il*.6.261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει, *A.R.*1.206 Ἰήσονι κῦδος ἀέξων, *Theoc.*25.17 (ποίη) ἥ ῥα βόεσσι μένος κεραῆσιν ἀέξει, *D.P.*922 δένδρεσι καρπὸν ἀέξειν, *Nonn.D.*40.477 βλεφάροισι καὶ οὔασι θάμβος ἀέξων.

ὀλβιόμοιρε, μάκαρ: Honorific epithets, in contrast to the more straightforward panegyric vocalive ὦ σκηπτοῦχε 921 sup., reinforce the proud tone of these lines; compare the accumulated epithets with which Roma opens her address to J., 220 sup., and see n. ad loc. on ὀλβιόμοιρε and n. on μάκαρ 224 sup.

δηναιδὸν.../...ἐπεμβάδα: "foster the long accumulation of life-bearing years". An elaborate periphrasis equivalent in sense to σώζει σε, 58 sup. The noun ἐπεμβάς occurs only in Paul, first at 308 sup., ὀρέων...ἐπεμβάδος, "stepping on mountains", where the genitive ὀρέων is objective, see n. ad loc. A similar objective genitive might be intended here, "a mounting on the year", suggesting the bold image of J. mounting on the year as on a chariot. It is more probable, however, that the genitive λυκάβαντος is here rather

subjective (K-G.I.332, sec.414.2a) and refers to the mounting of the years one upon the other, i.e. their accumulation. Paul's choice of the epithet *δηναιός*, "long", or "long-continued" (see LSJ s.v.I.1, adding Tryph.525 *πολέμοιο*), lends support to the latter interpretation: if *λυκάβαντος* were objective genitive, an expression with the sense "oft-repeated" might be expected.

The noun *λυκάβας*, a term of uncertain etymology, occurs at *Od.*14.161 = 19.306, where it is variously interpreted to mean a year, a month or a day, see (for example) LSJ s.v., *Monro* on *Od.*14.158-62 and the discussions of *Chantraine Dict.étym.* and *Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch* s.v. But *Hesychius* and *Suidas* both gloss the term *ὁ ἐνιαυτός*, and this is the sense in which the word is used by Alexandrian and subsequent poets, see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v., adding *A.R.*1.610; *Opp.H.*1.551, 1.588, *C.*3.289, 4.330; *Nonn.D.*7.16, 25.367, al., *Par.*11.200 = 18.65; *Tryph.*6; *Jo.Gaz.Descr.*1.142, 2.59, al.; *A.P.*1.35.3, 7.568.1 (both *Agath.*), *ib.*5.256.5 (*Paul Sil.*). The epithet *ζωοφόρος*, "life-giving" (as opposed to *ζωοφόρος*, "bearing animals") is extremely rare, only *IG* 3.171 = *Epigr.Gr.*1027.43 (2nd/3rd cent.), where it may be an epithet of the *Telesphori*, and *A.P.*9.765.4 (*Paul Sil.*) *ἀνέμων*. It is a further instance of Paul's deliberately *recherché* vocabulary.

935f. *θριάμβοις/ἑσπερίοις Λιβυκοῖς τε καὶ ἡῶοισι γεραίρει*:
Again the familiar theme of J.'s world-empire (see n.sup. on 934-66 *fin.*), here, as at 16, 136, 231 sup., including a reference to Africa along with east and west. On *θρίαμβος* see 227n.sup., and for local *ἑσπερίος*, cf. 922 sup. with n. ad loc. The adjective *Λιβυκός* appears occasionally elsewhere in Hellenistic and later poetry, *Theoc.*3.5 *ἐνδόρχαν*, *GVI* 1007.6 (56/5 B.C.) *μελάθρων*, *Epigr.Gr.*993.3 *ὄφρυσιν*, *D.P.*212 *θεοῦ*, 477 *πόρος*, *Nonn.D.*6.119 *ὠκεανοῖο*. Local *ἡῶος* is more common, *A.R.*2.745 *ἄλα*, *A.P.*9.297.2 (*Ant.Thess.*) *ἡῶοι Πάρθων...πόδες*, *ib.*16.183.6 (*Anon.*) *ὠκεανοῦ*, *D.P.*37 *ἡῶον...οἶδμα θαλάσσης*, 901 *Λιβανοῖο*, al., *Nonn.D.*12.116 *ὠκεανοῖο*, 17.22 *γαῖαν*, al. The whole expression is *dat.modi* after *γεραίρω* ("honour", "do honour to"), see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v., adding *Theoc.*7.94f *ἀλλὰ τόγ' ἐκ πάντων μέγ' ὑπείροχον, ᾧ τυ γεραίρειν/*

ἀρξεῦμ'; D.P.995 σύριγγι... Πᾶνα γεραίρων; Nonn.D.37.187 γενετῆρα
 τεαῖς ἀρετῇσι γεραίρειν, 39.167 υἷέα σείο γέραιρε πάλιν πυρί, al.,
 Par.7.116 Ἰησοῦν δ' ἐγέραιρον ὁμοφθόγγῳ τινὶ μύθῳ; A.P.6.54.11 (Paul Sil.)
 τῷ σε, μάκαρ Λητώε, τεῷ τέττιγι γεραίρει; No.XII ap. Trypanis
Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica 1γ' 5 καὶ θυσίαις ἐγέραιρον {καὶ} ἐν
 ὕμνοις τὰ ἐγκαινία (of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem; this canticum
 celebrated the 562 encaenia of S.Sophia).

937. σὸν κράτος: Cf. 12 sup., where the term is used in the
 same context; A.P.16.62.5 (Anon.) ὑψόσ', Ἰουστινιανέ, τεδὸν κράτος
 (cf. n.sup. on 934f on this epigram); ib.72.5 (Anon.) θεῖον Ἰουστίνου
 κάρτος (see A. and A.Cameron in BICS 13, 1966, 101 for confirmation
 of Brunck's Ἰουστίνου rather than Planudes' Ἰουστινιανοῦ, the latter
 accepted by Beckby); 16.44.1 (Anon.) πᾶσα φύσις, Βασίλειε, τεδὸν
 κράτος αἰὲν αἰεῖδει.

ὠκεανοῖο παρ' ἄντυγα: For reference to Ocean in the same context,
 cf. sup. 12, 149. At this point, the top of a page, the ms. is
 damaged by damp (see Fr.p.108f), and the words ὠκεανοῖο παρ' ἄντυγα·
 ταῦτα have been restored by Fr., by means of a study of the reverse
 imprint of the ink on the opposite page (the letters marked in
 italics in Fr.'s apparatus represent those deciphered from the
 facing page, see Fr. p.226). Earlier, Graefe proposed conjectures
 which give a similar sense, but do not include the word ἄντυγα;
 in his text he printed ὠκεανοῖο περαιτέρα· ταῦτα, and in his apparatus
 suggested the alternative ὠκεανοῦ ποτὶ τέρματα. But Fr.'s restoration
 is probably correct: using only Preisendanz's facsimile enough
 can be made out to support Fr., that is, σὸν κράτος κεαν ο
 παρ αντυ αυτα τυράνων (my spacing is only approximate).
 There appears to be no exact parallel for the expression ἄντυγα
 ὠκεανοῖο, but it presents no difficulty. In the Homeric description
 of Achilles' Shield, Ocean is said to be depicted ἄντυγα παρ
 πυμάτην (Il.18.608), and in Nonnian poetry the term ἄντυξ is widely
 used to denote anything curved, often the earth or parts of the
 universe, see 187n.sup. Nonnus himself several times uses ἄντυξ
 in descriptions of ὠκεανός, e.g. D.38.108 ὠκεανὸς κελάδων,

μιτρούμενος ἄντυγι κόσμου, 41.302 ὤκεανδόν...περίδρομον ἄντυγι κόσμου, cf. 23.246, 42.480f, al. These expressions suggest that Paul has in mind here the farther rim of Ocean, where it meets the curve of the heavenly sphere.

On local παρὰ with accusative, see n.sup. on 317.

937ff. ταῦτα τυράννων/πολλάκις, κτλ.: The third anaphora of ταῦτα introduces the theme of the τύραννοι (the noun is thrown forward to give it prominence); as in the first iambic prologue, this theme is given extended treatment, see n.sup. on 934-66. On the regular use of τύραννος in later Greek to refer either to despotic rulers or (as here) to rebels or usurpers, see 36n.sup. The noun is, however, rare in late Greek hexameter poetry: Nonnus does not use τύραννος or related words, but cf. Opp.C.4.243, 303, where it is applied to Pentheus; Agathias loc.cit.36n. Fr. (on 937) rightly argued that here Paul has in mind specific instances, and that πολλάκις is rhetorical exaggeration; compare the several instances of πολλάκις in the passage dealing with usurpers and J.'s clemency in the first iambic prologue (36, 41, 42); also 79, where πολλάκις probably refers simply to the two instances mentioned 77-9, see 79n. It is clear from 938 (see n.inf.) that lines 937-9 refer, like 24ff sup., to Marcellus and the conspiracy of November 562, on which see n.sup. on 24-39.

938. αὐτοφόνοιο χερὸς δηλήμονι τόλμη: "by the destructive daring of self-slaughtering hand". Cf. 33 sup. ἔπεσεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ. As at 212 sup. (see n. ad loc.), δηλήμων is absolute and αὐτοφόνοιο χερὸς is defining genitive after τόλμη, which is itself instrumental dative. The letters -ημ- lost from the centre of δηλήμονι where the ms. is damaged, are restored with certainty from the reverse imprint on the facing page, see n.sup. on 937 ὤκεανοῖο παρ' ἄντυγα. Although late poets regularly use language associated with τόλμη in describing their work (see n.sup. on 68-70), the noun τόλμη is itself rare in epic poetry (Opp.C.3.431, Orph.Lith.306, Jo.Gaz.Descrip.1.13). But for Paul's use of it here in connection with violent death, along with the epithet αὐτοφόνος, cf. A.P.7.149.3f (Leont.Schol.) τόσσης γὰρ χρόνος ἄλλον ἐπάξιον ἀνέρα τόλμης/οὐχ

εὐρὺν παλαμῇ θῆκεν ὑπ' αὐτοφόνῳ (of Ajax). Aeschylus uses αὐτοφόνος in the sense "murdering one's kin", see LSJ s.v., and the sense is doubtful at SEG 9.72.132 (Cyrene, 4th cent.B.C.), see LSJ Suppl.s.v., but late poets use it to mean either "murdering", "slaying with one's own hand" (A.P.9.86.6, Antiphil.; Opp.C.4.290; Nonn.D.32.231) or, more commonly, "self-slaughtering", "suicidal", as here, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.2.4 (PG.37.402); Orph.Arg.875 παλαμῇ (of Spartiates); Opp.C.1.269 (of horses), 2.480 (of wild beasts), H.2.322 (of the muraena); Nonn.D.17.314 παλαμῇ (of Orontes), 47.224 στροφάλιγγι (of Erigone), al., Par.8.46 ὀλέθρῳ; Tryph.19 ἔλκει (Ajax). Nonnus admits only the genitive form χειρὸς, but for χερὸς used metr.gr. as here, cf. A.R.4.852.

939. αὐχένας ἐπρήνιξε: Cf. Nonn.D.28.64 αὐχένα Δεξιόχοιο κατεπρήνιξε μαχαίρῃ. The simple verb (from πρηνῆς = πρανῆς) is not attested before the Alexandrian period, Euphor. fr.18 Powell, cit. Etym.Magn.687.33ff, cf. Zonaras s.v. πρηνιχθῆναι. Hesychius glosses the forms πρανιχθέντα, πρήνιξε and πρηνιχθέντα, cf. Photius s.v. πρανιχθῆναι, Eustath. on Il.2.414, p.248.44 (I.201.13 Lips., I.378.29 Van der Valk). It occurs at Lyc.1005f πολλοὶ δὲ πρόσθεν γαῖαν ἐκ κείνης (i.e. the Amazon queen) ὁδᾶς/δάψουσι πρηνιχθέντες; A.P.7.532.3f (Isid.) ἀλλ' ἅμα νηὶ/πρηνιχθεῖς (shipwreck); Orac.Sib. 4.58f γῇ δὲ κλόῳ σεισμοῖο τινασσομένη.../πολλὰς πρηνίξει πολίτας καὶ ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων, cf. ib.84, 108, 5.17; Opp.H.3.21f ἔνθα μιν (Typhon) ὀξεῖαι στεροπαὶ ριπαὶ τε κεραυνῶν/ζαφλεγέες πρήνιξαν; then often in Nonn.D., e.g. 6.217f δύσιν...ἔῳ πρήνιξε κεραυνῷ/Ζεὺς, 47.668 καὶ νύ κεν...ἐπρήνιξε Μυκῆνας, Par.19.175 δεύτερον ἐπρήνιξεν ἐπέσβολον ὀξεί πόντῳ. The bent neck, often combined with the image of the yoke or yoke-strap, regularly represents submission, cf. 159 sup. with n. ad loc., noting the twofold use of this metaphor by Agathias at A.P.4.3B.1 and 4-6.

πρὶν ἔντεσι χεῖρας ἐλίξης: ἐλίξεις ms., Du Cange, Bekker; ἔλιξας Graefe; ἐλίξαι Merian-Genast, Ludwig; ἐλίξης Fr. Fr. (940n.) rightly saw this phrase as the counterpart to πρὶν σε πυθέσθαι 940, and it is on this basis that the textual problem must

be considered: our phrase must similarly refer to J., and have the sense "before you have taken up arms". The construction of 940 (i.e. accusative and infinitive), or alternatively simple infinitive, is the regular one with $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ when it means "before" in an affirmative sentence, K-G.II.457, sec.568.1d, Goodwin GMT 243ff, secs.626ff. Hence the emendation $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\iota$, for which Ludwich (op.cit.p.17f) cited the additional parallels in Paul of sup.647, 701, 816 and A.P.6.54.6. But there are objections to reading $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\iota$ here: (i) it is difficult to see how it could have been corrupted to $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$; (ii) the natural sense of the clause $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\iota$ in the context would be that the usurper committed suicide before he got to the point of taking up arms, which does not meet the requirement (see sup.) that this clause should refer to J. and be parallel to $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \sigma\epsilon \pi\upsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ (940). It is furthermore manifestly untrue in the case of Marcellus, who was caught $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\epsilon\rho\chi\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\hat{\omega} \pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omega \phi\omicron\rho\hat{\omega}\nu \beta\omicron\upsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\nu$, Mal.493.18f, cf. id. Exc.de ins.fr.49 (p.174.16f de Boor); Theoph.p.238.1 de Boor $\acute{\epsilon}\ddot{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \phi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\tau\alpha\varsigma \kappa\rho\upsilon\pi\tau\grave{\alpha} \xi\acute{\iota}\phi\eta$, of Marcellus and the other conspirators. Objection (ii) might be met by re-dividing the words $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha \sigma'\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\iota$, but (i) remains. If Graefe's $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\varsigma$ (accented thus proparoxytone) represents an aorist second person singular, there is no parallel for such an aorist of $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\omega$ with the first syllable short. If it represents the aorist participle $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\varsigma$ (paroxytone, Il.23.466, etc.), then it is also open to objection (ii), and the grammar of such a construction is dubious, although $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\varsigma$ would be closer to the ms. reading than the infinitive $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\alpha\iota$. Of the two remaining alternatives proposed, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\iota}\xi\eta\varsigma$, the future of the ms. is certainly wrong after the aorist $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon$; Fr.'s subjunctive, on the other hand, involves only an easy change from the ms. reading. It is true that the use of the subjunctive here, after an affirmative main clause and where no limiting notion of "until" is present, is unorthodox by Homeric and classical standards, see the admirably lucid discussion of $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ in Goodwin GMT p.240ff, secs. 621ff; but for a similar instance (in present time), cf. Opp.H.2.13f $\acute{\omicron} \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota \acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\epsilon \sigma\alpha\acute{\omicron}\phi\rho\omega\nu$, / $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\pi\hat{\eta} \mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\iota \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \omicron\upsilon\kappa \acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$; also Nonn.D.8.93ff

δεχέσθω, /πρὶν...νοήσω, /.../(97) πρὶν...ἴδω... . Paul may have chosen to write the subjunctive here in a characteristic desire for stylistic variatio, so as to avoid two precisely parallel expressions in adjacent lines. For the accusative and dative after ἐλίσσω, cf. Nonn.D.45.76 ἀλυκτοπέδησιν...χεῖρας ἐλίξας, 48.524 δεσμοῖς Κυπριδίοισι πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐλίξας. Paul's dative ἔντεσι, "arms" (Il.10.407, Od.23.368, al.; A.R.1.169, 2.1221, al.; Call.Dian.111; Nonn.D.8.40, 35.160, al.) is less natural with χεῖρας ἐλίσσω than "fetters" or "chains", but is admissible on the analogy of the familiar concept of "girding on" arms.

940f. τῶν δὲ, κτλ.: "and have smitten the heads of others before you learnt the tidings...". Paul writes τῶν δὲ in contrast to πολλάκις (938), treating the πολλάκις as though it were an antithetical μέν.

This description fits the account given by Procopius (BG 3.31-2; cf. Bury HLRE II.67-9, Stein B-E II.590-2) of the plot to assassinate J. devised by Arsaces and Artabanes in 548. J.'s nephew Germanus, whom the conspirators planned to proclaim emperor, revealed the plot to Marcellus, the comes excubitorum (not the Marcellus of the 562 plot), who advised that it should not immediately be reported to J. (BG 3.32.22-26), and who only informed him of it at the very last moment, after he had verified all the details (ib.40-42). Procopius reports (47-50) that J. was subsequently very angry with Germanus because of his delay in informing the emperor, but was mollified by Marcellus. This plot is referred to by Procopius in his introduction to the Aed. (1.1.10, 16, see n. on 24-39 sup., and see further n.inf. on 948f). Theophanes (A.M.6053, p.235.1ff) also refers to accusations of a plot to put Theodorus, son of Peter the Patrician, on the throne in 560, but these appear to have been unfounded, see Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.1.25f.

κατηλοίησε καρήατα: An extremely rare compound, κατηλοίησε (derived from Homeric ἄλωή, "threshing floor", Il.5.499, etc.) balances ἐπρήνιξε. This epic form survives only in Photius, who glosses κατηλοίωσεν· οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλὰ ξύλοις παίων,

ἄφ' ὧν καὶ πατραλοΐας ὁ τὸν πατέρα τύπτων. (There is a similar gloss on κατηλόησαν, rendering the terms plural, in the lexicon edited by Bekker, *Anecdota graeca* I, Berlin 1814, 270.27. The reference to the πατραλοΐας is preserved in Hesychius' gloss on ἄλοΐα and Suidas s.v. ἄλοιῶν). The Attic form of this compound, καταλοῶ, occurs at Eub.15.5, X.Cyr.7.1.31, Aeschin.2.140, Luc. Icar.15, all in the context of physical crushing or beating, while the epic form of the simple verb is Homeric (Il.9.568, cf. Theoc. 10.48, Nonn.D.11.88, 31.7, Par.19.177). Other compounds occur, e.g. ἀπαλοιῶ, Il.4.522, Nonn.D.17.210, 28.52, al.; συναλοιῶ, Theoc. 22.128, Opp.H.3.575, C.1.268, Q.S.11.472; so ἀλοιητήρ, Nonn.D. 25.201, 46.228, al., Par.7.97, 16.5, al., A.P.11.379.1 (Agath.).

Uncontracted forms in καρῆατ- are Homeric, Il.11.309, al., see LSJ s.v. κῆρα and cf. A.R.1.1084, al., Call.Ap.60, Theoc.25. 257, Opp.C.2.215, al., Nonn.D.28.203, al., Tryph.622. The expression is very strong, but, in connection with the conspirators of 548, means no more than that they were discovered, see further n.inf. on 947-49.

πρίν σε πυθέσθαι: See n.sup. on 939. Nonnus has πυνθάνομαι with acc.rei (cf. LSJ s.v.2) at D.5.463, 8.346.

941. φῆμιν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἃ μὴ θέμις: "the tidings announcing acts of wrong". In Homer, ἀπαγγέλλω is used only with a personal subject, see LSJ s.v.1, but for Paul's use, cf. Nonn.D.15.355f ἀνεμώνην/πάσιν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἐμὴν μινυῶριον ἦβην, 48.431f σιγὴν/μῶμον ἀπαγγέλλουσιν ἀφειδέως ἀνθερεῶνος, al.; Musae.6 λύχνον ἀπαγγέλλοντα διακτορίην Ἀφροδίτης; Jo.Gaz.Deser.2.4f χλοερὸς... κομήτης/εἰαρινὴν γελῶσαν ἀπαγγέλλων Ἀφροδίτην; A.P.5.261.6 (Agath.) μοι ἀπαγγέλλει (sc. ἡ κύλιξ) τὴν χάριν, ἣν ἔλαβεν. The poetic noun φῆμις, used by Homer as an equivalent for φῆμη, is rare in late poetry, see LSJ s.v., adding Opp.H.5.470 πολλοὺς δ' ὥρορε φῆμις ἰδεῖν σέβας ὀρμηθέντας. Paul writes ἃ μὴ θέμις sup. 757 in eadem sede, c.inf. For similar elliptical expressions with absolute θέμις, cf. A.Suppl.336 πότρεα κατ' ἐχθραν ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις λέγεις; A.R.1.822 ἵν' ἢ φρονέοιεν ἄπερ θέμις, ἢ ἐ..., Opp.C.1.237

ἐς φιλότητα μολεῖν, τὴν οὐ θέμις, Nonn.D.42.468 πᾶρθενε, κάλλιπε γαῖαν, ὃ περ θέμις. Here the expression anticipates the reference to Δίκη in the next line.

941-49. εἴποτε γάρ, κτλ.: The passage is parallel to 34-39 sup.: J.'s confrontation with a would-be assassin is considered to be an omission on the part of Δίκη, who normally deals with such offenders by her own uncompromising methods, since She knows that J.'s extraordinary clemency leads him to pardon all who come before him. Here the treatment is more elaborate than in the earlier case: J.'s clemency is described in terms of the metaphor of the calming of a storm (943-5) and the physical release of the prisoner's bonds (945-7) and, as a climax, a further specific reference is made to the conspiracy of 548 (947-9; see n. ad loc. and cf. n.sup. on 940f). With Paul's treatment here, cf. Georg. Pisid.Exp.Pers.2.228ff ὁ δυστυχήσας εὐτυχῶς, εἰ δεῖ λέγειν/- σοὶ γὰρ προσελθὼν ἀνταμείβει τὴν τύχην-, /ρίπτει τὰ δεσμὰ, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς ὅλας /έτρεψεν εὐθὺς εἰς χαρὰν μεθαυρόσας (of an enemy general before Heraclius.) On the theme of clemency in the βασιλικὸς λόγος and the possible significance of Paul's emphasis upon it, see n. sup. on 34-39, and 39n.sup. on the clemency of the Christian emperor. If it is right that in the iambic prologue passage Paul has in mind Belisarius' disgrace after the conspiracy of Marcellus, the reference here to the reinstatement and elevation of Artabanes after the 548 conspiracy (see n.inf. on 947-49) may be intended to suggest that there will be a similarly happy conclusion to the case of Belisarius, unresolved at the time at which Paul wrote.

941f. εἴποτε γάρ σοι/...παρὰ ποσσὶ κομίσση: κομίσση Graefe, Bekker, Fr.; κομίσσοι ms.; κομίσσει Du Cange. Graefe's aorist subjunctive is certainly correct: for general suppositions expressed by εἰ (usually without κε/άν) and subjunctive in Homer and other poetry, see Goodwin GMT sec.468, p.172, and cf. Nonn.D.4.194ff, 48.522f, with Keydell I.78*. The future κομίσσει is incompatible with the aorist participle ἐλινύσασα and the present κατευνάξεις (943).

The unparalleled ms. form κομίσσοι no doubt arose from confusion with σοι at the end of the previous line. For κομίζω in the sense "bring", cf. 341 sup. with n. ad loc.; the verb is also regularly so used by Nonnus with a personal object, e.g. D.36.146, 43.89, cf. Musae.151, 176, al., etc. The dative σοι should be construed with κομίσσει; as at 924 sup., it is thrown forward for emphasis. The expression παρὰ ποσσὶ adds precision and suggests the suppliant pose of the captive. For παρὰ ποσσίν *in eadem sede*, cf. Nonn. D.48.378, also Il.14.410f τὰ ῥα πολλὰ (sc. χερμάδια)/...παρ ποσὶ μαρναμένων ἐκυλίνδετο, and for παρὰ c.dat. with verbs of motion, see Peek Lex.s.v.II.4, Keydell I.66*, and cf. esp. Nonn. D.43.398f βυθίῳ παρὰ πασιῶν ἄξιον ἔδνον Ἐρωτος Ἄραψ ἐκομίσσατο Νηρεΐς (middle).

βαιὸν ἐλινύσσα: "having rested for a brief space", and been momentarily inattentive to her high principle. The verb is a correction of Du Cange from the nonsensical ms. reading ἐληνύσσα. Du Cange and Graefe wrote ἐλιννύσσα (Graefe "Fort.ἐλινύσσα" in app.crit.), but the form with single nu is better attested. The verb occurs in Pindar and classical drama, in Ionic and late prose (see LSJ s.v.) and also in Alexandrian poetry, A.R.1.588f διπλόα δ' ἄκταῖς/ῆματ' ἐλινύεσκον, ib.862 δηρὸν δ' ἄν ἐλίνυσον αὖθι μένοντες; Call. Cer.47 τέκνον ἐλίνυσον, id.fr.526 Pf. οὐδὲ βοῇ κήρυκος ἐλίνυσεν (quoted in Etym.Magn. s.v. ἐλινύω, 330.53ff) and fr.330 πότμον ἐλινύσειεν (transitive only here; quoted by Suidas s.v. ἐλινύειν); Theoc.10.51 ἐλινύσαι δὲ τὸ καῦμα; see also Hesych.s.v. ἐλινύειν, and cf. esp. A.P.5.237.1f (Agath.) εὖτε δ' ἐπέλθη/ὄρθρος ἐλινύσαι μικρὰ χαριζόμενος. Adverbial βαιὸν is often so used with aorist participle in late poetry, cf. 968 inf., and see the exx. quoted sup. in n. on 180.

943. ἀντιβίων τινὰ φῶτα: The term ἀντίβιος, adjectival in Homer, is used both as adjective and substantive in late poetry, although Nonnus D. has only one instance of the adjectival use, see the exx. cited in n.sup. on δαίμονος ἀντιβίοιο 273. In our line, φῶτα is otiose in a manner uncharacteristic of Paul: this may reflect anxiety to speak in general terms and to avoid the mention of names

(see 34n.sup., and cf. the vague ἀνέρα 946 inf.) or simply hasty composition. But perhaps one should read ἀντίβιον τινα φῶτα, thus making ἀντίβιος adjectival as at 273 sup., A.P.6.81.1 (Paul Sil.).

943f. κατευνάξεις μὲν ἄελλας/...ἀναγκαίῳ χόλου: The image of the lulling of a squall prepares for the introduction of γαλήνην (944), an idea commonly associated with the emperor, see n. ad loc. Paul's expression here is an elaboration of Nonn.D.48.943 καὶ χόλον ἰοχέαιρα κατεύνασεν; cf. also A.R.1.1155 (αἰθῆρ) κατὰ δ'εὔνασε πόντον, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.2.72 (PG.37.407) ὥς θεὸς εὔνασε πόντον, and the metaphorical expression at A.P.6.171.3 (Anon.) κύμα κατευνάσαντες Ἐνυοῦς. The verb κατευνάω occurs once in the passive in Homer (Il.3.448; κατευνώ occurs four times, see LSJ s.v.), see further LSJ s.v., adding Nonn.D.3.307, 5.269, al.; A.P.5.220.1 (Agath.), ib.16.33.3 (Leont.); also in late prose, see PGL s.v. Paul's metaphorical use of ἄελλα appears to be unparalleled, although the term is used in a literal sense in epic poetry from Homer onwards, see LSJ s.v., and cf. A.R.1.1078, 1094, al.; D.P. 677; Opp.H.1.41, 455, al.; Orph.Arg.125, 497, al.; Nonn.D.2.644, 39.180, al., Par.5.61, 6.199, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.242, 2.141, al.; A.P.6.27.5 (Theaet.). In qualifying χόλου with the adjective ἀναγκαῖος, "necessary anger" (cf. Du Cange *necessariae iracundiae*), Paul means that anger is the necessary and fitting reaction which J., as a just prince, must feel towards the usurper who challenges his authority. This sense of ἀναγκαῖος is more common in prose, see LSJ s.v.II.2, but cf. Nonn.D.21.168 πομπὸν ἀναγκαίης διζήμενον ἀτραπιτοῖο, of Lycurgus blinded, ib.37.210f ἀναγκαίῳ τινὶ μέτρῳ/ σὸν δρόμον ἰθύων (instructions for chariot-racing), al.; Homer uses ἀναγκαῖος in a related passive sense "forced" of people, see LSJ s.v.II.1.

944. εὐθὺς: Cf. 38 sup. for the adverb in the same context. Here (cf. 945, 946) and at 975-77) it is used in a triple anaphora of a kind now familiar in Paul; compare the use of ταῦτα at 934, 935, 937, ἐπρεπε(ν) 326-9, and see 152n.sup. The desire to place the word to be repeated either at the beginning of the line or after the

bucolic caesura accounts for the awkward position of εὐθύς here. Homer admits only the epic form ἰθύς (see LSJ s.v. εὐθύς) and the only instance of either form in Nonnus is Par.18.129 ἔκραγεν εὐθύς ἀλέκτωρ.

944f. στρεπτήν δὲ γαλήνην, κτλ.: Paul uses γαλήνη more directly of J. inf. 951, Amb.299, cf. also 244-47 sup. with n. ad loc. At 986 and 1006 inf. the patriarch Eutychius is similarly accredited with γαλήνη, see 986n.inf. By the 6th cent., this (= Lat. serenitas) and cognate terms are regularly associated with the emperor, see PGL s.vv. γαληναῖος 2, γαλήνη 4, γαληνότης2, Soph.Lex.s.vv. γαλήνη, γαληνότης 2, Du Cange Glossarium s.v. γαληνότης, Preisigke Wörterbuch III, Abschnitt 9 s.vv. γαληνότητος, γαληνότης, and R.C.McCail in JHS 98 (1978) 51. For Paul's use of it in the context of imperial clemency, cf. Them. Or.19 (I.330.17ff Downey) ὅτι οὕτω πρῶτος καὶ ἡμερος καὶ γαλήνης γέμων ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀδικεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλεγχθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κατακριθέντας ἐξελεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ νόμου ἀνάγκης καὶ ἐπαναγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ Ἀχέροντος (of Theodosius I), Agap.Cap.52 (PG.86(1).1180B-C) ὅθεν τῷ λιμένι τῆς σῆς γαληνότητος πάντες προσορμῶσιν οἱ ἐλέους δεόμενοι, καὶ τῶν κυμάτων τῆς πενίας ἀπαλαττόμενοι, ... , id.Cap.50 (1180A), both of J. Also of J., Eustrat.V.Eutych.23 (PG.86(2).2301A); of Justin I, A.P.16.64.3 (Anon.; quoted 924n.sup.); of Justin II, Cor.Laud.Just. 2.191 oculis...serenis, with Stache's n. ad loc., cf. ib.3.309 with Cameron ad loc.

Graefe (in n. ad loc.) suspected the epithet στρεπτήν and suggested that perhaps σεπτὴν should be read instead. But this is not an epic word, and Fr. was surely right to argue (ad loc.) that στρεπτήν is explicable in our context on the analogy of Il.15. 203 ἦ τι μεταστρέψεις; στρεπταὶ μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν, (Paul uses μεταστρέφω in this sense inf.953), cf. Il.9.497 στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοῖ (cit. LSJ s.v. στρεπτός III). In these Homeric passages στρεπτός means "able to be turned", "able to be appeased" and hence "merciful". The term suggests that the god or ruler initially turns his face away from his suppliant, but then, prior to the granting of mercy, turns to face him. Paul modifies the Homeric

expression by applying στρεπτός to J.'s characteristic imperial attitude of γαλήνη, rather than to J. himself. Elsewhere the epithet is used literally of things pliant, twisted, curved or turned back, see the exx.cit. LSJ s.v.I, IV, adding A.P.16.306.2 (Leon.Tar.); D.P.122, 384, 878; Opp.C.2.308, 329; Greg.Naz.Carm. 2.1.1.155 (PG.37.981), metaph. ib.101 (col.977); A.P.5.255.14 (Paul Sil.); also Georg.Pisid.loc.cit.PGL s.v.

945. δεσμός ὁ χάλκεος: Cf. A.R.3.62 λυσόμενος χαλκῶν Ἰξίονα νειόθι δεσμῶν; also A.P.5.217.3f (Paul Sil.) "χάλκεα νικᾷ/τείχεα καὶ δεσμούς χρυσὸς ὁ πανδαμάτωρ". The epithet need not be interpreted literally, since the metaphorical sense "stout", "strong" is as old as Homer, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. Eustath. on Il.11.241 χάλκεον ὕπνον (841.30ff, II.24.5ff Lips., III.186.11ff Van der Valk), where he suggests the sense στερρόν, adding ὥς που καὶ χάλκεον ἔφη δεσμὸν καὶ οὐρανὸν; but this is a mistake, since Homer does not use χάλκεος of δεσμός (Van der Valk ad loc. suggested that Eustathius is thinking of Il.5.391 χαλεπὸς...δεσμός). So Agathias uses χάλκεος metaphorically of a proud lover, A.P.5.299.7f καὶ νῦν ὁ βλοσυρωπός, ὁ χάλκεος, ὁ βραδυπειθήης, / ὁ πρὶν ἄερσιπότης, ἥριπον ἐξαπίνης.

945f. ὁ πρὶν ἔεργων/ἀνέρα ποινάίοισιν ἐν ἅμμασιν: For adverbial πρὶν with article and participle, cf. 930 sup. with n. ad loc., inf.948; simil.A.P.5.299.8 (Agath.) quoted 945n. For ἔεργω/έργω ἐν, cf. Il.21.282 ἐρχθέντ'ἐν...ποταμῷ, Od.10.282f ἐνὶ Κίρκης/ἐρχεται, ὥς τε σύες; Opp.H.1.226 ἡὕτ'ἐν ἀκλύστοισιν ἐεργομένη λιμένεσσι, ib.2.571f ἀπειρεσίους ἐνὶ μούνοσ/ἐρχθεῖς δυσμενέεσσι, al. For Paul's use of ἅμμασιν in conjunction with δεσμός, cf. E.HF 1035ff (lyr.) δεσμὰ καὶ πολύβροχ'ἁμμάτων/ἐρείσμαθ'.../.../ἀνημμένα, id. Bacch.696f νεβρίδας τ'ἀναστεύλανθ'ᾠδαῖσιν ἁμμάτων/σύνδεσμ'ἐλέλυτο; Nonn.D.48.142 περιδέσμιον ἁμματι χειρῶν; Jo.Gaz.Descrip.2.114f περίπλοκον ἅμμα βαλόντες, / ὕγρὸν δεσμὸν ἔχοντες ἐρίρρυτον (of Ὀμβροί); A.P.5.227.4 (Mac.Cons.) (σὲ) ὕγρὸν ἐνιπλέξας ἁμματι δεσμὸν ἔχω, of a lover. So Hesychius glosses ἅμμα with δεσμός. On metaphorical ἅμμα, see 199n.sup. The epithet ποινάιος (see LSJ

and Soph.Lex.s.v.) occurs only in late authors and only in prose apart from the oracle ap. Keil-Premmerstein loc.cit. LSJ (the editors date the characters of the inscription to the second cent.), and A.P.5.254.5f (Paul Sil.) μὴ ταῦτα χαράξαι / ὄρκια ποιναῖης ὥτον ὑπὲρ σελίδος.

946f. εὐθὺς ἀνοίγει/ἀρχενίην κληῖδα: "straightway opens up the fastening upon his neck". For neck fetters in mid-sixth cent. Byzantium, cf. (for example) Agath.Hist.4.1.3 δεσμούς τε σιδηροῦς περιαρχενίου (displayed at the investigation into the murder of Gubazes). For Paul's expression, cf. Il.24.455 ἀναοίγεσκον μεγάλην κληῖδα θυρώων; etc. As ἀνοίγω is regularly used of opening doors, so κληῖς is regularly used from Homer onwards of the fastening of a door, see the exx.cit. in n.sup. on 350f. It is, however, also used of the clasp, or part of the clasp, of a garment, Od.18.293f ἐν δ' ἄρ' (sc. τῷ πέπλῳ) ἔσαν περόναι δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσαι/χρύσεται, κληῖσιν εὐγνάμπτοις ἀραρυῖται, Nonn.D.32.15 περόνην συνέεργεν, ἐοῦ κληῖδα χιτῶνος, 37.671f νεβρίδα..., / ἣν χρυσέῃ κληῖδι Διὸς περονήσατο χαλκεύς and esp. ib.21.205f αἰγὸς ὀρεσσινόμοιο περὶ χροῖ δέρμα συνάψας, / ἀρχενίη κληῖδι καθεῖμενον ἐξ ἐνὸς ὤμου, where our passage establishes Peek's translation "mittels einer Spange von einer Schulter herabhängend", contra Rouse "hung over one shoulder from the collar-bone". The epithet ἀρχενίην is Graefe's emendation for the ms. reading ἀρχενί την (sic), and is surely correct, in view of the Nonnian parallel. The epithet occurs once in Homer (Od.3.450 τένοντας) and in later poetry, see LSJ s.v. and LSJ Suppl.s.v., adding Arat.698; A.P.15.51.3 (Arch.), 16.105.3 (Anon.); Opp.H.2.341, cf. ib.3.307; Nonn.D.15.86, 141, 28.78, al.; Tryph.317; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.251, 2.50.

947. σὺ δ' ἴλαον ὄμμα τανύσσας : Cf. Coll.131 ὁ δ' ἥπιον ὄμμα τανύσσας, also Nonn.D.17.60 = Par.13.91 ἴλαον ὄμμα φέρων. The same epithet is used of J. sup.244, see n. ad loc. For ὄμμα τανύσσας, cf. 286 sup. with n. ad loc.

948f. τὸν πρὶν ἐριδμαίνοντα, κτλ.: "instead of executing him,

you elevate to dazzling belts the man who before strove to smite your yoke-band". I.e. not only does J. release the prisoner alive, but he even elevates him to high dignity. Cf. Proc.Aed.1.1.16 οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ σκαιωρησάμενοι μέχρι ἐς φόνον μὴ ὅτι βιοτεύοντες ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καίπερ ἐξεληγεγμένοι διαφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγοῦντες Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ὑπᾶτων ἀναγεγραμμένοι τελοῦσιν ἄξιωμα. Both Paul and Procopius refer to the conspirator Artabanes (see n.sup. on 940f), who initially suffered loss of office and imprisonment (Proc. BG 3.32.51; Procopius describes the imprisonment as follows: ...ἀπαντας οὐ ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, ἐν Παλατίῳ μέντοι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκήματι. Belisarius too was given honourable imprisonment after the 562 conspiracy, merely being deprived of his bucellarii and kept under house arrest, see Mal.494.20f, id.Exc.de ins.fr.49, p.175.9f de Boor, Theoph.A.M.6055, 238.16ff de Boor. For the possibility that Paul may here be thinking of Belisarius, see n.sup. on 941-49, fin.). But Artabanes was soon pardoned, created magister militum per Thraciam and sent to Italy to fight in the campaign of 549-50 against Totila, see Proc.BG 3.39.8, Jord.Rom.385 (MGH Auct.Ant.V.1, p.51) and cf. Bury HLRE II.68f, Stein B-E II.591, 595. For the pardon and reinstatement of Belisarius in July 563, see Theoph.A.M.6055, p.239.17f.

948. τὸν πρὶν ἐριδμαίνοντα σέθεν ζυγόδεσμον ἀράξαι: Ludwich (op.cit.p.3) correctly observed that the reading of the ms. is not, as all editors have written, ἀράξας, but rather ἀράξαι. The mistake arose because the concluding iota of the word is oddly formed, or obscured by an additional mark (roughly α₁), and resembles a sigma. But Ludwich rightly noted that it bears no resemblance to the usual form of the sigma at the line-end (as, for example, in 947 and 949), which is large, round and distinctive (σ). (Although the letters α₁ are in some cases abbreviated at the line-end in the form ζ, as at 940 and 963, this abbreviation is only used after certain consonants, and not after ξ, cf. 271, 394, 1024). The infinitive ἀράξαι greatly improves the sense of this line: it depends on ἐριδμαίνοντα (the comma after

the participle, which is not in the ms., should be removed). Hence σέθεν ζυγόδεσμον ἀράξαι describes the conspiracy of 548 and not, as would σέθεν ζυγόδεσμον ἀράξας ("having smitten your yoke-band"), J.'s release of the prisoner from bonds. The correction to infinitive removes difficulties inherent in this latter interpretation of the phrase: (i) a reference to the release of the prisoner from bonds would merely repeat, in more colourful language, the substance of 945-7; (ii) ἀράσσω ("smite", see below) is too strong a verb for this action of J., and σέθεν is likewise needlessly emphatic. The only other instance of ἐριδμαίνω c.inf. (cited by Ludwig loc. cit.) is Theoc.12.31 κοῦροι ἐριδμαίνουσι φιλήματος ἄκρα φέρεσθαι, but Gow (ad loc.) observed that the infinitive is used with ἐρίζω "to denote the nature of the contest", e.g. Od.18.38f ἐρίζετον ἀλλήλοισιν/χερσὶ μαχέσσασθαι, cf. Il.16.765f, simil. with ἐριδαίνω. Our verb occurs once in Homer (Il.16.260, transitive) and then in Alexandrian poetry (intransitive), see LSJ s.v. (Nonnus D. has fifteen instances of the verb in total) and cf. also Eudoc.Cypr.2.241 (PG.85.856A) ἀθανάτῳ κρατέοντι ἐριδμαίνων ἁγίοις τε, A.P.9.664.1f (Paul Sil.) ἐνθάδ' ἐριδμαίνουσι, τίνος πλεον ἔπλετο χώρος, / Νύμφαι Νηιάδες, Νηρεΐς, Ἀδρυάδες. This construction with πρίν is now familiar, cf. 945 and 930 sup. with n. ad loc. For ἀράσσω, cf. 137 sup. The verb is used "of any violent impact" (LSJ s.v.). Homer has only compound forms, but Alexandrian and later poets use the simple verb, see LSJ s.v., adding Call.Ap.3 καὶ δὴ που τὰ θύρετρα καλῶ ποδὶ φοῖβος ἀράσσει; A.R.4.761f ἄκμονες Ἡφαίστοιο/ χαλκείοι στιβαρῆσιν ἀράσσονται τυπίδεσσιν; Opp.H.3.558 ἐκ γενύων ἦραξαν ἅπαν ξίφος (fishermen fighting swordfish); Nonn.D.2.258 χεῖρες ἐμαί, Διὸς οἶκον ἀράξατε, 28.203 δυσμενέων ἦρασε καρῆατα πυκνὰ σιδῆρω, al., Par.19.15 χερσὶν ἀμοιβαίῃσι παρηίδος ἄκρον ἀράσσων, 12.121; Coll.48, 55; Tryph.253; A.P.5.248.5 (Paul Sil.) νῦν θαμινοῖς πατάγοισι μάτην τὸ μέτωπον ἀράσσεις. For the image of the yoke-band similarly applied to J.'s authority, cf. 147 sup. with n. ad loc., noting esp. for our context, A.P.9.155.8 (Agath.) σῆς ζυγόδεσμα δίκης (addressed to Roma).

949. ἀντὶ φόνου: Probably "instead of slaughter", i.e. instead

of executing him, in contrast to ζωστήρας ἐς αἰγλήεντας. This is by far the most common sense of ἀντί in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex. s.v.I-III, and esp. III.3 for exx. similar to our line, in which "Das von ἀντί abhängige Wort steht statt eines präpositionalen Ausdruckes", and cf. LSJ s.v.III.1 for the sense "instead of" in Homer. But the phrase could mean "in return for murder" (see LSJ s.v. ἀντί III.3, Peek Lex.s.v.IV), referring to the conspirators' plan to assassinate J. This latter interpretation is supported by the fact that φόνος in epic poetry normally refers to bloodshed in violent death or murder, rather than death as a punishment, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.999, al., Call.Dian.224, Theoc.22.82, al., Orph.Hymn 65.3, Opp.C.1.55, H.2.647, al., Nonn.D.20.176 and passim, Par.7.70, Tryph.7, al.; also Proc.Aed.1.1.16 (quoted in n.sup. on 948f). For the latter sense, LSJ s.v.I.3 cite only S.Ant.36, but cf. also Nonn.Par.18.138, of the Crucifixion. In view of Nonnus' use of ἀντί, Paul's phrase is most naturally interpreted as expressing a straightforward contrast between Artabanus' expected punishment and his actual reward. So Prisc.Pan.238 praemia pro poenis speratis sumere mirans, of offenders treated with clemency by Anastasius. Graefe's word-division of the ms. reading ἀντιφόνου is certain.

ζωστήρας ἐς αἰγλήεντας ἀέξεις: For the use of ζωστήρ, cf. A.P.1.36.3 (Agath.) ἐκ σέο γὰρ Θεόδωρος ἔχει ζωστήρα μαγίστρου, i.e. magister officiorum. (On the identity of Theodorus, see A. and A.Cameron in JHS 86, 1966, 22f, R.C.McCail in JHS 89, 1969, 93). The belt (cingulum) is the symbol of office or rank, in the army or civil service (so ζώνη is glossed by Suidas τὸ ἀξίωμα), see Du Cange Gloss.Lat.s.v.cingulum 1, Soph.Lex.s.v. ζώνη 2, Daremberg and Saglio s.v. cingulum, Vol.I.2, p.1181f, Jones LRE II. 566, McCail loc.cit.sup., Bury IA 20 and, for the late evidence of Philotheus, ibid.22, and Fr.'s n. here. In Homer, ζωστήρ denotes a warrior's belt, Il.4.186 παναίολος, ib.132, 135, al., see LSJ s.v.1 for this sense and cf. also Call.Ap.85f ζωστήρες ἑνυοῦς/ἄνδρες, of warriors; A.R.2.778, 968 both of Hippolyte's girdle; A.P.7.151.2, 152.3 (both Anon.), A.P.4.3B.63 (Agath.) ὥς Ἄρεϊ ζωστήρα.

The epithet αἰγλήεις is used by Homer only of Olympus (Il.1.532, 13.243, Od.20.103), but later poets use it more widely, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.1.519 Ἡώς, 4.615, 958, both qualifying οὐρανός, 4.1142 κῶας; Opp.H.1.413 αἰθέρα, C.2.302 θύμασιν αἰγλήεις (of an antelope), al.; Procl.Hymn 6.4 τεύχετε δ'αἰγλήεσσαν ἔμοῦ βιότοιο πορείην; Orph.Arg.1198 τέρεμνα, Lith.614 μάραγον, 645 δέμας (of Οὐρανός); Nonn.D.38.302 ἱμάσθην, 41.233 πόδας, al., Par.6.159 τοκῆς, 13.19 χροός, 19.119 χιτῶνα; Tryph. 515, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.183, both with οὐρανόν. It occurs, along with the verb ἄέξω, in a similar context to ours at Epigr.Gr.1064.2ff ἡμέτερος δὲ/εὐσεβίην σκηπτούχου Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄέξων/Σέργιον αἰγλήεντι δόμῳ, θεράποντα γεραίρει/Χριστοῦ παμμεδέοντος. Paul's use of ἄέξω has no precise parallel, but for the verb used in a similar context, cf. Epigr.Gr.830.1 τὸν Διὸς Ἀλκμήνης τε γόνον τιμαῖσιν ἄέξων.

950-58. As at 40ff sup., a more general discussion of J.'s clemency now follows. Here, however, Paul does not expound the emperor's outstanding capacity for mercy, as in the earlier passage, but instead considers its results (so briefly 58 sup. σώζει σε ταῦτα, κτλ.), developing the more philosophical theme of the superiority of the empire founded on affection and trust over that founded on force. The passage reflects the ideas of late Greek political philosophy, as expressed (for example) in the 4th cent. by Themistius, e.g. Or.7 (I.142ff Downey, esp. 143.23f) καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (i.e. an instance of fair treatment by Philip of Macedon) οὐδεὶς ἦν πιστότερος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν πάλαι κεκριμένων ἐπιτηδείων, id. Or.19 (I.337.11ff) αὕτη (i.e. the emperor's merciful staff, ῥάβδος, compared to that of Athene in the Odyssey) φυλακτήριόν ἐστιν ἄρρηκτότερον τοῦ σιδήρου, αὕτη μᾶλλον διατηρήσει τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ἢ πυρκαϊαὶ καὶ φλεβῶν ἔκτομαὶ καὶ πελεκεῖς, κτλ.; so too in the 6th cent., Agapetus, e.g. Cap.35 (PG.86(1).1175A) νόμιζε τότε βασιλεύειν ἀσφαλῶς, ὅταν ἐκόντων ἀνάσσης τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ... τὸ δὲ τοῖς θεσμοῖς τῆς εὐνοίας κρατούμενον, βεβαίαν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ κρατοῦν τὴν εὐπίθειαν, cf. id. Cap.58 (1181B) on the impregnable citadel of a kingdom fortified by ἐλεημόσυναί, id. Cap.19 (1169D) on the εὐνοια of subjects gained by benefactions, Cap.20 (1169D) contrasting

relations with external enemies and those with subjects. (I have quoted from the last two passages in nn.inf.). Paul's style in this passage is remarkably simple and direct, as indicated particularly by the lack of epithets. Even the concluding synkrisis is jejune by comparison with those of 208-13 sup. Paul's characteristic style is apparent only in 955, a line which is based on an earlier passage of the poem, see n. ad loc.

950. κερδαίνεις: "you derive profit/gain advantage", i.e. by winning allegiance through affection and trust, as explained in the following lines. The verb is emphatically placed, and somewhat clumsily allied with the following ὅσα-clause. It is not Homeric, and is very rare in late poetry (occasionally in epigrams, A.P. 9.390.6, Menecr., 10.59.2, Pallad., the latter in the sense "avoid"), although it is found in Hesiod, Pindar and classical poetry, and in prose at all periods, see LSJ, Arndt and Gingrich, Preisigke Wörterbuch, PGL s.v. It also occurs (transitively) in the Justinianic poem cited for linguistic similarity to 949 sup. (see n. ad loc.), Epigr.Gr. 1064.8 αἵματι κερδαίων δόμον οὐρανοῦ (of the martyr Sergius).

τύμβος ἀμείλιχος εἶχε καλύψαι: For the use of the epithet, cf. Il. 9.158 Ἀΐδης, A.P. 7.560.7 (Paul Sil.) Μοῖρα, and see LSJ s.v., adding D.P. 721, Opp.C. 1.262 (adverbial), Orph.fr. 121.1, Nonn.D. 29.136, 47.370, al., Par. 12.23, Tryph. 609, Musae. 245, A.P. 11.63.7 (Mac. Cons.) The expression forms a paradox with κερδαίνεις: the more of his subjects who die of natural causes, the better it is for J. The verb καλύπτω is regularly used of death or burial, e.g. Il. 5.553, al., see LSJ s.v., adding A.R. 2.892; GVI 588.1 (3rd cent.A.D.) σμεικρὸς οὐ σμικρὸν καλύπτω τύμβος ἄνδρα; Nonn.D. 9.74, 46.264, al.; Tryph. 407; A.P. 7.592.2 (attr. Jul.Aeg.), 7.593.3 (Agath.), 7.560.1, 604.5 (both Paul Sil.).

951. γυῖα τοῦ θεράποντος: The phrase is periphrastic for τοὺς ὑμετεροὺς θεράποντας, on the analogy of epic and tragic expressions like Ἰοκάστης κᾶρα (S.OT 1235), ἰς Τηλεμάχοιο (Od. 2.409), see

K-G.I.280f, sec.405.5d and cf. 144n.sup. Agapetus uses a cognate term in the same context as ours, Cap.19 (PG.86(1).1169D) ἡ γὰρ διὰ φόβον γινομένη θεραπεία, κατεσχηματισμένη ἐστὶ θωπεΐα, κτλ.

951f. ἀφ' ὑμετέρας δὲ γαλήνης/νικηθείς: Here and at 988 inf. τεῆς δ' ἀπὸ θέσπιδος αὐδῆς/θελγόμενοι, the ms. has ἀπὸ after a passive verb where ὑπὸ might be expected, so Fr. p.115. All editors have retained ἀπὸ except Graefe, who wrote ὑπὸ in both cases. But since the two instances are very similar, it is unlikely that ἀπὸ is due to scribal error in both instances. The use of ἀπὸ of people with passive and intransitive verbs in a sense very close to that of ὑπὸ is attested from the classical period (K-G.I.457f, sec.430.3c), and is increasingly common in later prose (LSJ s.v. ἀπό III.4, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.210.2, p.171). In our cases, the expressions include an idea of cause or means, a context in which ἀπό regularly occurs (LSJ s.v.III.3, 6, K-G.I.458, sec.430.3d, f), and Paul's usage has parallels in Nonnus D., where it may be an indication "...des Mittels (öfter rein instrumental statt eines Dativs), der wirkenden Ursache..." (Peek Lex.s.v.II), e.g. 2.384 δένδρεα δ' ἐπτύσσοντο τυφασίῳ ἀπὸ χειρῶν, 12.194 πλοκάμους (Ἀμπέλου) ἐμέθυσε φιλακρήτων ἀπὸ φύλλων, 47.735f ἐφοινίσσοντο δὲ βωμοὶ/σφαζομένων στοιχηδὸν ἐπασσύτερων ἀπὸ ταύρων, other exx., Peek s.v. ἀπό II.1; cf. also Keydell I.63*. At Nonn. D.25.391ff an expression with ἀπό (there denoting material) is put parallel to a simple dative, as in our case (ἡ ἐσιδήσθαι 952), χρύσῳ μὲν.../Ἡέλιον ποίκιλλεν, ἀπ' ἀργυρέου δὲ μετάλλου/λευκαίνων...κύκλωσε Σελήνην.

On this use of γαλήνη, see n.sup. on 944 and for νικάω in this context, cf. Agap. Cap. 52 (PG.86(1).1180B) ...καὶ χρηστότητι νικῶν τῶν προσιόντων σοι τὸν φόβον.

τρισέβαστε: There is no parallel for this appellation, although σεβαστός is regularly used as a title of the emperor (= Lat. Augustus) in late Greek prose, see LSJ s.v.II, Soph. Lex.s.v., Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v., Du Cange Glossarium s.v. σεβαστοί. Fr. (ad loc.) compared the appellation τρισάγουστε, which occurs

in 6th cent. acclamations of circus factions as recorded by Theophanes (locc.citt.Fr.) and also in the 7th cent. Acts of the Lateran Council, see PGL s.v. Fr.'s argument (ibid.) that because the circus chanting is in verse it does not reflect "normal" address, is of doubtful validity. (For a recent discussion of the metrical character of this dialogue, see Alan Cameron Circus Factions, Oxford 1976, Appendix C, p.329-33). More convincing is the suggestion of F.Dölger (in Studies presented to D.M.Robinson II, Missouri 1953, 987 n.11, from 986) that the intensified τρισάγουστε indicates a decline, confirmed by other evidence, in the everyday use of the official title αὔγουστος; in the intensified form it has acquired "mehr epithetisch-adulatorisch schmückende Bedeutung". Paul's τρισέβαστος is no doubt a synonym for τρισάγουστος. Homer uses intensitive τρισμάκαρ (Od.6.154f, cf.5.306; A.P.5.255.17, 18, 9.396.5 fem., both Paul Sil., ib.7.614. 1 fem., Agath.) and τρίλλιστος (cf. 986 inf. with n. ad loc.).

πολὺ πλέον ἤ: Cf. Nonn.Par.21.101 πολὺ πλέον ἤεπερ. Nonnus D. does not have this combination, but cf. πολὺ πλέον, 5.384, 15.261, al., Par.17.92; πλέον...ἤ, D.2.579, 15.243; πλέον ἤ, Par.4.236.

953. εἰς σὲ...φρένα...ἔλκει: For metaphorical ἔλκω followed by accusative (usually personal) and εἰς or simil., see the exx. from prose cit. LSJ s.v.II.8 and cf. Nonn.D.32.22 πέτρον..., ὃς ἄνέρας εἰς πόθον ἔλκει, 33.126 μιν ἰοχέαιρα...εἰς χόλον ἔλκει, al., Par.1.205 καὶ μιν ἄναξ θάρσυνεν ἐς ἐλπίδα φέρτερον ἔλκων, 4.4.φῶτας ἀλήμονας εἰς φάος ἔλκων, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.177 καὶ θεὸν ὑψιμέδοντα γαλήνιον ἐς νόον ἔλκειν; semi-metaph., A.P.5.285.3f (Paul Sil.) ἐγὼ δέ τις ὡς ὀχετηγὸς/ἀρχὴν εἰς ἑτέραν εἴλκον ἔρωτος ὕδωρ. (But in none of these does εἰς govern a personal object). The sense of the verb is similar to that of ἐφέλκεαι (middle) 302 sup., see n. ad loc., and, for the compound used in the same context as ours, cf. Agap.Cap.19 (PG.86(1).1169D) οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω πρὸς εὐνοίαν ἐφέλκεται (middle), ὡς εὐποιίας χάρις διδομένη τοῖς χρῆζουσιν. Ludwich (op.cit.p.24) argued that εἰς should here be emended to ἐς, see n.inf. on 1022.

μεταστρεφθεῖσαν ὅλην φρένα: For this verb applied to the mind et simil., cf. Il.15.51f τῷ κε Ποσειδάων..., /αἶψα μεταστρέψει νόον, 10.106f εἴ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς/ἐκ χόλου...μεταστρέψῃ φίλον ἦτορ, also absolute at Il.15.203 ἦ τι μεταστρέψεις; στρεπταῖ μὲν τε φρένες ἔσθλων; A.R.1.807f εἴ κέ ποτ' αὖτις/ὄψῃ μεταστρέψωσι νόον; Nonn. D.4.179 (= 46.272) ἦ δὲ μεταστρέψασα νόον, 30.252 μεταστρέψαντα μενοινῆν, Par.7.13 μεταστρέψαντες ἀπειθέα θυμὸν ἀλήτην, abs.16.118 ἄρτι μεταστρεφθέντες ἐμῷ πιστεύετε μῦθῳ. For ὅλην φρένα, cf. Nonn.D.1.534, 31.70, Par.16.22.

δέσμιος: The term is not normally used alone, without article, as a substantive, although cf. Nonn.D.45.76f καί κεν ἀλυκτοπέδησιν ἐγὼ σέο χεῖρας ἔλιξας/δέσμιον ἀχλυόεντι κατεσφρήγισσα μελάρῳ, where σε must be understood from σέο with δέσμιον. Elsewhere it is adjectival, see LSJ s.v.II, adding A.R.3.203, A.P.5.184.8, 12.113.1 (both Meleagr.), ib.10.53.6 (Pallad.); Nonn.D.29.186, 40.271, al., Par.18.187.

954. ἐκ δὲ φόβου πρὸς ἔρωτα, κτλ.: Contrast Agap.Cap.48 (PG.86(1).1177D) on the need for a balance between φόβος and πόθος in the attitude of subjects to their emperor, and cf. A.P.16.74 (Anon.), discussed 957n.inf. In ἔρωτα, Paul uses the term regularly associated with sexual passion: although ἔρωγ is used passim in Nonn.D., it is avoided in Par. But at 285 sup., Paul writes θεῖος ἔρωγ (see n. ad loc.) and at 72 sup., ἔρωγ refers, as here, to the affection of subjects for emperor. The term πίστις, on the other hand, is common in Christian contexts (see Arndt and Gingrich, PGL s.v.) and occurs passim in Nonn.Par., although it is generally rare in epic, Hes.Op.372, Orph.Arg.306, cf. A.P.16.78.4 (Paul Sil.), sup.23; not used by Homer, A.R., Opp. or Nonn.D. The possessive τεδὸν is here objective, cf. Il.19.321 σῇ ποθῇ, Od.11.202 σὸς τε πόθος (with LSJ s.v.σός II), Nonn.D.35.137 τεδὸν πόθον. For αἴσω πρὸς similarly used, cf. 218 sup. with n. ad loc.

955. ὑμετέροις ἐθέλοντα, κτλ.: Cf. 158 sup. ῥινοτόρῳ δοῦλωσεν

ἀπείρονα βάρβαρον αἰχμῇ, / ὄφρα τεοῖς ἀδμήτα λόφον κλίνειε λεπάδνοις,
 and see nn. ad loc. for this use of λόφον, λεπάδνοις. Here the
 aorist δοῦλωσε is gnomic, of regular or repeated action. The
 dative is similar to that of 159, see n. sup. ad loc. On the use
 of the dative elsewhere with δουλόω, see 158n.sup. (There is no
 precise parallel for our line). Paul here applies to the voluntary
 submission of a subject the language which in the earlier instances
 (and elsewhere, see nn. on 158-9 sup.) is applied to the forcible
 subjugation of foreign peoples. A similar contrast is made more
 explicitly by Agapetus, Cap.20 (PG.86(1).1169D) σεπτὴ δικάϊως ἔστιν
 ἡ ἡμῶν βασιλεία ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις μὲν δεικνύει τὴν ἐξουσίαν,
 τοῖς ὑπηκόοις δὲ νέμει φιλανθρωπίαν· καὶ νικῶσα ἐκείνους τῇ
 δυναμεί τῶν ὅπλων, τῇ ἀόπλῳ ἀγάπῃ τῶν οἰκείων ἡττᾶται.

956-58. The argument is summarised first by a gnomic statement
 (956; cf. 115 sup.) and secondly by a bucolic synkrisis, which
 concludes the long section on J.'s clemency on a quiet and remote
 note; compare the effect of 166f, 182-4 and 207-13 sup. The two
 elements are linked by the now familiar technique of rhetorical
 anaphora (οἶσθα 956, 957).

956. οἶσθα γὰρ ὅσον, κτλ.: For parts of *εἶδω followed by
 clauses in ὅσον, ὥς, cf. Od.7.327f εἰδήσεις ... ὅσον ἄρισται/
 νῆες ἐμαῖ, Od.23.60 οἶσθα γὰρ ὥς κ' ἄσπαστος ἐνὶ μεγάροισι φανείη,
 and other exx. cit. Chantraine Grammaire homérique II.293, sec.430;
 Nonn.D.42.383f οἶσθα γὰρ, ὥς.../μισθὸν ἀγνορίης φιλοπάρθενος ὥπασε
 Σύριγξ, al., see Peek Lex.s.v. οἶδα I. Du Cange's correction of
 the ms. reading ὅσον to the epic form is necessary metr.gr. Homer
 speaks of ἀνάγκη as κρατέρη, Il.6.458, cf. A.R.2.18, also Orph.Hymn
3.11 ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει. For a similar use of ἀνάγκη of physical
 constraint or force by a superior (cf. LSJ s.v.3) in contemporary
 poetry, cf. Epigr.Gr.1064.6 οὐ ξίφος, οὐχ ἑτέρη βασάνων ἐτάραξεν
 ἀνάγκη, of the martyr Sergius; also A.P.16.332.3 (Agath.) where it
 is contrasted with πειθῶ. For κρατερώτερος with genitive of comparison,
 cf. Opp.C.3.237ff Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὅσον ἔφυ ζήλοιο πανάγριον ἦτορ./
 κεῖνον καὶ φύσιος κρατερώτερον εἰσοράσθαι/θῆκας; comparative

κρατερώτερας alone, id.H.1.753, 2.45.

957f. οἷσθα...ὥς: See preceding note.

νομίοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι, κτλ.: The epithet νόμιος (see n.inf.) at once indicates the pastoral setting of the following analogy. An anonymous epigram in the Planudean appendix (A.P.16.74) uses a very similar analogy to make the opposite point in the related context of advising an official, μίξον μειλιχίῃ βαῖδον φόβον (line 1; cf. Agap.Cap.48, cit.954n.sup.). The epigrammatist illustrates his point by three analogies, the sting with which the bee is armed (line 1f), the whip needed to direct the proud horse (line 3) and finally (line 4f) οὐδὲ συῶν ἀγέλη ἐπιπείθεται ἀνδρὶ νομῆι, / πρὶν καὶ ἐριγδοῦποιο καλαῦροπος ἦχον ἀκούσῃ. The striking linguistic similarity between the final half-line and our 958 indicates the dependence of one upon the other. But the anonymity both of the epigrammatist and of the official addressed means that the epigram cannot be dated very precisely. It occurs in the long series of poems in A.P.16 concerned with works of art (see Beckby Vol.IV, p.302); many of the surrounding poems (although not A.P.16.75) belong to the fifth and sixth cents., and the style and language of 74 are in the Nonnian manner. This is illustrated most simply by the fact that the epithet βομβήεσσα, applied to the bee in line 2, is likewise used of the bee in eadem sede at Nonn.D.14.422, and is not attested outside these two authors. It seems probable that in our line Paul was deliberately adapting the epigram, since his argument, that the bull is more amenable to persuasion than to force, is less obvious than that of the epigrammatist, and could have been made in refutation of the latter. Paul's substitution of the bull for the herd of pigs in the epigram is in accordance with this hypothesis: although the bull is a familiar inhabitant of the pastoral world (e.g. Il.2.481, Theoc.1.74, 25.126, al., A.R.1.1265, Coll.106, 113, al., Cor.Laud.Just.4.198), its reputation for ferocity and belligerence make it a better analogy than the pig for the rebel, to whom Paul's synkrisis refers, its seduction by the pipe being as surprising and apparently

uncharacteristic as the rebel's conversion to allegiance.

νομίωσιν ἐν ἄνθεσι: Cf. Il.2.89 ἐπ'ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν; Theoc.5.87 ἐν ἄνθεσι; GVI 1830.4 (3rd cent.A.D.) ἄνθεσιν ἐν μαλακοῖς (in Elysium); Opp.C.2.198 χθαμαλοῖσιν ἐπ'ἄνθεσι ποίης; Nonn.D.32.89, 98 ἐν ἄνθεσι(ν). The adjective νόμιος is first used as an epithet of pastoral gods (see LSJ s.v.(A)), and then also more widely in later poets, A.R.1.578 μέλος, cf. A.P.7.174.1 (Eryc.) συρίγγων νόμιον μέλος; A.P.16.305.6 (Ant.Thess.) δονάκων; Opp.H.4.356 δόλον, C.4.3 χαμεῦναι; Nonn.D.14.76 ποίμνη, 15.208 καλαῦροπα, 27.227 σύριγξ, al.; A.P.6.73.3 (Mac.Cons.) κορύναν, ib.168.4 (Paul Sil.) σκύλακας.

958. πειθόμενος σύριγγι: "heeding the pipe". Cf. Nonn.D.4.299f οὐ τι νι κέντρῳ/πείθεται, οὐ μᾶστιγι κελεύεται, of Zeus disguised as a bull in courting Europa; Tryph.362f οὐδὲ βοτῆρι/πείθεται οὐδὲ νομοῖο λιλαίεται, of a heifer stung by a gadfly; A.P.16.74.4, quoted in n.sup. on 957f.

καλαῦροπος ἦχον ἀλύσκει: Cf. A.P.16.74.5, quoted in n.sup. on 957f. The καλαῦροψ is the shepherd's staff, which was thrown to control the herd. According to a scholium on Il.23.845 (V.498.32ff Erbse), it was used to separate the gathered herd (contra LSJ s.v.) and had attached to it a thong which the herdsman used when throwing, as often in javelin-throwing, cf. Leaf's n. on Il.loc.cit. For a discussion of ancient throwing-sticks (especially the λαγωβόλον), see Norman Douglas, Birds and Beasts of the Greek Anthology (1928) 50ff. The fact that the καλαῦροψ was thrown accounts for the use of ἦχον here: the animal would be familiar with the sound of the staff as it was hurled through the air. The term καλαῦροψ occurs once in Homer (loc.cit.sup.) and then in Alexandrian and later poetry and prose, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.4.974, Nonn.D.20.116 ἡνιόχευε καλαῦροπι ταῦρον ἀλήτην (of an Indian riding a bull), 34.254 ἴθυνε καλαῦροπι πῶεα μῆλων, al., Par.21.108 οὐρανίη ποίμαινε καλαῦροπι μῆλα καὶ ἄρνας; Coll.109 βοῶν ἐλάτειρα, καλαῦροψ; inf.Amb.208 γυρὸν ἐϋγνάμπτοιο καλαῦροπος

εἶδος ἐλίσσω, of the two crosses adorning the architrave of the ambo. The noun ἥχος (= ἡχή, Il.13.837, etc.) does not occur in poetry before the Alexandrian period, see LSJ s.v., adding Call. Del.140, id.fr.23.2 Pf.; Epigr.Gr.989.4, 996.8, al.; A.P.7.267.3 (Posidipp.), 9.409.1 (Antiphan.); Opp.C.1.207; Nonn.D.1.170, cf. Par.8.147, D.25.268, al.; A.P.4.3B.82, 16.244.1 (both Agath.). The verb ἀλύσκω is constructed with accusative by Homer, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.1035, 4.735, al.; Theoc.24.69 (simil.with ὑπαλύξαι, Orph.Arg.106); Opp.H.2.236, 4.64, al.; Nonn.D.23.7, 47.386, al., Par.12.47; Tryph.127; A.P.5.219.3 (Paul Sil.).

959. ἔνθεν: Causal, see n.sup. on 155 and cf. ὅθεν 6, 10, 17, 18 sup., where the adverb similarly introduces the theme of Christ's championship of J. (see n.sup. on 935-66). Whereas in the iambic prologue this is seen as arising from J.'s active promulgation of Christianity, its origin is here ascribed to his benevolent rule, as exemplified by his clemency. The two parallel sections (6-21, 959-66) mark the beginning and the end of the two encomia of J. which frame the ekphrasis proper: the new theme of the patriarch is indicated inf. 963ff. For the theme of the foundation of imperial prosperity in divine assistance, see n.sup. on 6f.

ἀεὶ καμάτοιο τεοῦ προκέλευθος ἀνέστη: Cf.259 sup. ῥαβδὸν ἀεὶ προκέλευθον ἀνάκτων, and see n. ad loc. on this use of προκέλευθος with genitive. The phrase here is an epic equivalent for συνεργὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν/ἔχεις παρόντα, 6f sup. The verb ἀνέστη suggests that Christ stood up or rose to champion J., on the analogy of the Homeric sense of standing up as a champion to meet a challenge (often with dative), cf. Il.23.709 and see LSJ s.v.B.I.5, adding Nonn.D.19.158, 37.500, Tryph.171.

960. Χριστὸς ἄναξ: Cf. Nonn.Par.1.68, 3.142, al., inf. Amb.44, and see PGL s.v.1 for the use of ἄναξ of God and Christ. Elsewhere (140, 157, 239, 970, etc.) Paul uses the term of J.

960f. βουλὰς δὲ κυβερνητῆρι χαλινῷ/σεῖο κατιθύνει κρατερόφρονas:
"and with guiding bridle your stout-hearted counsels he keeps straight".

Cf. 226 sup. κυβερνητῆρι τεῶ διέπουσα χαλινῶ, where, however, Roma is speaking of J. as a bridle in her hands, while in our line Christ is said to pull on the bridle which controls J.'s counsels. The essential idea in both passages is that of J. and a superhuman force working in concert, and Paul, the Hellenic Christian, expresses it in similar linguistic terms whether the superhuman power is pagan or Christian (although see n.sup. on 219-54, fin., on the neutral character of Roma). For the expression κυβερνητῆρι χαλινῶ and the use of such imagery, see n.sup. on 226. The verb κατιθύνω (equivalent to κατευθύνω) is originally used of steering a ship (Hdt.2.96); it occurs occasionally in Alexandrian poetry (see LSJ s.v., adding Mosch.2.151 τόνδε κατιθύνοντα πλόον προκέλευθον ἐμείο), but is very rare in later poets, cf. Orph.Arg.126 νῆα κατιθύνειν δεδάει πολυμήτιδι τέχνῃ. For the following instrumental dative, see the exx. of this usage with κατευθύνω quoted by LSJ s.v.; so too with simple ἰθύνω (which is used of ruling as early as Il.17.632 Ζεὺς...πάντ'ἰθύνει, see LSJ s.v.3), e.g. Od.5.270 πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο, Opp.C.1.95f (quoted 226n.sup.), Nonn.D.34.254 (quoted 958n.sup.). The epithet κρατερόφρων is used by Homer of Heracles (cf. A.R.1.122) and other heroes, and also of a wild animal (Il.10.184), see LSJ s.v., adding Orph.Lith.550 φωτὶ, Opp.C.2.464 θῆρα, 3.337 φῦλα (jackals). For Paul's use, cf. Hes.Op.147 ἀδάμαντος ἔχον κρατερόφρονα θυμὸν, Orph.fr.164.2 πῶς χρή μ'ἀθανάτων ἀρχὴν κρατερόφρονα θέσθαι;. Hesychius' gloss on the epithet (cited in the genitive), βουλευφόρου, may be a clue to Paul's reason for choosing it to qualify βουλᾶς here.

961f. εἴτ' ἐπὶ χάρμην, κτλ.: "whether there is need to bare the sword for war or cover it"; i.e. in war and peace. The expression replaces the more detailed list of J.'s achievements in peace and war given in the iambic prologue (6-16).

961. εἴτ' ἐπὶ χάρμην: For the line-end, cf. Nonn.D.26.215 = Tryph.382 οὓς ἐπὶ χάρμην, Jo.Gaz.Anacr.1.3 (PLG III.342) οὐκ ἐπὶ χάρμην; Il.13.104 οὐδ' ἐπὶ χάρμη (of deer); sup. 135 οὐδ' ἐπὶ νίκην. The noun χάρμη ("joy of battle", or, as here, simply "battle") is used

frequently by Homer (see LSJ s.v.) and Nonnus (D.20.266, 38.13, al.), but only rarely elsewhere in later poetry, Lycoph.563, 1271 (both plural), Tryph.loc.cit., 619, A.P.16.44.4 (Anon., 9th cent.).

962. φάσγανα γυμνῶσαι...εἶτε καλύψαι: The verb γυμνῶ is used elsewhere of drawing a weapon, Hdt.3.64, A.Th.624 (both passive); A.P.16.124.2 (Anon.); Nonn.D.10.39, 23.61, al.; exx. from late prose PGL s.v.3. The adjective γυμνός is applied in Homer to a bow (Od.11.607) and an arrow (Od.21.417), see LSJ s.v.3, adding Nonn.D.29.218 φάσγανα...γυμνὰ. But καλύπτω does not regularly occur in this context. The two verbs are, however, regularly used respectively of baring the body and of covering it with clothes or armour et simil., and it is on this analogy that Paul writes καλύπτω here. For the verb in this latter context, cf. Il.3.141 (middle), 16.360 (passive), and other exx. cit. LSJ s.v.I.1 fin., A.R.4.1294, Nonn.D.20.271, 37.763, al., Coll.183, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.308. The noun φάσγανον (here poetic plural for singular) is epic, Il.5.81, Od.22.84, al., A.R.1.1250, 2.101, al., Call.Del.183, Theoc.22.197, 201, GVI 722.11 (2nd cent.A.D.), Opp.C.1.154, H.2.24, al., Nonn.D.2.293, 37.442, al., Tryph.20, A.P.5.248.8 (Paul Sil.).

τελέθει χρέος: Nonnus often uses χρέος (ἔστί) with genitive or (less frequently) infinitive/accusative and infinitive, like χρῆ, in the sense "need" (cf. LSJ s.v. χρέος VIII), e.g. D.4.43 τί χρέος ἦν ἀνάεδνον ἔχειν τινὰ γυμνὸν ἀκοίτην, Par.3.39 ὅτι χρέος ἐστὶ νοῆσαι..., . Paul here substitutes poetic τελέθει for ἐστί. The former is used by Homer with predicative adjectives and more widely by later poets, in the sense "to be", see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.P.7.531.8 (Ant.Thess.), 9.332.2 (Nossis). A.R.4.1576, Call.Ap.50, Lav.Pall.67, Theoc.10.49, 26.21, al., D.P.211, 673, Opp.H.3.51, C.1.320, al., Nonn.Par.7.42, 8.103, al. (but it is not listed in Peek Lex. for Nonn.D.), Coll.266, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.335, 2.343, al., A.P.5.218.11, 263.5, 7.583.7, 11.372.6 (all Agath.), ib.7.563.4 (Paul Sil.); ib.15.50.2, 16.344.1,4 (both Anon. epigrams on charioteers).

963. ὅς σε καὶ, κτλ.: Paul uses the theme of Christ's championship

of J. in order to introduce and pay a compliment to the patriarch Eutychius, who is addressed 978-1029. Considerable care is taken here and in 967-77 to introduce the patriarch with proper tact: Paul praises Eutychius' virtue, but emphasises the importance of J.'s role in making this wise selection of patriarch, cf. 973-77 inf. Eustratius' Life of Eutychius (on which see n.inf. on 978-1029) similarly suggests (ch.23, PG.86(2).2301A) that God directed J.'s choice of Eutychius, ἀλλ'ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκευάζων Θεὸς, ἐτάζων δὲ καρδίας καὶ νεφροῦς, καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καρδίαν βασιλέως κατέχων μετὰ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, κλίνει καὶ τὴν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου βασιλέως καρδίαν εἰς τὸν ἄξιον ἄνδρα, κτλ. Chapter 24 (col.2301B-C) describes two visions, one seen by the man sent by J. to guard Eutychius (φυλάξαι τε μετὰ τῆς προεπούσης τιμῆς, 2301A) and one seen by J. himself, both of which indicated that Eutychius should be patriarch; see further 966n.inf. According to Evagrius (HE 4.38, 187.27ff Bid.-Parm.), J. chose Eutychius to succeed Menas because he was impressed by Eutychius' masterly arguments at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych. 22-23 (PG.86(2).2300C).

σε...δῶκεν ἐλέσθαι: The phraseology suggests the granting of a prayer, since δίδωμι followed by accusative and infinitive is the construction used by Homer in prayers and vows, e.g. Il.3.322 δὸς ἀποφθίμενον δῦναι δόμον Ἀἴδος εἴσω, cf. Od.3.60, al., see LSJ s.v.III.1 and cf. Nonn.D.39.209 δὸς δέ με νικῆσαι καὶ ἐν ὕδασι. The construction of the verb with dative and infinitive is more common.

ἀρηιτῆρα θεουδέα: "a God-fearing/reverent Priest". On ἀρηιτῆρ, see n.sup. on 344, where it is also applied to Eutychius, and for θεουδέης, see nn.sup. on 168, 342.

964f. ῥηϊδίως κρανᾶν, κτλ.: "who easily runs over all the rugged path of fourfold virtue". Cf. A.P.1.10.36 (Anon., 6th cent.) εὐσεβίης ξύμπασαν ἀεὶ πατέουσα πορείην, of Anicia Juliana, and the similar reference to Eutychius inf. 1015f. Eustratius (V.Eutych.11,

PG.86(2).2288B) describes Eutychius' decision to become a monk as προσδραμεῖν τε τῷ ὄρει τῶν ἀρετῶν, λέγω δὲ τῷ τῶν μοναχῶν ἀγγελικῷ χορῷ, cf. ib.2 (col.2276D) οὕτω κάκεινη ἡ θεία τε καὶ ἱερὰ κεφαλὴ (sc. τοῦ Εὐτυχίου)...πάσαν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐγκολπωσαμένη. Cf. Theoph. Sim.Hist.dial.11 (21.20f de Boor) ἐπὶ τε τὸν κολοφῶνα τῶν ἀρετῶν τὴν ἀποικίαν ποιοῦμενος, of the patriarch Sergius; also the passage from Bas.Sel.V.Thecl. quoted in n.sup. on 309f. Paul has in mind Hes.Op.289ff τῆς δ'ἀρετῆς ἰδρώτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν/ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν/καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὶ δ'εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηται, ῥηιδίῃ δὲ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ εἰσοῦσα. On the wide citation and discussion of this passage throughout antiquity, including a quotation of line 289 by Agathias, see n.sup. on 302-10 fin. Cf. also Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.87ff on Arete, the colour of whose robe (crimson at the front but grey at the back) symbolises the toil which the aspiring mind must endure before reaching her meadow: συνερχομένη δὲ καρήνῃ (i.e. when it reaches Virtue's mountain-top)/ῥηιδίως σκίρτησε γαληνιόωντι προσώπῳ, /μόχθον ὅλον ῥίψασα (92ff).

In designating ἀρετῇ with the epithet τετραζύξ, Paul refers to the four cardinal virtues of classical philosophy, e.g. Pl. Rep.4.6, 427e δῆλον δὲ ὅτι σοφὴ τ'ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ σώφρων καὶ δικαία, of the perfect state. These virtues remained central to political philosophy in the late antique period, cf. (for example) Men.Rhet.373.7f Ἀρεταὶ δὲ τέσσαρες εἰσιν, ἀνδρεία, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις (the emperor's πράξεις are to be categorised according to the virtues they represent). They are thought to have been first adapted to Christian ethics by Ambrose in the 4th cent., in an allegorical explanation of the four rivers of Paradise, see the discussion s.v. Tugend in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche Vol.10 (ed. Höfer and Rahner; Freiburg 1965), col.395ff, and cf. PGL s.v. ἀρετῇ B.2 for references to the cardinal virtues in Greek patristic writers. For a reference to the four virtues in late poetry, cf. A.P.7.343.5 (Anon., ?5th cent.) τῶν πισύρων ἀρετῶν ἀμαρύγματα πάντα φέροντα.

964. ῥηιδίως : The adverb is usually placed emphatically at

the beginning of the line, as here, e.g. Il.4.390, Od.14.254, al.; A.R.1.155, 3.88, al.; Call.fr.202.35 Pf.; D.P.881; Opp.C.2.525, H.2.236, al.; Procl.Hymn 1.47; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.93 (cit.sup.), 2.92, 154.

κραναῖν ἀρετῆς τετράζυγος οἶμον : The variants suggested in the ms. (genitive κραναῖς, accusative τετράζυγον, see Fr.'s app.crit.) have been rightly disregarded by all editors, since Paul certainly intended κραναός to qualify οἶμος, corresponding to Hesiod's τρηχύς (Op.291, quoted sup.). The variants no doubt originated from confusion about the gender of οἶμος (perhaps combined with doubt about the genitive form τετράζυγος, from τετράζυξ, as opposed to τετραζύγου, from τετράζυγος, see n.inf.). But feminine οἶμος is attested as early as E.Alc.835 (cit. LSJ s.v.) and often in later poetry, e.g. A.R.4.296, 838, A.P.7.246.4 (Ant.Sid.), ib.627.2 (Diod. ?Zonas), 717.2 (Anon.), 9.526.4 (Alph.Myt.), 16.334.4 (Antiphil.); GVI 1330.5, 1539.2; Opp.H.5.202; Nonn.Par.1.85, 2.68; A.P.9.811.4 (Anon., aet.Justiniani). Homer uses the epithet κραναός only of Ithaca, Il.3.201, Od.1.247, al., cf. A.P.16.295.4 (Anon.); later poets apply it to other specific places, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.608, 4.580; A.P.9.679.3 (Anon.); Orph.Hymn 35.5; Orph.Arg.1357; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.354 (PG.37.996A); Nonn.D.13.161, 26.51, al.; A.P.7.614.8 (Agath.). But it is also used more generally of landscape, as here, e.g. A.P.9.64.2 (Ascl. or Arch.) ἐν κραναοῖς οὐρεσιν; Nonn.D.4.346 πορείης, 5.542 κελεύθων, al.; A.P.5.237.10 (Agath.) εἰς ἔποπος κραναῖν αὐλιν. The epithet τετράζυξ (as opposed to τετράζυγος, for which, cf. E.Hel.1039f ὄχων, Maneth. 5(6).171 ἄρμα), occurs first in Nonnus, who uses it both literally, of horses (D.2.422, 12.9, al.) and more widely in the general sense "fourfold", as here, e.g. D.5.54 ἀνέμων τετράζυγι κόσμῳ, 7.6 δεσμῷ of the four elements, 25.364 ἦραι, Par.7.9 γνωτοῖ ψευδαλέοι τετράζυγες υἱες Ἰωσήφ, 19.74 δουρατέου θανάτοιο...τετράζυγι δεσμῷ (i.e. crucifixion). For Paul's idea of the four virtues yoked like horses, cf. Theoph.Sim.8.12.6 (307.17f de Boor) where the dead emperor Maurice is envisaged as the charioteer of the virtues.

965. ἐπιτροχάοντα: The verb ἐπιτροχάω is not attested before the

Alexandrian period (but cf. ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευε Il.3.213, ἐ. ἀγορεύει Od.18.26). So A.R.4.1265f ἤλιθα δ' ὕδωρ/ξαινόμενον πολιῆσιν ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισιν, cf. D.P.203 ἄμπωτις ξηρῆσιν ἐπιτροχάει ψαμάθοισιν, also of the sea ib.148, of the river Tanais 665; absolute A.R.4.1606 of a man running beside a horse; Nic.Al. 544f σάρκα δ' ἐπιτροχόωσαι ἀολλέες...πελιδναί/σμώνιγγες (of the effects of the bite of the Salamander lizard); Arat.889 ῥαθάμιγγες ἐπιτροχόωσ' ὕετοιο (of a cloud); A.P.9.306.1f (Antiphil.) οὐκέτι πεύκη/κυμάτος, ἀλλ' ἤδη ρινὸς ἐπιτροχάει (of boats); Nonn.D.6.235f ἐπιτροχόωσα δὲ δίφρῳ/Καρκίνον...κυκλοῦτο Σελήνη.

965f. ἡγαθέοισι θώκοις/Ῥώμης: "the most holy seat of Rome", i.e. the patriarchal throne of Cpl. The term θώκος/θῶκος is used elsewhere to denote an ecclesiastical chair of office, e.g. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.7 (PG.37.1228) Χριστοφόροι, θῶκοισιν ἐνεδριδώντες ἀρίστοις, of bishops, ibid. line 145 (col.1238) θῶκων ἱερῶν, see further PGL s.v. θῶκος. Prose writers more commonly use θρόνος in this context, e.g. Evagr.HE 4.36 (185.16f Bid.-Parm.) Ἀνθεμίου... τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλίδος ἐκβεβλημένου, of the patriarchal throne of Cpl., Eustrat.V.Eutych.23 (PG.86(2).2300D) Μηνᾶς, τὸν θρόνον διέπων τῆς βασιλευούσης πόλεως, see PGL and Du Cange Glossarium s.v. For the use of θῶκος in other contexts in Paul, see nn.sup. on 148 (where exx. are given of its use in the poetic plural for singular, as here) and 339, noting its use of the synthronon of S.Sophia sup. 362, 366, 421. The epithet ἡγάθεος, here applied to the highest ecclesiastical seat, is used by Homer and later poets to denote "places immediately under divine protection" (LSJ). To the testimonies cited by LSJ add A.R.1.308 Δῆλον, 4.1329 Ἀχαιίδα, Orph.Hymn 48.4 Τμῶλον, Orph.Arg.44 Μέμφιν; also of gods and of people, Orph.Hymn pr.31 Δαίμονα, Opp.H.4.5 υἱέος ἡγάθεον κῆρ (the emperor's son), Greg.Naz.Carm.2.2.7.5f (PG.37.1551) Καππαδόκοισι, A.P.1.91.1 (Anon.) of the empress Theodora, ib.15. 48.4 (Anon., on the charioteer Uranius) Πέλοπος.

966. οὐρανίη τις...ἐνθεος ὁμφή: "a divine voice from heaven". See 963n.sup. on the evidence of Eustratius' Life of Eutychius for

the divine ordination of Eutychius' appointment as patriarch, and cf. also *ib.ch.21* (col. 2297C ff), describing a dream in which Eutychius is told by God that he will become patriarch; *ch.22* (col. 2300B), where Menas, Eutychius' predecessor as patriarch, foresees that Eutychius will succeed him. The accounts of visions preserved in the *Life* may have been known to Paul: Eustratius states that J. described his vision τῷ τε εὐαγγελί κλήρῳ καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ (*ch.23*, col. 2301C). In it J. saw the apostle Peter, ὑποδεικνύντα αὐτῷ τὸν μέγαν Εὐτύχιον, καὶ λέγοντα, ὅτι Τοῦτον ποίησον ἐπίσκοπον γενέσθαι (*ibid.*). The vision of Eutychius is reported by Eustratius in what purport to be Eutychius' own words, Ἐθεώρουν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ἀστράγαλον χειρὸς Δεσποτικῆς ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ..., καὶ ἤκουον φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι, ...ὅτι Ἐκεῖ γίνη ἐπίσκοπος (col. 2297C-D). It may be that this account of Eustratius was based on documentary evidence (or a sermon) from Eutychius, which was also known to Paul. But such stories were no doubt commonly associated with the appointment of patriarchs.

The term ὁμφή is used by Homer of the voices of gods, *Il.20.129*, *Od.3.215*, al., and by later poets of oracles *et simil.*, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.4.1382, *Epigr.Gr.1008.2*, *Orph.Arg.88*, 190, 265, al., *Nonn.D.12.107*, and especially *ib.7.161* (= 12.141, 25.380) ἔνθεον ὁμφήν; also *inf.Amb.31* πνεύματος ἀχράντοιο...ὁμφή. For ἔνθεος in a Christian context, cf. also *Jo.Gaz.Descrip.1.33* ἔνθεον εἰρήνης σημήϊον, of the Cross; *Georg.Pisid.Hex.43* (PG.92.1430) τὸν σὸν ἔνθεον σπόρον, of the patriarch Sergius, in a metaphor of his making barren places fruitful. For οὐρανίη...ὁμφή, cf. *Nonn.Par.12.119* οὐρανίης...φωνῆς, of an angel. All three terms (οὐράνιος, ἔνθεος, ὁμφή) are used by patristic writers, see *PGL* s.vv.

ἐφῆρμοσεν: Cf. 147 sup. with n. ad loc. Paul uses the verb again *inf.1019f* οὐδὲ καρήνοις/ἐμπορίην ἱεροῖσιν ἐφῆρμοσας, of Eutychius' unwillingness to trade in ecclesiastical offices (see n. ad loc.), *Amb.104* ἢ τις (i.e. Hierapolis) ἐὼν περίπυστον ἐφῆρμοσεν οὐνομα πέτρῳ, i.e. marble, *Amb.107* (ἔδος) ὀκτὼ δαιδαλέοισιν ἐφῆρμοσε κίοσι τέχνη (of the *ambo*). These examples indicate that the idea of fitting one thing onto another is not always as precise

as it is at 147; cf. also Nonn.D.41.108 (quoted 147n.sup.) "set foot on". So here the sense is simply "set upon". (Compare also the metaphorical usage of the middle at A.P.10.26.4, Lucian, and ib.9.768.6, Agath., cit. LSJ s.v.II.2 fin.). The unmetrical reading of the ms., ἐφῆρμωσεν, was corrected by Du Cange.

967-77. This passage may be compared with the opening panegyric hexameters (135-67, esp. 135-44), both for thematic similarities, although here the scale is much smaller, and also on stylistic grounds. In both passages Paul draws a distinction between J.'s military and his civil victories and applauds the surpassing achievement of the latter, as exemplified in the one case by the building of S.Sophia (135-44) and in the other by the appointment of Eutychius as patriarch (967-77). Both passages allude to J.'s garland of victory (146; 972, 977) and to his defeat of hostile powers (Phthonos 160-63; the Devil and the passions 975-6). Moreover both passages are high-flown and rhetorical and clearly intended as stylistic pièces de resistance (note the commendatory marginal comment in the ms. at the beginning of our passage, quoted by Fr. in app.crit.). Aspects of this style common to both passages are the use of tricolon expressions (135-7, 147-51; 975-7) and elaborate compound epithets (e.g. τυραννοφόνους 137, πολύολβε 139, εὐπῆληκος 140, πολιισσοῦχοισιν 141; τροπαιοφόρων 967, εὐπτολέμων 967, cf. 971, ἀστυόχοις 971, 977, βιοδώτορι 973, ἀλιτρονόοιο 975. Paul's repetition of the two epithets εὐπτόλεμος and ἀστυόχος in this short passage may indicate that the last part of the poem was composed in some haste). Likewise, both passages begin boldly with a strongly dactylic line (135, 967; cf. also 136-8, 144, al.; 971, 975, 977). The purpose of our passage is to effect a transition to the panegyric of the patriarch Eutychius (978-1029), but the main emphasis is upon J. and his achievements, of which the culmination is his election of Eutychius, cf. 963n.sup. on Paul's concern to avoid offence in praising Eutychius. Eutychius had, of course, been patriarch since 552 (see n.sup. on lemma after line 80), although Paul's words tend to obscure this fact. Paul appears merely to have adapted the passage in praise of

S.Sophia as the culmination of J.'s peacetime achievements (135-67) to suit his present requirements, but the result is less felicitous than the earlier passage.

967f. ἄλλὰ τροπαιοφόρων, κτλ.: The genitive expression τροπαιοφόρων...ὕμνων is separative after ἀποκλίναντες, cf. Maneth. 4.595 Ἡελίου δ' ἄκτίνες ἀποκλίνωσιν Ὀλύμπου, also ib.6(3).721 ἀποκλίνω ἀπὸ..., al.; transitive, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.140.8 θυμὸν ἀποκλίνειας ἐμὸν μῦθων ἀθεμίστων; also occasionally in prose, e.g. Philostr.Im.1.14.4 στέφανον ἀποκλίνοντα τῆς κεφαλῆς (cit.LSJ s.v. III.3). But the verb is not commonly used in poetry (Od.19.556, h.Ven.168, S.OT 1192, lyr., Theoc.3.38, 7.130, Call.Del.209, 236) and is more often constructed with a preposition indicating the direction towards which there is a turning, see Theoc., Call. locc.citt.sup., other exx. LSJ, PGL s.v. For adverbial βαίῶν with aorist participle, cf. 942 sup. and parallels quoted in 180n.sup. The term ὕμνος is applied to songs in honour of heroes, as opposed to gods, as early as h.Ap.161 and Pindar, see the exx.cit. LSJ s.v. The epithets τροπαιοφόρος and εὐπτόλεμος indicate that Paul has in mind hymns celebrating J.'s military achievements, cf. 136f sup. οὐδὲ τροπαίοις / ἀμφὶ τυραννοφόνους κἀναχήποδα ῥυθμὸν ἀράσσω. The reference to military achievements is introduced for the same reason as at 136f, in order that Paul may draw a contrast with a surpassing peacetime achievement, here the appointment of Eutychius (see n.sup.). But this time the contrast is less successful, since the expression τροπαιοφόρων.../...ἀποκλίναντες suggests that the earlier part of the poem has indeed been primarily concerned with hymns in honour of J.'s military achievements, rather than with the peacetime achievement of the building of S.Sophia. Paul uses τροπαιοφόρος with θρίαμβος, referring to J.'s victories at 227 sup., see n. ad loc. The epic epithet εὐπτόλεμος (cf. 971 inf.), restored by Fr. from the ms. in place of εὐπολέμων of Du Cange, Graefe and Bekker, is first extant at Q.S.4.90 Τρώεσσι, ib.5.320 Ὀδυσῆϊ, cf. A.P.4.3B.22 (Agath.) σταχῦεσσι (of the Spartiates). / Spartoi At A.P.16.331.4 Ῥώμης εὐπολέμοις...ἐνναέταις, Agathias uses the earlier form of the adjective, cf. h.Mart.4, Xen.locc.citt. LSJ s.v.,

GVI 20.4 νίκῃν εὐπόλεμον (= IG I² .945, cit. LSJ Suppl.s.v.),
 ib.1564.2 εὐπόλεμόν τε Ἀρετῆν (late 5th cent.B.C.); Nonn.D.5.97f
 σιδηροφόρου δὲ καρῆνου/ῆθάδας εὐπολέμοιο λόφους ἀπεσεῖσατο χαίτης.
 The pronoun σέθεν is here objective genitive with ὕμνων, "hymns in
 your honour", as often, see 335n.sup.

968f. ἐπιτρέψωμεν ἀοιδῆν/σεμνὸν ἐς ἀρητῆρα: The sense must be
 "let us turn/direct our song towards the august Priest", i.e.
 Eutychius, see n.sup. on ἀρητῆρα 344. This is not, however, the
 normal sense of ἐπιτρέπω which is regularly constructed with accusative
 and dative and means "bequeath", "entrust", "yield" et simil.,
 see LSJ s.v. and cf. also A.R.1.642, 3.628, al., Call.Ap.44, Theoc.
 17.41, 29.35, Opp.H.3.113, C.2.232, al., Nonn.D.2.63, 17.119, al.,
 Par.2.114, 6.199, Agath.Hist.2.14.1, 5.24.6. The closest parallels
 for Paul's use of the term here are Opp.C.2.260 οἱ μὲν γάρ τ',
 ἐφ'ὕπερθεν ἐπιτρέψαντε κάρηνον, where, however, there is a variant
 reading ἐπιστρέψαντε; Nonn.D.15.110 γηραλέης πλατὺ νῶτον ἐπέτρεπε
 πυθμένι δάφνης, cf. ib.117. In earlier references to his poem,
 Paul does not use ἀοιδῆ as here, but rather ὕμνος (143, 172,
 967, cf. inf.970), ἔπεα (179, 352) or μῦθος (185, 312, 314).
 The epithet σεμνός is not Homeric, and occurs rarely in epic
 (h.Cer.1, 478, 486 of Demeter and her rites), but see LSJ s.v.II.1
 for its use of human and half-human beings in classical writers,
 and PGL s.v. for its use in Christian contexts in late prose.
 For its incidence in late poetry, cf. A.P.5.116.2 (Marc.Arg.), Epigr.
 Gr.588.5 (3rd cent.) σεμνὸν γλυκερὸν φάος ἡελίοιο, GVI 1288.6
 (?2nd/3rd cent.) τὰ κόσμου σεμνὰ, Orph.Hymn pr. 19 Διώνην, ib.18.18
 μυστιπόλοις, al., Procl.Hymn 7.18 κράτος...σεμνὸν ἐγερσιβρότων
 ἀρετῶν, inf. Amb.19.

969f. τεὸς δέ τίς ἐστι , κτλ.: "The hymn too for its part is
 in some respect yours, lord". The τις qualifies and limits τεὸς:
 the hymn is essentially in honour of Eutychius, but must be considered
 partly to belong to J. (who is denoted by ἀναξ), as explained
 in the following lines. On the other hand, καὶ αὐτὸς strengthens
 ὕμνος: this hymn too, as opposed to the earlier τροπαιοφόροι καὶ

εὐπτόλεμοι ὕμνοι. Emphatic καὶ αὐτὸς is Homeric, see LSJ s.v. αὐτός I.8, and it is very common in Nonnus, often at the line-end, e.g. D.8.88, 122, 126, etc., see Peek Lex.s.v. αὐτός I, and cf. A.P.16.338.5 (Anon., on the charioteer Porphyrius).

970-72. Νίκη γὰρ ἀμοιβαδὼν, κτλ.: "For Victory, coming by turns now from this quarter, now from that, for toils of successful warfare and labours in protection of the city, rested a delicate garland on your head". Cf. A.P.15.47.2f (Anon.) Νίκη δ'ἔστεφάνωσεν ἀμοιβαδὼν ἄλλοι'ἀπ'ἄλλου/χρῶματος ἄκρα φέροντα καρήατι σύμβολα νίκης, of the charioteer Porphyrius, and see Alan Cameron Porphyrius (Oxford 1973) 248-52, on the parallelism between the victory of the charioteer and that of the emperor. For the symbolic depiction of the crowning of the emperor by Victory, cf. Pan.Lat.6(7).21.4 (201.26ff Mynors) vidisti enim, credo, Constantine, Apollinem tuum comitante Victoria coronas tibi laureas offerentem; Cor.Laud.Just.3.201-3 par laevam dextramque tenens Victoria partem/altius erectis pendebat in aera pinnis,/ laurigeram gestans dextra fulgente coronam, describing the imperial throne in the Great Consistory, see Cameron ad loc., p.188. In our lines, Νίκη is personified, as it is in the epigram (and elsewhere in the charioteer epigrams, e.g. A.P.16.350.1, 357.3, 359.1; cf. ib. 62.3, Anon., on J.'s equestrian statue) and at 140 sup., 981 inf., see further nn. ad locc.

970. ἀμοιβαδὼν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλη: For the line-end, cf. A.R.4.953 ἀμοιβαδῖς ἄλλοθεν ἄλλη, Theoc.1.34 ἀμοιβαδῖς ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος, Nonn. Par.4.84 ἀμοιβαδὼν ἄλλον ἐπ'ἄλλῳ, inf. Amb.263 ἀμοιβαδὼν ἄλλον ἐν ἄλλῳ. The adverb ἀμοιβαδὼν (first at Parm.1.19) is much less common in late poetry than ἀμοιβαδῖς (same sense), cf. Stephanus s.v. ἀμοιβαδῖς, sed magis est poeticam ἀμοιβαδῖς quam ἀμοιβαδὼν. But for ἀμοιβαδὼν, see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v. and those quoted sup., adding Q.S.10.191, A.P.16.351.3 (Anon., on Porphyrius), Agath. Hist.3.28.2, inf. Amb.223, 271; cf. also ἀμοιβήδην, A.R.2.1071, Orph. Lith.691. For ἄλλοθεν ἄλλη, cf. ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοι 262 sup. and see n. ad loc.

971. εὐπτολέμοις καμάτοισι, κτλ. ∴ The epithets are used to draw the contrast between the victories of war and those of peace (on which see n.sup. on 967-77), whereas the two epithets in 967 both indicate the celebration of military achievements. See n. ad loc. on εὐπτόλεμος and 162n.sup. on ἀστυόχος. The two parallel dative expressions go closely with the preceding ἀμοιβαδὸν ἄλλοθεν ἄλλη and should probably be interpreted as causal, "for your toils". For the use of ἐπί and dative to express cause or occasion, see Chantraine *Grammaire homérique* II.109, sec.154 and cf. LSJ s.v. ἐπί B.III.1, K-G.I.502, sec. 438.3d, Peek *Lex.*s.v. ἐπί II.5. We must either understand ἐπί from the second dative expression to go with εὐπτολέμοις καμάτοισι also, or ally this dative with instances of causal dative in Nonnus, e.g. *D.*5.584, 10.44, al., see Keydell I.59*.

972. ὕμετέροις στέφος ἄβρὸν, κτλ. ∴ For the garlanding of J., cf. 146 sup., where (New) Roma is summoned to perform this task, and see n. ad loc. for this theme in general. The compound ἐπιστηρίζω (strictly "cause one thing to rest upon another") occurs in prose and late epic only, often in architectural contexts, cf. 276 sup., with n. ad loc. But for Paul's use of it here, cf. esp. Nonn.*D.*38.291f Φαέθοντος ἐπεστήριξε καρήνῃ χρυσεῖην τρυφάλειαν; also Opp.*C.*4.256 (χηλὸν) στεψάμεναι ὠτοῖσιν ἐπεστήριξαν ὄνοιο. The expression στέφος ἄβρὸν is Nonnian, *D.*33.99 καὶ στέφος ἄβρὸν Ἑρωτι πόρεν γελάσας Γανυμήδης; cf. also Pi.*I.*8.66ff ἀλίκων τῷ τις ἄβρὸν/ἀμφὶ παγκρατίου Κλεάνδρῳ πλεκέτω/μυρσίνας στέφανον. Paul writes plural καρήνοις here for singular; Homer similarly uses the term only in the plural.

973. καὶ γὰρ: Explanatory, cf. 253 sup. and 157 sup. with n. ad loc.

ὅτε: I.e. in A.D.552, see n.sup. on lemma after line 80, and cf. n.sup. on 967-77.

σκηπτοῦχε: See 156n.sup.

νόου βιοδωτόρι βουλῇ: The dative is sociative/instrumental, "in" or "by means of", see Keydell I.59*f and cf. Nonn.D.4.179 ἥ δὲ μεταστρέψασα νόον διδυμάονι βουλῇ (sociative), ib.4.455f ὃ δὲ Παλλάδος ἔμφρονι βουλῇ/Γηγενέων τινὰ πέτρον ἐπηώρησε καρῆνων (instrumental), 37.222f ἐπεὶ τεχνήμονι βουλῇ/πηδάλιον δίφροιο πέλει νόος ἡνιοχῆος (instrumental). For the collocation of νόος and βουλῇ, cf. 268 sup. and for βιοδωτόρι βουλῇ, cf. Nonn.Par.10.133f καὶ εἰ βιοδωτόρι μῦθω/ἡμετέρου γενετῆρος ἀτέρμονος ἄξια ῥέζω (Christ speaking). Earlier the epithet βιοδωτῶρ is applied to gods and may mean "giver of livelihood" (so LSJ), cf. Epigr.Gr. 820.2 = IG 3.239 (ca. 2nd cent.A.D.) β.Ἀτθίδος, Orph.Hymn 73.2 βιοδωτόρα θνητῶν, of Zeus, and see LSJ s.vv. on the similar epithets βιοδότης, βιοδότης, βιοδῶτις (all rare too). Certainly LSJ's sense is intended at A.P.7.585.3 (Jul.Aeg.) ἦν γὰρ ἔχε ζώων βιοδωτόρα, of a ship.

974. ὕμετέροις τεμένεσσι, κτλ.: "you appointed the great Initiate to your precincts". The verb κληρόω is used in late prose in the technical sense "cause to become a cleric or religious" (κληρῶς), e.g. Evagr.HE 4.36 (186.6ff Bid.-Parm.) τὸν μὲν παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ λούτρῳ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας φωτισθέντας ἐκλήρωσε (sc. ὁ Ἰουστινιανός), passive, Cyr.S.V.Sab.18 (p.102.21 Schwartz), see Soph.Lex.s.v. κληρόω, Du Cange Glossarium s.v. κληρωθῆναι. So of bishops in the phrase ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦμαι, e.g. Evagr.HE 2.5 (50.30ff Bid.-Parm.) Προτέριος δὲ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ψήφῳ κοινῇ τῆς συνόδου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων κληροῦται, cf. Eus.HE 3.2 (I.98 Bardy), ib.3.4.8 (I.101), al., and see PGL s.v.1. For the middle (used absolutely) in the sense "appoint", as in our line, cf. Jo.Chrys. Hom.2.1 in Eph.1 (PG.62.17) θεὸς...ὃ κληρωσάμενος (= PGL s.v.4). Paul certainly had these prose usages in mind in his choice of the verb here, since it is not Homeric and is extremely rare in late poetry, cf. Call.fr.203.32 Pf. σὺ δὲ τραγωδεῖν ἐκ θεῶν ἐκληρώσω (passive; cf. LSJ s.v.I, "appoint by lot"), id. fr.18.10 ἐκληρώσαντό τ'ἔρετμά (middle, "allotted", cf. LSJ s.v.II), similarly D.P.1173f (οἱ θεοὶ) ἐκληρώσαντο δ'ἐκάστῳ/μοῖραν ἔχειν πόντοιο καὶ ἡπείροιο βαθείης.

Here and at 976, 977, also 1007, Paul uses the uncontracted Homeric form of the second person singular aorist middle (e.g. Od.1.62 ὠδύσαιο, cf. L.R.Palmer in Wace-Stubbings A Companion to Homer, London 1962, p.120). On Nonnus' "studious avoidance" of contraction, see Keydell I.43* and cf. Lehrs, op.cit.Keydell, p.259 Nec unquam formas passivorum εαι, εο, αο contraxit, of Nonnus; La Roche, op.cit.Keydell, p.208 "im fünften Fuss gibt es bei Nonnos selbstverständlich nur uncontrahierte Formen ebenso wie bei Homer". (But Paul does contract in iambs, sup.14 ἐτρέψω, cf. 976). For uncontracted second person aorist middle elsewhere in late poetry, cf. (for example) Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.13 (PG.37.971), ib.181 (col.984); ps.Ap.Met.Ps.4.13, 88.37; Eudoc.Cypr.1.88 (PG.85.836B); Anon.Laud.Beryt.55 (I.96 Heitsch), ps.Pampr. 1 verso 15 (I.109 Heitsch); A.P.1.5.6 (Anon.Byz.), ib.15.49.5, 50.4, 5, 16.351.5 (all Anon. epigrams on charioteers); A.P.16.332.2 (Agath.) In lines 976 and 977, Paul deliberately repeats this ending followed by a disyllabic accusative noun parallel to μύστην, so as to create a rhyming pattern which reinforces the rhetorical effect of the thrice-reiterated εὐθύς at the beginning of lines 975-77. Similar linguistic patterns have been observed elsewhere in highly rhetorical passages, see nn.sup. on 177-85 and 279-314. The use of rhetorical rhyme is a characteristic of the iambic poetry of George of Pisidia, see Pertusi's introduction to his edition, p.45ff.

The dative ὑμετέροις τέμενεσι is not really parallel to other instances of the dative after verbs of giving and distributing (K-G.I.406, sec.423.1; cf. D.P.1173, quoted sup.), since such datives usually denote the person(s) to whom the gift or distribution is made. It is more akin to the poetic (especially Homeric) use of the dative after verbs of ruling et simil. (K-G.I.409, sec.423.6) and so implies "appointed as master over". For τέμενος applied to churches, see 197n.sup. and on Paul's use of the term μύστης, see 313n.sup. Eustratius' V.Eutych. refers to τὸν μέγαν Εὐτύχιον (ch.23, PG.86(2).2300D, cf. ch.32, col.2312B), ὁ μέγας ἄνθρωπος (ch.34, col.2313D), etc. His ordination as patriarch is described in ch.25 (col.2304 A-B).

975f. At the appointment of Eutychius, the Devil collapses and the passions are routed. The military terminology (δρμή, ἐτρέψαο χάρμην) recalls the account of the defeat of Phthonos described in epic terms at 160-63 sup., see nn. ad loc. Here, however, the ideas are more explicitly Christian: the implication of the lines is that the virtue of Eutychius is so great (cf. 964f sup.) that the forces of evil at once collapse before it; cf. Romanos 2 δ'8ff, where the serpent which tempted Eve is said to flee at the Nativity. In the NT, the devils who cause diseases are discomfitted when confronted with Christ, e.g. Ev.Luc.8.28f ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνακράξας προσέπεσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ εἶπε, τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; δέομαί σου, μὴ με βασανίσῃς. παρήγγελλε γὰρ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀκαθάρτῳ ἐξελεθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, of the man possessed by devils, which Jesus causes to leave him and enter the Gadarene swine. Cf. PGL s.v. δαίμων F on the defeat of demons through Christ and the Church, ib.s.v. διάβολος B.8 on the defeat of the Devil by Christ. Christ handed on to his disciples his power over devils (e.g. Ev.Marc.3.15, Ev.Luc.10.17), and in later saints' Lives a similar power to discomfit demons is commonly ascribed to the holy man, e.g. Eustrat.V.Eutych.5 (PG.86(2).2280B) where Eutychius' grandfather and namesake is said to have received from God the power to cast out devils and heal disease, ὃν ἔφριπτον καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς θεᾶς οἱ ἐνοχλοῦμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι φέρειν τὴν ἀπαστράπτουσαν χάριν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, παραχρῆμα κατέπιπτον,...κτλ.

In patristic texts, the passions are regularly associated with sin, evil, corruption, etc., see PGL s.v. πάθος 3, 4 and esp.5, on their association with the Devil and ib.9, on the fight against the passions and their control by virtue; cf. No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica 15'6 τὰς ἐκ τῶν παθῶν δαιμονίους ὁρμάς; Theoph.Sim. 7.6.1 (254.24f de Boor) where John, patriarch of Cpl. (died 595) is said to have been called Νηστευτῆς, διὰ τὸ καταφιλοσοφῆσαι λίαν τῶν ἡδονῶν τυραννῆσαί τε τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτορά τε τῆς κοιλίας γενέσθαι; Sabas V.S.Joanicii 2 (ASS Novembris, Vol.2, Pt.1, Brussels 1894, p.334A; 9th cent), where it is explained that the youthful Joanicius was able to allow his pigs to wander at will unharmed under the

protection of the sign of the Cross, ὡς μέλλοντι ὑποτάσσειν τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ἡδομένους ἐχθροὺς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δαίμονας, ὡς θήρας καὶ κλεπτὰς, ἐλαύνειν καὶ ἀποτρέπεσθαι. In the V.Eutych. 64 (PG.86(2).2348A), Eustratius describes how, during his exile, Eutychius was continually tried, οὐ γὰρ διέλιπον οἱ ἐμβάλλοντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κάμινον τῶν πειρασμῶν, ὁρατοί τε καὶ ἀόρατοι ἐχθροὶ, καίοντες τὴν φλόγα τῶν παθημάτων, κτλ.

975. εὐθὺς: Cf. 944 sup. with n. ad loc.

ἄλιτρονόοιο κατήριπε δαίμονος ὄρμη: Cf. 273 sup. δαίμονος ἀντιβίοιο βαρυτλήτοισιν ἐρωαίς, and see n. ad loc. on the use of δαίμων to denote the Devil. In the earlier passage (cf. 195, 221), the Devil is associated specifically with the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia in A.D.558, but here Paul refers in vague general terms to the assaults of the Devil against J.'s Christian empire. The noun ὄρμη is here used in the Homeric sense "onrush", "assault", Il.9.355, al., see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Nonn.D.37.511 ἀντιπάλοιο... ὄρμην, Agath.Hist.1.8.1 τὰς τῶν πολεμίων...ὄρμᾶς, etc. The epithet ἄλιτρονόος, "wicked-minded", survives once in Alexandrian poetry, Maiist.56 (p.70 Powell) φῶτας, and occasionally in later poetry, Orac.ap.Eus.PE 4.20 (168d) δαίμον, ἄλιτρονόων ψυχῶν διάδημα λελογχῶς, Epigr.Gr.1052.5 (4th cent.) ἄλιτρονόων μόθον εἴργων, Nonn.Par.9.150 ἀνδρῶς, 12.124 κόσμου, sup. 705 μερίμνας, of the concerns of the disciples before they followed Christ. On κατήριπε, see 187n.sup.

976. εὐθὺς ὅλων παθέων, κτλ.: "straightway you routed the grievous battle of the passions". Cf. 14 sup. τοὺς μὲν εἰτρέψω μάχαις. Homer uses only active τρέπω in the sense "rout" (Il.15.261, al.), but the middle is sometimes used in the same sense in Attic and Koine writers, see LSJ s.v.III and cf. A.P.6.168.4 (Paul Sil.) νομίους τρεψάμενον σκύλακας, of a boar. The verb usually has an object which is personal or implies people; so here παθέων...χάρμην has personal implication, to a certain extent. On χάρμη, see n.sup. on 974. The adjective χαλεπός is used in the

Homeric sense "hard to bear", "grievous", cf. Od. 11.622 ἄεθλous, 23.250 πόνος, al., see LSJ s.v.I.1 and 2; in later prose, however, the term also has the sense "bad", "evil" (see Arndt and Gingrich s.v., PGL s.v.4) and Paul may have had this sense in mind too in choosing it here. (Nonnus does not use the word). The noun πάθος is regularly used in the sense "emotion", "passion" in late prose, see LSJ s.v.II, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2, PGL s.v.II, but it is rare in poetry in any sense, see LSJ s.v. and cf. Epigr.Gr. 853.1, 1003.5; Procl.Hymn 7.17; A.P. 1.118.1 (Anon.), 7.483.4 (Anon.), 10.88.1, 98.2, 11.304.2 (all three Pallad.), 11.73.8 (Nicarch.II); Jo.Gaz.Descr. 1.28; Georg.Pisid.Hex. 1881 (PG. 92.1577). Paul writes ὅλων παθῶν ("sufferings") in eadem sede sup.598.

977. εὐθὺς ἐπ' ἄστυόχοις, κτλ.: "straightway you bound on the wreath of victory for toils in protection of the city". The election of Eutychius as patriarch won J. victory in his peacetime endeavours, as the building of S.Sophia is said to have done at 135-7 sup. But in both cases the victory of peace is equated with the triumph of Christianity in some form. For ἐπ' ἄστυόχοις καμάτοις, cf. 971 ἄστυόχοις ἐπὶ μόχθοις with n. ad loc. The verb ἀναδέω is used by Pindar of binding a victory wreath about the head, and its transferred use in the middle voice with νίκας is as old as Simon. 10 Bergk τίς δὴ τῶν γε νῦν τοσάσδε πετάλσι μύρτων/ ἢ στεφάνοισι ῥόδων ἀνεδήσατο νίκας;. The poetic expression is imitated by Agathias at Hist. 1.15.10, 2.22.5, 3.23.10 (cf. R.C. McCail in Byzantion 38, 1968, 563), and is a plausible conjecture of Lobeck at Nonn.D. 19.295 γλυκερὴν δὲ Μάρων ἐδέύσατο νίκην. Cf. also A.P. 16.56.3 (Anon.) οὐ γὰρ ὅ γ' ἀμφήριστον ἔλων ἐστέψατο νίκην, ib. 379.3 (Thom.Patr.), with Alan Cameron Porphyrus (Oxford 1973) 188ff.

978-1029. Panegyrical address to the patriarch Eutychius.

You too lend an ear to me, patriarch (978f). You are the seal of imperial success and your prayers have made J. victorious (980-82). Enemies come as captives, but many other barbarians come to Rome because they have heard of you (983-86). Only the other day, I saw S.Sophia crowded with black men who, charmed by your words, willingly did obeisance to God and emperor (987-90). Unhappy are those whom your benevolent hand has not touched (991-94). From birth you have displayed Christian virtue; your disposition, habits and behaviour are simple (995-99). You never display anger, but manifest your Christian benevolence in a smiling face and unassailable serenity (1000-6). You have shaken off the miseries of material toil, but look with kindly heart on mortal griefs (1007-9). You show unbounded generosity to the poor (1010-13). You live in wisdom and piety according to a strict rule (1014-17). Hence you are entirely incorruptible and will not permit the sale of ecclesiastical offices. Anyone who tries to bribe you is at once shown the folly of his intentions (1018-26). Long may you live for the benefit of emperor and city (1027-29).

This extended panegyric of the patriarch in a poem which is essentially concerned with panegyric of the emperor and his achievements is unprecedented, but explicable in terms of the particular circumstances in which the poem was delivered. This passage balances the second iambic prologue, which, according to the lemma after line 80, was delivered in the patriarchal palace in the presence of Eutychius, see nn.sup. ad loc.

Panegyric of the bishop (often the founder) is not uncommon in prose works written in celebration of the inauguration of a new church, see the exx. described by Fr.p.99f and cf. also

Nicolaus Mesarites' Description of the church of the Holy Apostles, which similarly concludes with a panegyric of the patriarch John X Camaterus (ch.43.3ff, ed.Downey, Trans.Amer.Philos.Soc. 47, 1957, 896f), who may have invited Mesarites to compose the poem (see Downey's introd,p.860).

After Paul wrote, at the time of the patriarch Sergius (patriarch A.D. 610-38), the patriarch became a figure of major political importance, and emperor and patriarch are then frequently set side by side in panegyric. So, in the Dialogue between History and Philosophy which precedes the Historiae of Theophylact Simocatta (p.20-22 de Boor), Philosophy attributes her restoration to the emperor Heraclius (secs.6f, p.20.24ff), while History praises the patriarch Sergius for her reinstatement (secs.8ff, p.21.5ff). Similarly, in the closing lines of his Hexaemeron, George of Pisidia refers first to the emperor Heraclius (1845ff, PG.92.1575f) and then to the patriarch Sergius (1869ff, cols. 1576-8), the latter being the addressee of the whole poem (1ff, col.1425ff); cf. id.de Van.Vit.231ff (PG.92.1598) for praise of Sergius, and see Pertusi's introduction to his edition of George of Pisidia, p.48. See also Averil Cameron in Past and Present 84 (1979) 19f for juxtaposition of emperor and patriarch in prayer to the Virgin and in ritual in the early seventh century.

Paul's panegyric of Eutychius is framed by an extended treatment of two themes which are certainly topical and which may be based on actual incidents in Eutychius' patriarchate. These are (i) the patriarch's power to convert barbarians (984-90, see nn.inf. on 984-86 and 987-90) and (ii) his strict principles in the allocation of church offices (1018-26, see n. ad loc.). The intervening section deals in a very general way with Eutychius' virtuous habits and Christian behaviour, and might well have been addressed to any patriarch. Here the only concrete detail is that of Eutychius' charity to the needy (993f, 1010ff), a virtue which is praised elsewhere in accounts of bishops and patriarchs, see n.inf. on 993f. The remaining general description is of a type common in prose hagiography (see n.inf. on 995-1006) and suggests that Paul had little personal information about his subject, or was deliberately avoiding topics which might be controversial.

Lamma (op.cit.p.68, n.36) noted the similarities "tavolta quasi letterale" between this passage and the legislation of the period which deals with Church affairs. In lines 1000-6 themes typical of imperial panegyric are transferred to the patriarch (see n. ad loc.), likewise indicating a dearth of material.

Paul's account of Eutychius can be compared with the information preserved in other sources. Of these, the most substantial is Eustratius' Life of Eutychius (PG.86(2).2273-2390). Eustratius was a disciple of Eutychius and, as is generally the case with such Lives, his work is essentially panegyric, as well as being heavily encumbered with Biblical allusions. Nevertheless it preserves the basic outline of the main events of Eutychius' life, although the author's knowledge, or what he chooses to reveal, is more scanty than might have been expected from one who claimed to be a life-long disciple of the patriarch. On Eustratius and his Life, see P.Van den Ven in Byzantion 35 (1965) 325ff and P.Peeters in Anal.Boll. 62 (1944) 80. The ecclesiastical historians Evagrius and John of Ephesus and the chronographers Malalas and Theophanes preserve scattered references to Eutychius. Some balance to the panegyric assessments of Paul and Eustratius is provided by the Syriac monophysite historian John of Ephesus, who, with an equally biased antagonism, condemns Eutychius' persecution of the "orthodox" (i.e. monophysites), 2.37 (p.150f trans. R.Payne-Smith, Oxford 1860), ib.3.20 (p.200f); his pride, 3.19 (p.198); and speaks of his being tormented by a devil, 3.17 (p.196f); other references in Payne-Smith's index s.v. Eutychius. The outstanding event of Eutychius' life was his deposition and exile by J. in 565 for his refusal to condone J.'s apthartodocetist edict (sources, Stein B-E II.688, n.1), but Paul's panegyric contains no shadow of this impending downfall.

978. ἀλλά μοι: Ethic dative, cf. 145 sup. ἀλλὰ σὺ μοι, in invocation of Roma, and see n. ad loc. on the following imperative.

ἱμερόεσσαν ὑποστήριξον ἀκουήν: "uphold a longed-for ear". The compound ὑποστηρίζω, "underprop", "sustain", is not classical,

and is very rare in poetry, cf. only Opp.H.2.101 ὑπεστήριξε δὲ τέχνην (of a trap), v.1. ἐπεστήριξε, the latter compound being well-attested in poetry, cf. 276 and 972 sup. with nn. ad locc. Paul probably chose to write ὑποστήριξον here on the analogy of its metaphorical use in LXX Ps.36(37).17 ὑποστηρίζει δὲ τοὺς δικαίους κύριος, ib.144(145).14 ὑποστηρίζει κύριος πάντας τοὺς καταπίπτοντας; cf. the exx. of the metaphorical use of the verb in similar contexts in late prose cit. PGL s.v., adding Theoph. Sim.4.13.21 (177.8ff de Boor) ποίαν δέ σοι πίστεως κρηπίδα ὑποστηρίσει ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσιν ὁ μεγίστης ἀγνωμοσύνης ἔχων ὑπόθεσιν;. For the literal use of the verb in writers of late literary Koine, see LSJ, Stephanus s.v., adding Agath.Hist.1.10.4. The sense of ἀκουή "ear", as here, is not Homeric, but the word is so used in Sappho and then commonly in poetry from the Alexandrian period onwards, see LSJ s.v. ἀκοή II.3, adding A.R.4.908; Call.Jov.65, id.fr.43.16 Pf., al.; Opp.C.4.22; Orph.Arg.1269; Nonn.D.10.236 πολυτερπέας...ἀκουᾶς, ib.32.123, al. (always this sense in D.), id. Par.3.56, 13.108, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.152. On the epithet ἡμερόεις, see n.sup. on 183.

979. πάτερ πολύμνε: For the use of πατήρ as an honorific title of holy men, particularly bishops and monks, see Soph.Lex.s.v.2 and cf. PGL s.v.A.2; the title πατήρ πατέρων was accorded first to the patriarch of Rome and then to the patriarch of Cpl., sometimes to any bishop, see Du Cange Glossarium s.v. πατήρ πατέρων, id. Gloss.Lat.s.v. pater patrum. Corippus calls the patriarch John Scholasticus pontificum summus, Laud.Just.2.160. For the epithet πολύμνος applied to Eutychius, cf. 345 sup. and see n. ad loc.

θεουδέος ἡγέτα νηοῦ: The form ἡγέτης (as opposed to ἡγήτης, ἡγητήρ, ἡγήτωρ) is rare and confined to late poetry, see LSJ s.v. With θεουδέος...νηοῦ, cf. 296 sup. ἐν τεμένεσσι θεουδέσιν, likewise of S.Sophia, and see n.sup. on 168 on θεουδής.

980-82. These lines complement 969-77 sup., where J.'s appointment of Eutychius is seen as his surpassing peacetime victory; now the patriarch is described as the "seal" of J.'s

military glory, in that his prayers have secured J.'s victories (lines 981-2 elucidate 980, cf. Fr.'s n. ad loc. The $\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $\delta\epsilon$ here do not really express a contrast as they do in 983 and 984, cf. Denniston Greek Particles p.370 sec.(i)). The sentiments here expressed are not entirely compatible with earlier references to the direct championship of J. by Christ/God (959ff; 6ff, 31).

980. $\sigma\eta\ldots\upsilon\pi\omicron$ σφρηγίδι: The patriarch protects and guarantees imperial success as a seal protects and authenticates that to which it is attached. The image of the seal is widely used by patristic writers, for example, of the sign of the Cross and of baptism, see PGL s.v. σφραγίς, of the corona clericalis seu potius benedictio pontificalis, see Du Cange Glossarium s.v. σφραγίς, and cf. J.Nimmo Smith op.cit.p.129ff, Soph.Lex.s.v. σφραγίς 2 and LSJ s.v. σφραγίς II. The term σφρηγίς is not Homeric, but it is sometimes used in later epic in various contexts, cf. Opp.C.1.325, 2.299 of animals' spots; Nonn.D.2.305 $\xi\eta\varsigma$ σφρηγίδα κορείης; ib.8.137, 9.132, both of the seals of a prison; id.Par.11.145 σοφὴν σφρηγίδα σιώπης, cf. A.P.2.31 (Christod.); Par.12.185 νόου σφρηγίδα; also exx. from Orph.Hymns ap. LSJ loc.cit. The preposition $\upsilon\pi\omicron$ may mean "under", but is perhaps rather instrumental as in 981. It is similarly ambiguous at 306 sup. For instrumental $\upsilon\pi\omicron$, see 172n.sup.

$\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ἀνάκτων: Cf. Nonn.D.41.143 ῥίζα βίου, Βερόη, πολίων τροφός, $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ἀνάκτων; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.27 (PG.37.1229) σῶμα μέγα Χριστοῦ, τὸ τίμιον $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ἀνακτοῦ. In Homer, primarily in the Iliad, the term $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (from $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$) is used in the context of defeating an enemy, e.g. Il.5.285 $\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$ δὲ μέγ' $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ἔδωκα (Pandarus' gloat after hitting Diomedes), 7.81 $\epsilon\iota$ δέ κ' $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ τὸν ἔλω, δῶν δέ μοι $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ Ἀπόλλων. Ebeling, Lex.Hom.s.v., glosses laus bellica, and this is the sense in which the term is understood by modern etymologists, see Chantraine Dict.étym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, both of whom cite κλέος in comparison, and who gloss respectively "gloire", "Ruhm". This interpretation, which is applicable to all the Homeric instances, is preferable to the twofold interpretation of the Homeric use of $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\omicron\varsigma$ given by LSJ (I "thing

prayed for"; II "boast"). Certainly Paul means "glory" in our line. For this use of the term in later poetry, cf. A.P. 7.27.1 (Ant. Sid.), 9.211.2 (Anon.); GVI 1924.27, 31 (after A.D.94); Epigr.Gr. 932.5 (3rd cent.), ib.909.6 (4th cent.); Orph.Hymn 33.5; Opp.H. 5.618; Greg.Naz.Carm. 1.1.2.39 (PG. 37.404), ib.1.1.3.1. (col.408); Nonn.D. 25.103, 25.174, al., Par. 5.70, 8.171; A.P. 4.3B.66, 71 (Agath.). Although in using the plural terms ἀνάκτων, βασιλῆων sup. 176, 270, al. (see n.sup. on 176f), Paul probably intends to refer to J. and the empress Theodora together, Fr. is probably right to argue (ad loc.) that here ἀνάκτων refers to J. alone: Theodora was not closely connected with the military victories of the reign, as she was with the building of S.Sophia to which the earlier instances refer. Apart from the custom of referring to the emperor in the plural (see Fr.'s note), the Nonnian precedent accounts for the plural here.

981. σεῖο δ' ὑπ' εὐχῶλῃσι: For a rather different reference to the efficacy of the patriarch's prayer, cf. Georg.Pisid.Hex. 36ff (PG. 92.1429) εἰ μὴ φθάσας σὺ τοὺς ἀκανθώδεις ῥύπους / ἀνείλεις, ἢ καθείλεις, ἢ τομωτάτω/τῆς σῆς προσευχῆς ἐξεχέρωσας ξίφει, in which the poet dedicates his work to the patriarch Sergius and attributes its fruition to Sergius' patronage. For εὐχολή, cf. 352 sup. with n. ad loc., and on ὑπό, see n.sup. on 980. The whole phrase is parallel to the first half of the preceding line, while εὐχος in 980 is picked up by εὐχολῇσι, another derivative of εὐχομαι.

981f. κατὰπτερος ἔθνεα Νίκη, κτλ.: "winged Victory has subjected the nations beneath the city-preserving yoke-straps of sovereignty". Cf. 226f sup. πάντα.../ὑμετέροις ὑπέθηκα τροπαιοφόροις θριάμβοις (Roma addressing J.), and see n. ad loc. on ὑπέθηκα. For λεπάδνοις, cf. 955, and 159 sup. with n. ad loc., and for the epithet πολιισσοῦχος, cf. 141 π. ...ἄεθλοις, with n. ad loc. The latter term is less apposite here in the context of the subjugation of enemy nations, but Paul presumably means that J.'s conquests ensure the security of Cpl.: the expression is equivalent to "...the yoke-straps of the emperor, preserver of the city". At 301 sup., Paul uses κοῖρανος

of J. (see n. ad loc.); so here κοιρανίη denotes the Roman empire, cf. Nonn.D.3.199 κοιρανίης ἀλύτοιο προμάντιες Αὔσονιῶν, 41.390f Ῥώμη...δωρήσεται Αὔσόνιος Ζεὺς/κοιρανίην, and, for its collocation with λεπάδνοις, ib.14.296ff ἵνα δοῦλιον αὐχένα Λυδῶν/.../κοιρανίης δασπλήτος ἀποξεύξειε λεπάδων. The term is used in the same context by 6th cent. poets, cf. esp. A.P.4.3B.49f (Agath.) κυκλώσατο κόσμον/κοιρανίη, of the empire at the end of J.'s reign/beginning of that of Justin II; A.P.16.41.4 (id.) χῶρον...γείτονα κοιρανίης, of J. and Theodora; ib.358.3f (Anon.) στήλην ἐπὶ νίκαις/εἵλες, Καλλιόπα, νεύματι κοιρανίης; Epigr.Gr.1064.8f ἀλλ'ἐνὶ πᾶσιν/κοιρανίην βασιλῆος ἀκοιμήτοιο φυλάξοι, an appeal to the martyr Sergius on behalf of J. The noun is first extant at D.P.464 κοιρανίην ἀνέμων, of Aeolus.

J.'s world-conquest is here described in language and imagery essentially familiar, but with slight variation: personified Νίκη has already appeared in a similar context at 140 and 970 sup.; now Paul describes her as "winged", recalling the regular manner of depicting Victory in art and sculpture, see Daremberg and Saglio s.v. Victoria III (Vol.V, p.845ff) and cf. Cor.Laud.Just.3.202, quoted in n.sup. on 970-72. Contrast A.P.9.647 (Anon.) Ῥώμη παμβασίλεια, τὸ σὸν κλέος οὐποτ'ὀλεῖται·/Νίκη γάρ σε φυγεῖν ἄπτερος οὐ δύναται, which, according to the lemma, refers to a statue of Nike whose wings had been destroyed by a thunderbolt. The epigram is placed amidst a series from the Agathian Cycle. (There was also a temple of Νίκη Ἄπτερος on the Acropolis at Athens, according to Paus.1.22.4). Perhaps by designating Victory "winged" here, Paul wishes to suggest her rapid progress of conquest from one nation to another. The epithet κατὰπτερος is very rare, surviving elsewhere only at A.Pr.798, where it is applied to the three Gorgons, and E.Or.176 (lyr.), of Night. Winged Victory would be a familiar sight to the inhabitants of Cpl.: two epigrams (A.P.16.341 and 345) refer to a statue of Porphyrius erected near that of Nike in the hippodrome and, according to the Chronicon Paschale (I.494.10f Bonn), there was an area of Cpl. called Nikae, presumably adorned with statues of Nike, see Janin Constantinople byzantine (2nd ed., Paris 1964) 104, 397.

In a representation parallel to Paul's description here, one side of the base of the column of Arcadius showed Victories casting barbarians to the ground, see Averil Cameron in Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa Ser.3, 5 (1975) 142.

983. τὰ μὲν: Sc. ἔθνεα from 985.

ἀντιτύποισιν ἐπαυχήσαντα βοεΐαις: "having exulted in clashing shields". For ἐπαυχέω, cf. 141 sup. with n. ad loc., and for βοεΐη "shield", cf. 263 sup. with n. ad loc. The adjective ἀντίτυπος is widely used by Nonnus to describe anything which forms a counterpart to, mirrors, imitates, feigns or is similar to something else, cf. Peek Lex.s.v. "In mannigfachen Färbungen schillerndes Wort". Here Paul plays on its connection with τύπτω ("beat", "strike") in using it to describe the reciprocal response of hostile arms, cf. Nonn.D.14.388f δυσμενέων δὲ φάλαγγας ἐκυκλώσαντο μαχηταῖ/τεύχεσιν ἀντιτύποισι, and, for its use with play on words with the root -τυπ-, Orac. ap.Hdt.1.67, cit. LSJ s.v.1, Nonn.D.29.218f φάσγανα τυπτομένησιν ἐπέκτυπε γυμνὰ βοεΐαις/σκαρθομοῖς ἀντιτύποισι. Elsewhere it is used more generally to express opposition or hostility, see LSJ s.v.II.2 and cf. Nonn.D.3.408, 36.337, 48.142.

984. ἄγει βασιλῆος ὑπ' ἰχνεσιν: The preposition ὑπό is regularly constructed with the dative when it expresses subjection (see LSJ s.v.B.II.2, K-G.I.524, sec.422.II.2c) and it is used with the dative after verbs of motion where rest or position follows as early as Homer, see LSJ s.v.B.I.2 and cf. (for example) Nonn.D.48.910. Paul writes ὑπ' ἰχνεσιν at this place in the line sup. 306, 538. For ἶχνος similarly used in the sense "foot", cf. Call.Del.230 ἴζει...παρ' ἰχνεσιν (of a hound by Artemis). This sense dates back to Euripides (Bacch.1134, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. A.P.6.219.11, Ant. Sid.) and is common in Nonnus, e.g. D.34.81, 48.623; see n.sup. on 275f for its metaphorical use in this sense.

984-86. ἄλλα δὲ Ῥώμη, κτλ.: But many barbarians gather in Rome because they have heard about Eutychius' γαλήνη. By setting

Eutychius' achievement in direct contrast with that of J. (983-4), these lines mark the beginning of Paul's panegyric of the patriarch in isolation from the emperor. Eustratius' Life of Eutychius contains virtually no information about his first period as patriarch apart from the Fifth Ecumenical Council and J.'s aphthartodocetist edict, and there is nothing which helps to elucidate or authenticate what Paul says here. If lines 987-90 refer to a particular incident (see n. ad loc.), then this may have prompted the general statement here. There is, however, an interesting parallel to this passage in Paul in the canticum which has been seen as the popular counterpart to Paul's poem in celebration of the second encaenia of S.Sophia, no.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica, see Trypanis' introduction, p.139. The poet is comparing S.Sophia with Solomon's temple at Jerusalem (see n.sup. on 152-54), $\iota\epsilon'2ff$ οὐ γὰρ ἔθνους ἔνδς ἄθροισμῷ ὥς <περ> πάλαι δοξάζεται, / ἀλλὰ τοῖς πέρασι τῆς οἰκουμένης / διαβόητος πέφυκε καὶ σεβάσμιος. / ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ προστρέχουσιν αὐθαιρέτως, οὐκ ἐκ βίας τινός, / ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους τοῦ ὑπὸ [τὸν] οὐρανόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἄπιστοι μετὰ θάρσους ὁμολογοῦσιν, / ὥς ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ὁ οἰκῆτωρ θεός. It may be that Paul has turned such a sentiment into a compliment to Eutychius, by regarding him personally, rather than his church, as the barbarians' goal.

984f. Ῥώμη / ...συνήλυθον: "gathered/assembled at Rome". This is a regular sense of the verb in classical Greek and later prose (including NT), see LSJ s.v.II.1, Preisigke Wörterbuch s.v.1, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.1; but the sense is not common in epic, where the verb is in any case rare, only Il.10.224, see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Opp.H.2.154; Orph.Hymn 58.9 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, καθαραῖς γνώμαις μύσταισι συνέρχου (of Eros); Nonn.D.5.42, 41.81, both of hostile encounter, cf. LSJ s.v.II.2. When used in our sense, the verb is regularly constructed with a preposition, but Ῥώμη is locative dative (K-G.I.441ff, sec.426.1). The ms. omits the final iota of the word Ῥώμη, but a dative is required in the context; cf. 326 sup. with n. ad loc.

985. μυρία βαρβαρόφωνα...ἔθνεα γαίης: Cf. Od.11.632 ἔθνε'...μυρία

νεκρῶν; A.R.4.646 δι' ἔθνεα μυρία Κελτῶν, sing.ib.3.212 Κόλχων μυρίον ἔθνος; Theoc.17.77 ἔθνεα μυρία φωτῶν, cf. Opp.C.1.166. The epithet βαρβαρόφωνος is Homeric, Il.2.867 Καρῶν, see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Nonn.D.17.376 βαρβαρόφωνος ἔπαύσατο Ἰνδὸς ἐνύω, 23.122 β.ἑώιος... ἄρης; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.161 Βροντῇ β. . For ἔθνεα γαίης, cf. 240 sup., and 147 sup. with n. ad loc.

986. ὑμετέρης αἰόντα σέβας,..., γαλήνης: "hearing of the holiness of your sanctity", i.e. because they have heard about Eutychius. The present participle αἰόντα here does service for a causal aorist participle parallel to ἐπαυχήσαντα 983. (The verb exists only in the present and imperfect forms). For αἶω and accusative in the sense "hear of", cf. A.R.3.352f αἶων ἔμέθεν μέγα δυσμενέοντα/Σαυρομάτα, Nonn.D.42.271 πατρῶν αἰούσα μελίφρονα θεσμὸν Ἑρώτων (of Beroe), Par.3.64 οὐρανίης αἰόντες ἀθηήτου φύσιν ὕλης. The verb is more generally followed by an accusative of the sound heard, Il.10.532, al., see LSJ s.v.1, adding A.R.2.1256, al., Call.Lav.Pall.14, Opp.H.4.316, al., Nonn.D.1.272, al., Par.1.135, al.

At 284 sup., Paul speaks of S.Sophia as an ἀρτιτέλεστον...σέβας, see n. ad loc. Here the term σέβας is similarly applied to that which inspires awe or reverence, but the expression σέβας γαλήνης is really equivalent to σεβαστῆς γαλήνης, see LSJ s.v.II.1 fin. and K-G.I.280f, sec. 405.5d on periphrases with σέβας, and cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.272 καὶ σέβας ἀρχεγόνοιο φαίνεται Ὠκεανοῖο, al., inf. Amb.303 παμφαῆς ἀχράντου τριάδος σέβας. The term σέβας is used in late prose writers in Christian contexts, but usually of reverence accorded rather than an object of it, see PGL s.v. Paul uses γαλήνη here in a sense similar to that in which he used it of J. at 944, 951 sup., see n.sup. on 944f. This and cognate terms are applied elsewhere to Christian tranquillity. see PGL s.v. γαλήνη 1-3 and note esp. sense 2 for its use in the context of quiet from passion, with which we may compare 976 sup. and 1006 inf.; cf. also A.P.1.118.5f (Anon.) ἀλλ', ὦ γαλήνη καὶ στορεστὰ τῆς ζάλης,/οὐ, χριστέ. Eustratius (V.Eutych.81, col.2365C) applies to Eutychius the expression ἐπιτιμῆσαι γαληνῶς, on the analogy of Gregory's use of it of Basil; cf. Georg.Pisid.Hex.30f (PG.92.1429)

καὶ τῇ προσηνεῖ καὶ γαληνῇ σου λόγῳ/μυρμηκίωντας ἐξεγείρεις τοὺς λόγους, of the patriarch Sergius, and see also n.sup. on 182-4 on the use of nautical imagery in Christian writers.

τρίλλιστε: "thrice prayed for", cf. τρισέβαστε 952 sup., of J. But τρίλλιστος is Homeric, Il. 8.487f αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοῖς/ἄσπασίη τρίλλιστος ἐπήλυθε νῦξ ἑρεβεννῇ, cf. Call.Cer. 138 ἴλαθί μοι, τρίλλιστε, μέγα κρείοισα θεῶων, of Demeter; also A.P. 5.271.3f (Mac.Cons.) οἳ δὲ φιληταί, οἳ ποτε τριλλίστως ἀντίον ἐρχόμενοι.

987-90. For the sentiments of these lines, cf. Georg.Pisid. Hex. 1881f (PG. 92.1577) ἀλλ' ὦ φονευτὰ τῶν παθῶν τῶν βαρβάρων· σφάττεις γὰρ αὐτὰ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τοῦ λόγου, of the patriarch Sergius.

In our lines the use of χθιζᾶ and the first person ἐνόησα (the latter unusual except when Paul is talking about his poem) suggest that the lines describe a particular incident. It is possible, however, that Paul deliberately chose to create this effect in order to give immediacy to a panegyric which is for the most part imprecise and generalised, see introductory n.sup. on 978-1029. The kind of sentiment expressed in the passage from the contemporary canticum quoted in n.sup. on 984-86 would provide the basis for the construction of the "occasion" to which Paul here claims to refer. For a modern parallel to this kind of reference in panegyric, compare the speech by the Public Orator delivered in presenting His Eminence Cardinal Basil Hume for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the Encaenia held in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford on Wednesday 24 June 1981 (Oxford University Gazette, Suppl.(1) to No.3851, 26 June 1981, p.837), vidi egomet palatium eius iuventute Londiniensi repletum. But if a particular occasion to which Paul might refer is sought, then Fr.'s suggestion (987n.) is plausible: that the throng of black-limbed men would be the members of a foreign embassy present in Cpl. The embassy in question cannot be precisely identified from the material available in the sources (see below), but no doubt foreign embassies regularly arrived in Cpl. Nor do other sources supplement the information Paul gives about the nature of such an encounter between patriarch

and embassy: two contemporary accounts of the reception of embassies survive, *Const.Porph.de Caer.* 1.89-90 (from Peter the Patrician) on the proper treatment of a Persian embassy, and *Cor.Laud.Just.* 3.151ff on the Avar embassy to Justin II, shortly after his accession in 565, but neither of these gives any indication of a ceremony in which the patriarch played a part.

During the period between 552 (when Eutychius assumed the patriarchate) and 562, the most remarkable embassy to arrive in Cpl. was that of the Avars in 558 (*Mal.* 489.11f, *Theoph.A.M.* 6050, 232.6ff, *Men.Prot.frr.* 4 and 5, Müller *FHG* IV.203; cf. Bury *HLRE* II.314-6, Stein *B-E* II.541-5). But the Avars caused a sensation because of their long hair (cf. Cameron on *Cor.Laud.Just.praef.* 4, A. and A.Cameron in *BICS* 13, 1966, 104 n.12), and if Paul had them in mind he would surely have chosen an epithet which referred to this characteristic, rather than *μελάγγυιος*. In any case, the Avars were not black. The epithet is likewise inappropriate for the Persians, with whom there was presumably considerable diplomatic activity in the period before the conclusion of the Fifty Years' Peace in 561. (The presence of Persian ambassadors during a protest in the circus in 556 is mentioned by the chronographers, *Mal.* 488.9, *Theoph.A.M.* 6048, 230.20; cf. Cameron *Circus Factions*, Oxford 1976, 257f, 286). The only other specific references in Theophanes to the arrival of foreign embassies in Cpl. about this time are (i) *A.M.* 6055 (i.e. 563), 239.20ff τῷ δ' αὐτῷ μηνὶ (?July) ἦλθον <εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν> πρέσβεις Ἀσκήλ, τοῦ ῥηγὸς Ἑρμηχιδῶν, τοῦ ἔσωθεν κειμένου τοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνους πλησίον τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ. This is a tribe from the northern steppes, see H.W.Hausig in *Byzantion* 23 (1953) 424f; (ii) *A.M.* 6056, 240.13ff τῷ δὲ Νοεμβρίῳ μηνὶ (probably November 563, since the previous notice refers to October of the 12th indiction, which ran from 563-4) εἰσῆλθεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ἀρέθας, ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ φύλαρχος τῶν Σαρακηνῶν, i.e. Harith the Ghassanid, see Bury *HLRE* II.91 and cf. *Proc.BP* 1.17.47. But neither of these peoples was strictly "black-limbed" and the Ghassanids were already Christians (Bury *HLRE* I.95). (Theophanes' dating of the embassies after the second *encaenia* of S.Sophia, *A.M.* 6055, 238.18ff, need not be a serious objection, since his

dates are often unreliable, although an indiction date, probably derived from Malalas, is more likely to be correct than an A.M. date, see nn.sup. on 930-33 and 186-92).

On the basis of the epithet *μελάγγυιος*, it is tempting to connect this reference in Paul with line 230 sup., and suggest that Paul has in mind Axumites or Ethiopians, see n.sup. ad loc.; the Ethiopians, like the Ghassanids, were monophysite Christians (see I.Shahîd, *DOP* 33, 1979, 23) and their recognition of Eutychius would have been a triumph for orthodoxy.

987. *χθιζᾶ*: Cf. *Il*.2.303 *χθιζᾶ τε καὶ πρωΐζ'*, Nonn.*D*.30.280 *χθιζᾶ πάλιν σε φόβησεν Ἄραψ πρόμος*, cf. 7.82, 18.291, al.; *A.P*.5.250.3 *χθιζᾶ μοι ἀπροφάσιστον ἐπέστενεν*, cf. 281.1 (both Paul Sil.); neuter singular, *Il*.19.195, *A.R*.4.1397, *A.P*.9.305.2 (*Ant.Thess.*), *Epigr.Gr*.989.1 (*χθίσδον*), *Coll*.331, 372, al., *A.P*.11.61.1 (*Mac.Cons.*). Hesychius glosses *χθιζᾶ* τὰ χθῆς καὶ πρώην (cf. *Il*.2.303, quoted sup.), and Nonnus always uses it in the sense "just lately", "recently", rather than strictly "yesterday". So it is here. It might refer to an incident which occurred as much as ten years before, see R.C.McCail in *JHS* 98 (1978) 62 on the use of *χθῆς* and derivatives to denote events of the remote past.

987f. *μελαγγυίοισιν.../στεινομένην ἐνόησα*: For aorist *νόεω* followed by a passive participle with *ὑπό* and dative as in our line, cf. Nonn.*D*.47.167. Nonnus regularly constructs *ὑπό* with dative rather than genitive after passive expressions, see Keydell I.67*, Peek *Lex*. s.v. *ὑπό* II.3. But *στείνωμαι* is usually constructed with a simple dative (or genitive), whether of instrument or agent, see LSJ s.v. *στείνω* II.2 and the exx. collected in nn.sup. on 346f, 264. For the use of *ὑπό* and dative instead of simple dative, cf. 194 sup. *μιῆναι ὑπό*. The epithet *μελάγγυιος* is otherwise unknown, but for a handlist of compounds of *μέλας*, see n.sup. on the rare *μελαγκρήπις* 261 (although there is no evidence that *μελάγγυιος* itself appeared in *P.Hib*.II.172). See Buck-Petersen p.116 for other compounds in *-γυιος*, many of which are Pindaric. All are proparoxytone, cf. Chandler *Greek Accentuation* p.151f, sec.534. At 347 sup., Paul uses the expression *ἐπὶ θέσπιδας αὐλᾶς* to denote

S.Sophia. This, together with the epithet ἔνθεον, "full of God", "divine" (see 966n.sup.) suggests that αὐλήν in our line likewise denotes S.Sophia. The term is also commonly used of the royal palace (see 347n.sup.) and Paul would certainly be present at audiences there in his official capacity as silentiary. But contemporary accounts of the reception of embassies give no indication that the patriarch played any part in such ceremonies (see n.sup. on 987-90) and it seems more likely that Paul here refers to a sermon delivered in S.Sophia, in the presence of J. and entourage.

988f. τῆς δ' ἀπὸ θεόπιδος αὐδῆς/θελγόμενοι: "and, enchanted by your divinely-inspired voice". Eustratius' Life of Eutychius does suggest that the patriarch possessed outstanding powers of persuasive argument, based upon unparalleled familiarity with the Scriptures. The most remarkable instance of this is his summary dismissal of the controversy about the anathematisation of the dead at the Fifth Ecumenical Council, before his election as patriarch, which is described in ch.22 (PG.86(2).2300B-C). The incident is recorded in similarly laudatory terms by Evagrius (HE 4.38, 187.17ff Bid.-Parm.), and both authors go on to attribute the choice of Eutychius as patriarch (on the death of Menas shortly afterwards) to the impression which Eutychius made on this occasion upon the bishops present and the emperor. In our incident, however, it is likely that the black-limbed throng did not actually understand the address which Eutychius delivered, but were "enchanted" merely by his tones, as the eyes of the beholder of S.Sophia are described as θελγομένοις at 297 sup. Cf. Evagr. HE 5.6 (202.20 Bid.-Parm.) προσφθέγγασθαι διὰ χαρίτων ἥδιστος, of the patriarch Gregory of Antioch. Agathias (Hist.3.11.6) similarly uses the verb θέλω in the context of a persuasively-expressed (but bad) argument, which wins over the simple-minded; for its use elsewhere in the context of persuasive or enchanting tones, cf. A.R.2.772, Nonn.D.10.276, 18.310, Par.3.146, 10.97. On the use of ἀπό with passive verbs, see n.sup. on 951f.

The epithet θεόπισ here (and at 702 sup.) carries its original

sense "filled with the words of god", "inspired", see 347n.sup. The ms. has αὐλῆς in our line (cf. 347 θέσπιδας αὐλᾶς), arising from confusion with the line above. If Graefe's correction αὐδῆς is right (it is accepted by all subsequent editors), lines 987 and 988 are a further instance of homophonous line-endings, analogous to 974, 976 and 977 sup. A word beginning with a vowel is required metr.gr. and αὐδῆ is used by Homer of human speech, Il.1.249 μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδῆ, of Nestor, cf. A.R.1.512, 3.458, al., Theoc.21.21, Epigr.Gr.877b.3 (2nd cent.A.D.), Opp.H.5.620, al. (but of animals), Nonn.Par.15.27, 18.102, al., (not in D.), A.P.5.248. 3 (Paul Sil.).

989f. ψυχὴν τε καὶ αὐχένα.../οὐρανίοις ἔκλιναν ἐπιχθονίοις τε θούκοις: For the form of expression, cf. 159 sup., and see n. ad loc. In the context of obeisance to οὐρανίοις...θούκοις, the parallels from Christian usage (collected in n.cit.) are clearly in point. For Paul's metaphorical use of ψυχὴν in conjunction with αὐχένα, cf. Const.App.8.9.8 (I.486.23f Funk) ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκλικότας σοι αὐχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, addressed to God (4th cent.). Paul's expression implies spiritual submission to God (ψυχὴν/ οὐρανίοις) combined with physical obeisance to the emperor (αὐχένα/ἐπιχθονίοις), but since there is no means of identifying the occasion (see n.sup. on 987-90), it is impossible to assess the validity of the words: Fr. may be right in suggesting (987n.) that they mean no more than that the embassy paid its respects to the patriarch, but a more radical conversion to Christianity (or **orthodoxy**) cannot be ruled out, since this passage leads on to a brief excursus on the benefits afforded by membership of the Christian Church, see n.inf. on 991-94. The term θούκος is here applied at once both to imperial and to ecclesiastical/divine office, see nn.sup. on 148 and 965f. The use of ἐπιχθόνιος in contrast (actual or implied) to that which is divine or heavenly is as old as Homer, see LSJ s.v.1 and cf. A.R.2.250f, Theoc.17.125, Procl.Hymn 1.10, Orph.Arg.38, Opp.H.2.3f, 23, Nonn.D.4.167, 32.63, al., Par.5.131, 6.194, Musae.136, etc.

πρόφρονι βουλῇ: Cf. 268 sup. κεκασμένον ἔμφρονι βουλῇ and see n. ad loc. for other similar dative expressions. Late poets generally use πρόφρων only in the nominative, as it often is in Homer, Il.1.543, Od.14.406, al., see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.771, 3.393, al., Theoc.1.60, Opp.H.1.556, 708, 4.6, Orph.Arg.83, 1236, Lith.688, Tryph.123 (Nonnus does not use the term). But Homer also has the expression πρόφρονι θυμῷ, Od.16.257, θυμῷ/πρόφρονι, Il.8.39f, al., cf. π.κραδίη, Il.10.244 (see LSJ s.v.I.2), and it is on this analogy that Paul's dative expression is based. But the sense here is not "earnest", "zealous" (LSJ s.v.I.2), but "willing", "voluntary", (LSJ s.v.I.1): the dative expression means no more than the simple nominative πρόφρων, and βουλῇ here has to mean "will" (LSJ s.v.I.1, cf. Il.1.5, etc.), rather than "counsel", as it does sup. 268, 301, 973.

991-94. The instance of the obeisance of the barbarians before the patriarch prepares the way for a rhetorical development of the theme of χειροθεσία, the laying on of the patriarch's hand in blessing. The rhetorical repetition of a key word, here χεῖρα, at significant points in the line is a technique now amply exemplified in Paul, see nn.sup. on 152, 326-30. The high proportion of rare words in lines 991-3 (see nn. ad locc.) may be at least partially explained in terms of the tight framework imposed upon composition by this repetition.

The practice of χειροθεσία goes back to the OT, LXX Gen.48.14f ἔκτεινας δὲ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπέβαλεν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἐφραίμ, ..., καὶ τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν Μανασσή,

(15) καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπεν..., κτλ., cf. NT Ev.Marc.10.16 καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὰ (sc. τὰ παῖδια) κατευλόγει τιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ'αὐτὰ, of Christ; also in healing, e.g. Ev.Matth.9.18.

In the later Church, χειροθεσία is part of the ceremony of ordination, as well as of baptism and confirmation, but Paul speaks of it here in general terms as a symbol of blessing, absolution and the protection of the Church, given to all those who, like the barbarians described, become Christians (see n.sup.). The laying of the hands on catechumens is a symbol of exorcism and healing, and the gesture

in general symbolises the transmission of the Holy Spirit. See Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche s.v. Handauflegung (Vol.IV., cols. 1343-6) and cf. PGL and Soph.Lex.s.vv. χειροθεσία, χειροθετέω, PGL s.v. εὐλογία C, Du Cange Glossarium s.v. χειροθεσία. For a reference to the practice in poetry, cf. A.P.8.26.5f (Greg.Naz.) οἱ δ' ἱερῆς/οὐκέτ' ἐπὶ τρομερὴν κρατὶ βαλοῦσι χεῖρα, of his devout mother, now dead. The motif of the outstretched hand occurs elsewhere in panegyric of provincial governors, see Alan Cameron in CQ N.S.20 (1970) 127.

991. τλήμονες, οἱ, κτλ.: Fr. punctuates with a period after τλήμονες, but other examples of exclamatory τλήμονες with relative pronoun in late poetry suggest that the comma of earlier editors is correct, cf. A.P.12.18.1 (Alph.Myt.) τλήμονες, οἷς ἀνέραςτος ἔφυ βίος, 16.278.3 (Paul Sil.) τλήμονες, οἷς ἄγναμπτον ἔχει νόον. For τλήμονες, cf. also GVI 17.1 (Athens, ?5th cent.B.C.) τλέμονες hoïon ἀγὼνα μάχῃς τελέσαντες ἀέλ[το], κτλ. ("steadfast"; = Ath.Mitt. 57.142, cit. LSJ s.v. τλήμων I.1); A.P.11.64.11 (Agath.) τλήμονες, ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν εἶρπε, κτλ., A.P.9.644.9 (id.) τλήμονες οἱ πλουτοῦντες. This last expression recalls the use of μακάριοι in the NT beatitudes, Ev.Matth.5.3ff μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ τῷ πνεύματι, κτλ., and Paul may have had this in mind when writing our line too. For the construction of δέχομαι with acc.pers. or rei and dative (often of a part of the body), cf. Od.19.355; A.R.2.1147f, 3.871f, al.; Call.Dian.63, id.Epigr.6.1f Pf.; Opp.C.2.538; Nonn.D.25.480, 38.135, al., Par.4.245; Tryph.661. For the dative plural καρῆνοις, cf. 972 sup., but here the reference is to more than one person.

992. δυσαντήτων ἐλατήριον ἀμπλακιάων: "driving away sins hard to withstand", a reference to χειροθεσία in the rite of penance and absolution. The verbal adjective ἐλατήριος, also sup. 598, is rare; for its use with the genitive, cf. A.Cho.968 (lyr.) καθαρμοῖσιν ἀτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις, also occasionally in late prose, Tzetz.Exeg.II. p.43.24 Hermann, θῦσαι Δαφναίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι τῶν κακῶν ἐλατήρια, cf. Eutecn. Metaphr.Oppiani, quoted by Stephanus s.v. Elsewhere it is used as a technical term in medicine, see LSJ s.v.II, and cf.

Pollux Onom.4.179, 5.132, Hesych.s.v. ἐλατήριον· φάρμακον καθαρτικόν, J.André in Études Class.24 (1956) 41. The term ἀμπλακία is applied to sin in a Christian context passim in Nonn.Par., e.g. 7.29, 9.188 (although it is avoided in Nonn.D.). It occurs first in Theognis and later in Alexandrian poetry, see LSJ s.v., adding A.R.2.476, 4.413, al., Call.Del.245, A.P.7.425.6 (Ant.Sid.), Tryph.605, Epigr.Gr.421.4 (Christian, 7th cent.), A.P.5.278.4, 9.769.2, 11.365.12 (all Agath.), ib.7.596.4 (id.) with R.C.McCail in Mnemosyne Ser.4, 21 (1968) 76f, ib.5.298.6 bis (Jul.Aeg.), ib.7.604.3 (Paul Sil.). For δυσάντητος in a similar context, cf. Nonn.Par.17.55 δαίμονος ἀρχεκάκοιο δυσαντήτων ἀπὸ δεσμών, and for this epithet elsewhere in poetry, cf. Procl.Hymn 3.5. δ.ὀδυνάων, Nonn.D.24.168 κυδοιμοῦ, 42.406 ἐρώτων. It occurs first in late literary Koine, see LSJ s.v., adding Theoph.Sim.2.6.13 (81.21 de Boor), 2.11.14 (93.22).

993-4. The hand which the patriarch extends in blessing is also the source of charity to those in need. From the time of Christ onwards. the Church made the needy its special concern (cf., for example, the passages from NT 1Ep.Ti. quoted in n.inf.), and by the 6th cent. it played a major rôle in the provision of social benefits, see J.L.Boojamra, 'Christian Philanthropia: A study of Justinian's welfare policy and the Church' in Buzantina 7 (1975) 345ff; D.J.Constantelos, Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare (Rutgers Byzantine Series, New Brunswick 1968) p.67ff; G.Dagron in DOP 31 (1977) 19ff on the rôle of the bishop in the city; also Jones LRE II.901. For the involvement of a bishop/patriarch in charitable works, cf. (for example) Greg.Naz.Or.43.34 (PG.36.541C) on Basil's concern with the physical as well as the spiritual care of the needy, cf. ib.63 (col.577C ff); A.P.9.787 (Sophr.) on a hostel for the homeless, built by Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria (died A.D.607). The stories of John Moschus' Pratum Spirituale suggest that almsgiving was the most highly-prized virtue of a model bishop, see N.H.Baynes, Byzantine Studies and other Essays (London 1955) 267f. It also occurs in praise of a secular official, the quaestor and magister officiorum Anastasius,

at Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.28 inopum pater. There is no concrete evidence to suggest that Eutychius was particularly outstanding in this respect, as was Gregory, patriarch of Antioch (A.D.570-93), according to Evagrius HE 5.6 (202.11ff Bid.- Parm.): Evagrius says that Gregory was so generous that he was always followed by crowds in the street, and people came running when they saw him approaching. The seventh century patriarch of Alexandria, S.John the Almsgiver, was similarly outstanding, cf. (for example) Leont. V.Jo.Eleem.7 (p.13ff Gelzer) on John's provision for refugees at a time of Persian invasion. Eustratius' Life makes no reference to charitable works during Eutychius' first period as patriarch, although much space is devoted to details of healing miracles effected during his exile at his old monastery in Amasea (ch.44ff, PG.86(2).2326B ff) and during his second patriarchate (ch.85ff, cols. 2371A ff), while ch.61f (col.2343A ff) describes how, thanks to Eutychius' prayers, the monastery at Amasea was able to provide an endless supply of corn at the time of a Persian invasion (A.D.576).

993. χεῖρα λιποκτεάνοισιν ἐπαρκέα: "the hand which supports the impoverished". This theme is developed inf. 1010-13. For the expression, cf. Luc.Nigr.26 τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, NT 1Ep.Ti.5.10 εἰ θλιβομένοις ἐπήρκεσεν (discussing the possible experience of a widow), ib.16 εἰ τις πιστὴ ἔχει χήρας, ἐπαρκείτω αὐταῖς, καὶ μὴ βαρεῖσθω ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα ταῖς ὄντως χήραις ἐπαρκέσῃ. The adjective ἐπαρκής is rare. It occurs in the sense "assisting", "helpful" at Emp.22.4 κρῆσιν, of the four elements, Nic.Al.564f σκαμμώνιον (used as a remedy), and in the sense "sufficient" at Plu.Cic.7.3, D.P.1101 (both c.dat.). The epithet λιποκτεάνος is extant only here, but it is probably Aristophanic, cf. Choïrobosk.Orthogr. ap. Cramer Anecdota graeca oxoniensia II (Oxford 1835) p.239.11 λιποκτενίαςσα· λιπονάυται· λιποταξίου· παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει, where Cramer suggests that the first term is a corruption of λιποκτεάνος. Homer has the compound φιλοκτεάνος (Il.1.122, superlative), and other -κτεάνος compounds occur elsewhere in poetry, see Buck-Petersen p.264; on the other hand, Nonnus D. has several new

compounds in λιπο-, e.g. λιπόθορος 4.327, λιποφεγγής 26.145, al., see Peek Lex.col.930.

993f. χεῖρα τιθήνην/ὀρφανικῶν: For the line-end, cf. Nonn.D.4.34 χεῖρα τιθήνης. Metaphorical τιθήνη is to be found as early as Pindar, see LSJ s.v. and cf. also Call.Del.10, A.R.4.540, Epigr.Gr. 872.5, D.P.501, Nonn.D.13.67, al., all of places; Opp.H.3.242 of a boat from which fish are fed; Nonn.D.20.35 Ἐπὶ πολέμοιο τιθήνη, 41.213f ὅλου κόσμοιο τιθήνη/πάρθενος Ἀστραίη, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.131 of Sophia; sup.139 Εἰρήνη πολύολβε, τιθηνήτειρα πολίων. For ὀρφανικῶς used as a substantive equivalent to ὀρφανός, cf. A.P. 8.26.7 (Greg.Naz.) χῆραί τ'ὀρφανικοί τε τί ῥέζετε; . Adjectival ὀρφανικῶς is Homeric, Il.6.432, 11.394, 22.490; later, A.P.7.372.5 (Loll.Bass.), Opp.H.3.358, Nonn.D.47.186, Par.14.72. Constantelos, op.cit.sup,p.241ff, collects evidence relating to Byzantine orphanages.

994. πάσης τε κατευνήτειραν ἀνάγκης: The term κατευνήτειρα (from κατευνάζω, cf. 943 sup. with n. ad loc.) occurs only here and at Nonn.D.33.225 νῦξ..., κατευνήτειρα κυδοιμοῦ. The use of ἀνάγκη in the sense "distress", "anguish", as here, is most common in late prose, especially LXX (e.g. Jb.15.24) and NT (e.g. 1Ep.Cor.7.26), cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.61 (PG.86(2).2344D); but this sense is also found in poetry as early as Simonides, later in tragedy, see LSJ s.v.I.4 and cf. Orph.Hymn 2.9 Εἰλείθυια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀναγκαῖς, ib.28.9 φίλε θνητοῖς ἐν ἀναγκαῖς (Hermes), al.; and perhaps Nonn.D.21.126 οὐ Διὶ χεῖρα τίττεινεν, ἀλεξήτειραν ἀνάγκης; (but not Musae.289, cit. Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2). Du Cange wrote πάσης δὲ, but the ms. has τε.

995-1006. Paul now turns to a more direct eulogy of Eutychius' personal virtues, describing how his habits, disposition, conduct and his physical appearance bear witness to the Christian benevolence of his heart, rooted in unassailable serenity. Eustratius' Life, in describing Eutychius' return to Cpl. after his exile, expounds in even greater detail (ch.80-82, PG.86(2).2364D ff) the patriarch's physical attributes, as the manifestation of his inner character

(τὴν διάπλασιν τῶν μελῶν ὅλου τοῦ σώματος, ἐξ ὧν ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χαρακτηρίζεται, 2364D); cf. ib.ch.8 (fin., col.2284B) on Eutychius' early education in the church at Augustopolis, where he learned to read, πλέον δὲ τούτων, τὸ ἦθος, τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ βαδίσματος, τὸν στολισμὸν, τὸν τρόπον τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ ἱλαρὸν τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, πάντων τῶν εἰς ἀπαρτισμὸν τελειότητος ἔμπλεος γέγονεν. But in drawing parallels (ch.81, 82, cols. 2365B ff) between his own praise of Eutychius and that of S.Basil by Gregory of Nazianzus (Or.43, PG.36.493ff), Eustratius tacitly implies that this type of description is not uncommon in the eulogy of the holy man, and there is nothing in his description or that of Paul which might not equally well have been said in praise of any patriarch, bishop or other holy man, or indeed, of the emperor, see further n. inf. on 1000-6. Contrast the very personal description of Gregory of Antioch given by Evagrius, HE 5.6 (202.8ff Bid.-Parm.) and Gregory's own description of Basil, Or.43.77 (PG.36.598D ff).

995. καὶ γὰρ: Cf. 973 sup. with n. ad loc.

ἀπ'ὠδίνων: Cf. A.P.7.4.5f (Paul Sil.) Δῆλος/μητρὸς ἀπ'ὠδίνων δέξατο Λητοῖδην. But there seems to be no close parallel for the absolute use of the expression in the sense "from birth", as here. Eustratius (V.Eutych.9, col.2285A) calls Eutychius ὁ ἐκ σπαργάνων Σαμουῆλ. It is a hagiographical commonplace to attribute virtue to the holy man from earliest youth, e.g. Greg.Naz.Or.43.12 (PG.36.509A) τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα τῆς ἡλικίας ὑπὸ τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρὶ, ..., σπαργανοῦται καὶ διαπλάττεται πλάσιν τὴν ἀρίστην τε καὶ καθαρωτάτην (of Basil); V.Theod.Syc.5 (I.5.21ff Festugière) on the young saint's conduct at school; Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae, ed. H.Delehaye (Brussels 1902) col.848.35-849.5 (July 27th) ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν μητρικῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀγκαλῶν ἢ μακαρία τὴν ἀγνείαν ποθοῦσα, ἐν ὅρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον, διητᾶτο, πάντα μὲν τὰ βιωτικὰ μισοῦσά τε καὶ ἀποστρεφόμενη, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσπαζομένη καὶ στέργουσα (of S.Anthusa); Petr.V.S.Joanic.4 (ASS Novembris, Vol.II, Pt.1, Brussels 1894, p.386B) εὐσεβῶς ἀπογαλακτισθεῖς; simil., of Gregory, patriarch of Antioch, Evagr.HE 5.6

(201.30f Bid.-Parm.) ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τοῖς μοναδικοῖς ἐναποδυσάμενος σκάμμασιν. On Eutychius' early upbringing in the church, see Eustrat.V.Eutych.8ff (cols. 2282D ff), especially the passage from ch.8 quoted in n.sup.

σωφροσύνη τε καὶ αἰδῶς: For the line-end, cf. Musae.33 σωφροσύνη τε καὶ αἰδοῖ (v.1. δὲ, accepted by Ludwig, Kost, Bo et alii. Gelzer preferred τε, which has stronger ms. support, see Kost's discussion, p.188f). Merian-Genast, who observed the parallel with Musaeus (op.cit.p.103), argued that Paul derived his expression from Musaeus, and that it is more appropriate to Hero (to whom it refers in Musaeus) than it is to Eutychius. Kost, however, in a comprehensive note on the Musaeus line (p.186-8), collected instances of the connection of these two virtues from the classical period to the middle Byzantine period, many from philosophical, sepulchral, and later, ecclesiastical contexts, e.g. Pl.Phdr.253d7 τιμῆς ἐραστῆς μετὰ σωφροσύνης τε καὶ αἰδοῦς, of the noble horse which represents the good part of the soul; GVI 1575 (1st or 2nd cent.) σωφροσύνας αἰδοῦς τε ἐτύμου χάριν, ὦ μάκαρ Ἑρμῆ, / Νίκανδρος χαίροι καὶ παρὰ Φερσεφόνοι; Jo.Geom.Par. 25.1ff (PG.106.873; ?10th cent.) τὰ τρία ταῦτα φέρειν ἐπετέλλετο ἱερὸς ἀνὴρ / ἐν φρεσὶ σωφροσύνην, αἰδῶ ἐπὶ βλεφάροις, / γλώσση ἀλυκτοπέδην (for the remainder of this poem, see n.inf. on 1012). To Kost's examples may be added Meth.Symp.8.2 (p.82.10f Bonwetsch, GCS, Leipzig 1917) τῆς μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης παιδοποιήσεως (discussing conjugal chastity). On the basis of his examples, Kost argued convincingly that the connection of σωφροσύνη and αἰδῶς is by no means confined to erotic contexts in later literature and, indeed, that the application of these qualities to a distinguished man (as in Paul) is more in keeping with their classical use in Plato and Thucydides (1.84, quoted by Kost). (Evagrius, quoting from Greg.Naz., calls Gregory of Antioch τὸ αὐστηρὸν αἰδοῖ σύγκρατον, HE 5.6, p.202.32f). It should be added, however, that

it remains likely that Paul is linguistically indebted to Musaeus: although the term αἰδώς is to be found in epic from Homer onwards (Il.15.561, Od.8.172, al.; A.R.2.1023, 3.93, al.; Call.fr.80.10 Pf.; D.P.1025; Opp.H.2.43, C.2.375, al.; Nonn.D.25.277, 42.129, al., Par.7.78, 21.42; Musae.96, 173; Tryph.149, 368; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.46; cf. A.P.5.286.3, Paul Sil., ib.302.13, Agath.), the noun σαοφροσύνη (as opposed to the adjective σαόφρων) is rare (Od.23.13, 30, Opp.H.3.359, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.70, PG.37.584, al., Orph.Lith.61, ps.Pampr.1 recto 16, I.110 Heitsch; not in Nonnus; more often in epigram, e.g. A.P.7.60.1, Simias, 9.132.1, Anon., Epigr.Gr.971.2, GVI 674.4, 1764.3, al., A.P.7.614.14, Agath.).

996. ἐλπίδος οὐρανίης, κτλ.: "have united you to holy ways of heavenly hope". The expression is compressed, but the sense is approximately "your virtues have made you conduct your life according to the Christian manner of one whose hope is in heaven". Cf. 964f sup. on Eutychius' easy course over the rugged path of Virtue. The phrase ἐλπίδος οὐρανίης refers to the hope of the Christian in God and Christ, his hope of forgiveness, salvation, etc.; on the use of this term in Christian contexts, see PGL s.v. ἐλπίς, A.Cameron Agathias 96, and cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.176 τοῦνεκα φῶτας ἔοικεν ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐλπίδι βαίνειν, in an allegorical description of the cloak of Aion, inf. Amb.42. For Paul's use of πορεία in this context, cf. Nonn.Par.14.20 ζωὴ ἀληθείη τε καὶ ὀρθιὸς εἰμι πορείῃ (Christ), ib.1.111 ἦλθον ἐγὼ προκέλευθος ἀκηρύκτοιο πορείης (John the Baptist), and see PGL s.v.5 for its use in patristic writers of the way or course of life and conduct. This sense is also found elsewhere in late poetry, cf. Procl.Hymn 2.19, 6.4; Nonn.D.2.670, 3.298, al. simil.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.172. The term is confined mainly to prose before Nonnus, but it is regularly used in Nonnus and other late poets of any kind of way, course or journey, often of the sun, stars et simil., (cf. LSJ s.v.II.3), e.g. Orph.Hymn 78.4; Orph.Arg.37, 207, al.; Epigr.Gr.1028.32 (Hymn to Isis); Nonn.D.1.67, 38.36, al., Par.1.214, 4.161, al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.248, 2.329, al.; A.P.4.3B.41, 84 (Agath.). Paul here uses plural for singular, cf. Nonn.D.7.43 τρομερῇσι περισσοπόδεσσι πορείαις, of the

course of an old man with a stick. The epithet ἱερὸς may mean "priestly", "the life of a priest", as ἱερῆς χορείης at 344 sup. means "a choir of priests", see n. ad loc., and cf. 88 sup. According to Eustratius' Life, Eutychius' early education in the church at Augustopolis (ch.8ff, col.2281D ff) was followed by a secular education in Cpl., after which he decided at once to become a monk (ch.10f, col.2285A ff). On the verb ξύνασε, see n.sup. on 213, and for its use with πορείαις here, cf. also Nonn.D.5.265f στίχα μῆλων/εἰς νομὸν...μιῇ ξύνασε κελεύθῳ. The singular is permissible after two separate, but closely linked, singular subjects, cf. sup.2, also 341-43 with 340n.

997. λιτὰ δέ σοι καὶ δόρπα: Cf. A.P.9.644.3 (Agath.) λιτὰ δέ σοι καὶ δεῖπνα (of the farmer); Nonn.D.17.59 ἀγρονόμων λιτὰ δεῖπνα (where the iota of λιτὰ is Nonnus' only false quantity, see Keydell I.42*, Maas Greek Metre sec.20); Luc.Asin.3 τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον οὐ σφόδρα λιτόν; Clem.Alex.Paed.2.1.7.3 (I.158.5 Stählin) τὸ δεῖπνον ἔστω λιτόν ἡμῖν καὶ εὖζωνον; A.P.6.232.8 (Crinag.) λιτὴν δαῖτα. The term λιτός is also used more widely of diet and general modus vivendi, see LSJ s.v., adding Nicaen.fr.6.3 Powell λιτὴ...χάμευνα; A.P.9.43.1 (Parm.Mac.) χλαίνης λιτόν σκέπας; Serap.Ep.Mon.5 (PG.40.932A) ἡδὺς ὑμῖν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ λιτὸς ἄρτος καὶ ἄλας καὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ; Une vie inédite de S.Jean l'Aumônier 10 (Anal.Boll.45, 1927, p.24.4f) εἰς τὸ τῆς λιτῆς διαίτης (sc.ἐπεδείκνυτο); also in metaphorical contexts, A.P.11.20.4 (Antip.) κρήνης ἐξ ἱερῆς πίνετε λιτόν ὕδωρ, of poetasters, A.P.4.3A.35f (Agath.) λιτόν οἴκοθεν μέρος/καὶ τὸς παρέμιξα, of his feast of poetry. Paul substitutes for δεῖπνα in the first group of expressions quoted the slightly more unusual form δόρπα. In Homer, the former is applied to the main meal of the day, taken at various times, morning, midday, evening (see LSJ s.v. and cf. Chantraine Dict. étym.s.v.), whereas the latter is more strictly the evening meal (Il.19.208, Od.12.439). In later epic, however, this distinction is not always observed. For δόρπον, cf. A.R.1.1173, 2.226, al. (A.R. does not use δεῖπνον); Call.fr.312 Pf.; Theoc.24.139; D.P. 1048; Opp.H.1.26, C.1.132, 3.49; Orph.Arg.406, 670; Q.S.4.278;

Nonn.D.17.63, 25.572, al., Par.12.7, 13.124; A.P.11.60.5 (Paul Sil).

For the frugal habits of patriarchs, cf. (for example) Greg. Naz.Or.43.61 (PG.36.576A-C) on Basil; id.Carm.2.1.1.65-7 (PG.37.975) of himself; Pallad.V.S.Jo.Chrys. p.69.10ff Coleman-Norton (Cambridge 1928); Theoph.Sim.7.6.4 (255.5f de Boor) δυσείμων γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ λιτότητι βίου καταλαμπόμενος, of John Nesteutes, and cf. ib.1, quoted in n.sup. on 975-6; also Evagr. HE 5.19 (214.29ff Bid.-Parm.) on the frugal habits of the emperor Maurice and his control of his belly.

ὁμψήεσσα μενοινῇ: The term μενοινῇ is used of mental purpose, concern, desire et simil., often with an implication of eagerness or earnestness, cf. 266 sup. and see n. ad loc. The epithet ὁμψῆεις (cf. ὁμψῇ 966 sup. with n. ad loc.), now also attested in a damaged inscription of an oracle from the imperial period found at Didyma, see LSJ Suppl.s.v., is used by Nonnus in the sense "oracular", "prophetic", "inspired", e.g. D.6.16 δαίμονος ὁμψῆεντος, of Astraeus, 9.271 Πυθιάς ὁμψῆεσσα...κούρη, al., Par.1.194 ὁ. ... ἀνθερεῶνος, 13.94 ὁ.στόμα, both referring to Christ. Hence Paul's phrase here means "divinely-inspired purpose" (cf. Du Cange, divina mens). The words are resounding, but editors have been puzzled as to what Paul means in linking them with λιτὰ, cf. Graefe ad loc., illa ὁμψῆεσσα μενοινῇ hic ineptissime interponitur; sana tamen videtur lectio. Fr. (ad loc.) suggested the sense "das auf die Sprache gerichtete Bestreben", putting emphasis on the idea of eagerness in μενοινῇ and the derivation of ὁμψῆεσσα from ὁμψῇ. But he admitted the weakness of this interpretation in conceding that the words would have come better in 999, where Paul speaks of Eutychius' λιτὸν ἔπος. On Fr.'s interpretation, our phrase would say virtually the same, but with greater obscurity. The expression is better explained in terms of the passages from Eustrat.V.Eutych. quoted in n.sup. on 995-1006, in which the virtue and piety of the inner man are said to be characterised by his external appearance (ch.80) and where (ch.8) a list of physical characteristics of the virtuous man includes the phrase τὸν τρόπον τῆς ψυχῆς. Surely Paul here similarly refers to the inner simplicity

of the whole mental outlook of the patriarch, and not to a physical characteristic or habit. The use of the term λιτός in this context is certainly unusual, but neither is it particularly apposite with the physical characteristics which follow (998f). Paul begins with the familiar expression λιτὰ δειπνα/δόρπα and then, instead of simply saying λιτὴν δὲ τὴν διαίταν (cf. Epicur.fr.478, M.Ant. 1.3, etc.), he expands on the theme, using rhetorical anaphora of a kind characteristic of the style of the poem (most recently 991-3 sup.), and substituting a detailed list which exemplifies the simplicity of the outlook and behaviour of the patriarch, on the analogy of the regular use of such physical descriptions in accounts of holy men, see n.sup. on 995-1006.

998. βλεφάρων ἀμαρύγματα : Cf. Nonn.D.7.248f παρθενικῆς γὰρ/ γλαυκὰ γαληναίων βλεφάρων ἀμαρύγματα λεύσσω, ib.5.342 ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμάρυγμα; A.R.4.728 βλεφάρων... μαρμαρυγῇσιν; Opp.C.3.90 ἴσαι μὲν βλεφάροισιν ἀπ' (ὑπ' Mair) ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυγαῖ, cf. ib.32; Nonn.D. 4.8 βλεφάρων... αἴγλην, 7.260 βλεφάρων σέλας, cf. Coll.133; Nonn.D. 8.341 βλεφάρων ἀκτῖνα σελασφόρον, cf. Musae.90, Jo.Gaz.Descr. 2.153, al.simil. Sappho uses ἀμάρυγμα in the sense "radiant gaze", Suppl.5.18 (= fr.16.18 Lobel-Page) ἀμάρυγμα... προσώπω, cf. Nonn. D.10.316; absolute, A.R.3.288, 4.847; also A.P.5.259.3 (Paul Sil.) ῥοδῆς δ' ἀμάρυγμα παρειῆς; Theoc.23.7f οὐκ ἀμάρυγμα/χείλεος, οὐκ ὄσων λιπαρὸν σέλας. For the use of the term in the context of virtue, as in our line the glint of the eye is a manifestation of virtue (see n.sup.), cf. A.P.7.343.5 (Anon., 5th cent.) τῶν πισύρων ἀρετῶν ἀμαρύγματα πάντα φέροντα (of Paterius). On ἀμάρυγμα, see further in general 192n.sup. sparkle ?

In Homer, βλέφαρα (always plural) refers to the "eyelid" rather than the "eye" (Il.10.187, Od.9.389, al.), but the sense "eye" is as old as Hesiod (Sc.7), and in later epic the term is used in both senses: for "eye", see the exx. quoted sup. and cf. Opp.H.2.6, Nonn.Par.9.74, 187, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.336, al., A.P.5.262.2 (Paul Sil.); for "eyelid", cf. A.R.2.109, 3.1161, al., Theoc.21.20, 22.204, Opp.C.3.90 (reading ὑπ'; see citation sup.), ib.3.348, al., Orph.Hymn 78.9, and see PGL s.v. Often, for example in the context

of weeping, either sense is possible. Eustratius (V.Eutych.80, col.2364D) describes Eutychius' eyes on the occasion of his return to Cpl. as patriarch, τοὺς χαροποιοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τὰς τοῦτου πεφυλαγμένας κόρας, τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ βλέποντες ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐννεύοντες δίκαια.

998f. ταρσῶν/ἵχνια σῶν: "the steps/prints of your feet". The expression ἵχνια ταρσῶν et simil. is Nonnian, often merely used periphrastically for "foot", although in our line Paul refers to Eutychius' gait, rather than to his feet. Cf. Nonn.D.4.131 δῖχροα χιονέων ἀμαρύσσεται ἵχνια ταρσῶν (of Cadmus), Coll.134f ἐφράσσατο .../...αὐτῶν ἵχνια ταρσῶν (Paris examining the goddesses for judgement), Nonn.D.10.408f ταρσοῦ/ἵχνεσιν ἵχνια τύψε (in close pursuit), ib.22.302f ταρσοῦ/ἵχνιον ἠέρταζε (in preparation for combat), 34.311 ποδὸς ἵχνια, al.simil.; cf. Epigr.Gr.339.4 διισῶν σου ταρσῶν στήσας ἵχνος. Homer uses the expression ταρσὸς ποδός to denote the flat or sole of the foot (Il.11.377, al.), but later poets use ταρσός alone in the general sense "foot", see the exx.cit. LSJ s.v.II.1 and cf. Opp.C.1.458, al., Nonn.D.10.241 and passim (see Peek Lex.s.v.I), ib. Par.8.42, 10.5, al., Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.244, 327, al., A.P.7.578.4 (Agath.). For the reference to Eutychius' gait, cf. Eustrat.V.Eutych.80-81 (col.2365B) τοὺς κατὰ πάντα ὀρθοὺς καὶ ἐδραῖους πόδας, μὴ ἐκκλίνοντας δεξιὰ ἢ ἀριστερὰ, βαδίζοντας δὲ τὴν τετριμμένην καὶ βασιλικὴν ὁδὸν, ἣν βοῦς καὶ ὄνος πατεῖ, τουτέστιν ὁ ἐξ Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐξ ἔθνων πιστὸς λαός. (81) τίς ὑπογράψειεν πρεπόντως τὸ εὐτακτον βάδισμα, τὸ εὐκίνητον ὅλου τοῦ σώματος; τοιαύτη γὰρ τῶν πραέων καὶ τῶν ὠραίων ποδῶν ἡ κίνησις, τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην, κτλ.

999. καὶ λιτὸν ἔπος σέο χεῖλεα πᾶλλει : The sense might be either "a simple word moves your lips" (ἔπος subject, χεῖλεα object) or "simple the word which your lips wield" (ἔπος object, χεῖλεα subject). Graefe, interpreting the expression in the latter sense, remarked ad loc., πᾶλλει offendit; an βάλλει vel χεῖλε' ἱάλλει? etsi sic elisionem evitasset. But neither suggestion is convincing and it is more likely that Paul wrote πᾶλλει. If χεῖλεα

is the subject, then the verb is used on the analogy of the classical sense "brandish", "shake", cf. 317 sup. with n. ad loc. The image of the lips wielding or brandishing speech is a bold one, but it is consistent with references to Eutychius' eloquence in Eustratius, e.g. V.Eutych.80 (col.2365A) τὰ πυρίζοντα χεῖλη, τὸ πυρῶδες καὶ καθαρὸν τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀποστάζουσας χαρίτας, cf. ib.81 (col.2365C-D), and see n.sup. on 988f. In our context of the λιτὰ δῖαιτα, however, allusion to fiery eloquence is not particularly apposite, and it is perhaps more likely that Paul intended the expression to be understood in the alternative sense, with χεῖλεα as the object of πάλλει. Then the use of the verb is based on its regular transitive use in late poetry of movements of the limbs, cf. 298 sup. and other exx. collected ad loc. There is no close parallel for Paul's use of it here, of speech making the lips move, but it presents little difficulty. This second interpretation, which is accepted by Fr. (p.113), has the advantage of retaining the straightforward rhetorical emphasis on λιτὸν without the introduction of unnecessarily distracting imagery, and is the rendering suggested by the Greek word order.

1000-6. These lines describe Eutychius' serene countenance, the reflection of his inner serenity. Eustratius calls this τὸ ἱλαρὸν τοῦ προσώπου, see n.sup. on 995-1006 and cf. also id.V.Eutych.80 (col.2364D) τὸ ἱλαρὸν, τὸ χαρίεν τοῦ προσώπου, περὶ οὗ καὶ Σολομὼν φησιν, "Καρδίας εὐφραينوμένης", δῆλον ὅτι τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν, "πρόσωπον θάλλει." (quoting LXX Prov.15.13, which continues, ἐν δὲ λύπαις οὐσης σκυθρωπάζει). In his description, Paul uses the imagery of darkness and light (ὁμίχλην 1000, σέλας 1002) and refers to Eutychius' gentle smile (1003) and to his γαλήνη (1006). All of these elements occur elsewhere in panegyric of the emperor, cf. 215 sup. νόου σέλας, contrasted with κατηφής; 246 sup., J.'s smile in response to the impassioned appeal of Roma; and J.'s γαλήνη 944 sup., al., see nn. ad locc. and see further the discussion of Cameron on Cor.Laud.Just.3.309. The transference of this imagery to the patriarch can be justified on the grounds that serenity is achieved by the Christian life, as indicated by the passages from

the V.Eutyech. collected sup., and secondly that light imagery is also regularly used in Christian contexts (as Cameron illustrates in her n. on Cor.Laud.Just. 1.149; cf. n.sup. on 169f): it is specifically applied to Eutychius by Eustratius, e.g. ch.2 (col.2276D ff), ch.6 (2281A-B), ch.80 (2365A) where Eutychius' white hair and beard are said to signify τὸ λαμπρὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ τέλειον.

1000. ἐπισκυνίοιο κατηφίδωσαν ὀμίχλην: "downcast gloom of lowering brow". Cf. 169 sup. ἀχλυόεσσαν...ἀνίην. Paul here uses ὀμίχλη in contrast to σέλας in 1002, cf. 904ff sup. πᾶσι μὲν εὐφροσύνης ἀναπέπταται εὐδίας αἴθρη / ψυχαίην ἐλάσασα μελαγκρήδεμνον ὀμίχλην / πάντας ἐπαυγάζει σέλας ἱερὸν, of the joy brought by the lights of S.Sophia; ὀμίχλη is also used in a metaphorical dark/light contrast, inf.Amb. 35f and ὀμιχλήεσσα in a literal dark/light contrast, sup.191f. See 191n. on the use of ὀμίχλη in general (its metaphorical use is as old as A.Pr. 145, lyr.). For other dark/light contrasts using ὀμίχλη, some literal, some metaphorical as in our line, cf. Orph.Hymn 6.6ff ὄσων ὄς (i.e. Protogonus) σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὀμίχλην / ...κατὰ κόσμον / λαμπρὸν ἄγων φᾶος ἄγνον; Procl.Hymn 4.6 νεύσαι' ἐμοὶ φᾶος ἄγνὸν ἀποσκεδάσαντες ὀμίχλην; Nonn.D. 38.80ff ἠελίῳ γὰρ / δεύτερον ἀστράπτουσι φεραυγέα Βάκχον εἴσκω, / καὶ θρασὺν ὀρφναίην μελανόχροον Ἴνδον ὀμίχλη, ib. Par. 8.3ff οὐποτε βαίνει / ποσσὶν ἀλωμένοις σκιοειδέα κῶνον ὀμίχλης, / ἀλλὰ καταυγᾶσσειεν ἔχων ὁμόφοιτον ἑαυτῷ / ζῶης ἀπλανέας φᾶος ἔμπεδον, cf. 12.140f. Similarly at Hex. 14ff (PG. 92.1427f), George of Pisidia speaks of τὴν ὀμίχλην τῶν φρενῶν, which the lamp of the patriarch Sergius disperses (18f τῇ σῇ φωτοκόσμῳ λαμπάδι / παρήλθεν ἡ νύξ).

With the use of κατηφίδωσαν here in connection with the brow, cf. Opp.C. 3.27 (ὀφρύας) ἀμφιλαφεῖς ἐπὶ ῥίνα κατηφέας, of a lion. Paul earlier uses cognate terms to describe dejection or dimness, cf. 181, 204, 319 sup., with nn. ad locc., and esp. 215, on which see n.sup. on 1000-6. With our κατηφίδωσαν ὀμίχλην, cf. A.P. 9.658.3 (Paul Sil.) κατηφέα νύκτα, also metaphorical. The epic participle κατηφίδων (from κατηφιδᾶω = κατηφέω, cf. 319 sup.) occurs first in A.R., 1.461 κατηφίδωντι ἑοικῶς, 3.123 σίγα κατηφίδων (of Ganymede, beaten at knucklebones by Eros), A.P. 14.3.1

(?Metrod.) τὸν Ἔρωτα κατηφιόωντα, Nonn.D.18.337 Πίθον...κατηφιόωντα προσώπῳ, cf. 37.701, al., Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.354 κατηφιόωντι κελαινιόωσα χιτῶνι (sc. ἑβδομάτῃ ἡρῇ). In our line the ms. has κατ'ἡπιόωσαν, a mistake which also occurs in the Laurentianus ms. of Nonnus D., see Peek Lex.s.v. fin.

The term ἐπισκύνιον denotes the loose skin above the brow, which is knitted in frowning, cf. Il.17.136 πᾶν δέ τ'ἐπισκύνιον κᾶτῳ ἔλκεται ὅσσε καλύπτων, of a lion; Ar.Ran.823 δεινὸν ἐ. ξυνάγων (of Aeschylus); Theoc.24.118 τοῖον ἐ. βλοσυρῷ ἐπέκειτο προσώπῳ, cf. A.P.16.100.2 (Anon.); Opp.C.1.181 (horse), 1.420 (dog), 3.352 (tiger); A.P.11.376.8 (Agath.) ἐπιστρέψας γυρὸν ἐ. Also in other contexts, of the beetling brows of old age, A.P.7.117.2 (Zenod.), 6.64.8 (Paul Sil.); of a supercilious expression, A.P.7.63.2 (Anon., on Diogenes); of the gleaming brow of the beloved, A.P.12.159.4 (Meleagr.).

1001. ἀμφιέπεις: In Homer (e.g. Il.24.804), the verb ἀμφιέπω means "be busy about", "look after", then later "tend", etc., see LSJ s.v.II.1 and cf. also A.R.2.761, 1158, al., Opp.H.2.165, C.2.355, al., Nonn.D.21.200, 42.393, al., A.P.5.272.4 (Paul Sil.), 5.297.5, 6.80.4 (both Agath.). But often in Nonnus, the sense is little more than that of ἔχω, e.g. D.7.281 ἔνθεον ἀμφιέπων παλινάγρετον εἶδος ὀπωπῆς (of Zeus), 36.299f ἀμφιέπων δὲ/ἰσοφύεξ μίμημα λεοντείοιο προσώπου, al., see Peek Lex.s.v.II, Par.6.216f ἀμφιέπεις γὰρ/ζωῆς ἀενάοιο μελίρρυτα χεύματα μύθων (Christ), 8.145 δαίμονος ἀμφιέπων μανιώδεα ῥοῖζον ἱμάσθλης, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.169 νόον ἀμφιέπων οἰκτίρμονα φοιτάδι κόσμῳ, A.P.6.87.4 (Anon.) ἴλαθι τῷ ξυνῇν ἀμφιέποντι τύχην. (This is probably the sense also at A.P.9.482.10, 12, Agath.). Paul's usage here is similar to these Nonnian examples, but the parallel ἀέξεις at the end of the line hints at the stronger Homeric sense; hence it should perhaps be rendered "cherish".

χριστῷ δὲ γεγηθότα θυμὸν ἀέξεις : For θυμὸν ἀέξεις, cf. Il.17.226 ὑμέτερον δὲ ἑκάστου θυμὸν ἀέξω, Od.2.315 (passive); Nonn.D.20.285 οὐ...ἀνάγκιδα θυμὸν ἀέξει, also ἦθος ἀέξω, Nonn.D.23.60,

48.498, al., Par.8.131. For γεγηθότα θυμὸν, cf. Il.13.494 θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γεγήθει, 7.189 γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ, cf. 13.416, Hes.Sc.116, also Od.7.269, al. simil. The verb is first constructed with dative in the sense "rejoice in", as here, in Alexandrian poetry, A.R.1.449, 2.707, al., Call.fr.194.55 Pf., Axiop.1.23, (p.220 Powell), Sotad.15.4 (p.243 Powell), cf. Opp.C.1.122, H.2.458, al., Orph.Hymn 2.6, 8, Epigr.Gr.1028.4 (Hymn to Isis), Nonn.D.38.96. On the use of the perfect participle in present sense, see 170n.sup.

1002. ἥπιον εὐάντητον ἄγων σέλας: The verb ἄγω is loosely used in our line as equivalent to φέρω or ἔχω, as often in Nonnus D., see Peek Lex.s.v. init.; for the verb with σέλας, cf. ib.7.311 (κῶνος ὁμίχλης) ζόφον...ἄγων, 34.104 φέγγος ἄγεις (ἥως). For the metaphorical use of σέλας, of radiant light as opposed to murky gloom, cf. 215 sup. with n. ad loc. Nonnus uses the term of a radiant face, e.g. D.34.77 σέλας πέμπουσα ποθοβλήτοιο προσώπου, 48.319 καὶ σέλας ἰοχέαιρα διαυγάζουσα προσώπου, al.; also of the flesh in general. e.g. ib.10.186, al., cf. A.P.16.77.2 (Paul Sil.). Homer, in a simile, applies it to the light of the eye, Il.19.17, 366, cf. Theoc.23.8, A.P.12.93.9 (Rhian.), Opp.H.2.536, Nonn.D. 7.260, 42.426, Coll.133. Paul does not specify whence Eutychius' σέλας exudes: it is a general radiance. His πρόσωπον is described in the next phrase. For the use of ἥπιον here, cf. Coll.131 ὁ δ' ἥπιον ὄμμα τανύσσας (Paris judging the goddesses), also Od.20. 326f μῦθον. In Homer, the term is usually applied to people (e.g. Il.24.770, Od.10.337), and this is its most common use in later poetry, see LSJ s.v.I.1, adding A.R.3.941, Theoc.17.51, Call.Del.214, A.P.5.122.4 (Diod.), GVI 1546.10 (1st/2nd cent.), Epigr.Gr.831.9 (2nd cent.), 906.4, Opp.H.4.155, 5.349, Nonn.D.20.269, 24.59, al. For εὖ. ...σέλας, cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.26.20 σὸν φᾶος εὖ. (of God). The epithet εὐάντητος ("accessible", "gracious") recalls Menander Rhetor's precept for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, that the emperor should be praised for τὸ εὐπρόσοδον (375.10). The term occurs only in late authors: for its use of gods in inscriptions, see LSJ s.v.I and cf. Epigr.Gr.779.7; so Orph.Hymn 2.5, 3.13, al., Nonn.D.27.178 (Dionysus), 35.316 (Hera), 39.207 (Hephaistus); also

in Cyr.Alex., see PGL s.v.2. Callimachus (Dian.268) has the verb εὐαντίεω, and A.R. (4.148) the epithet εὐαντήs, both used in address to divinities. Oppian uses the term εὐάντητος rather differently, of that which is welcome or pleasing, H.2.149 = 388 ἐδωδῆ, C.2. 488 ἄγρην.

ἐν δὲ προσώποις: "on your countenance/ in your expression". The radiance transmitted by Eutychius' Christian heart is manifest in his serene facial expression, Homer always uses πρόσωπον in the plural, even when it refers to a single person, e.g. Il.7.212 μειδιῶν βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι, Od.19.361, al.; cf. Epigr.Gr.980. 6, Opp.C.2.448, 3.220, al., Coll.251, 261, Musae.170, Jo.Gaz. Descr.1.341, 2.150, A.P.5.231.1 (Mac.Cons.), ib.256.1 (Paul Sil.), 289.7 (Agath.).

1003. μειλίχιον μείδημα: The noun μείδημα is very rare, only elsewhere extant at Hes.Th.205 (plural), Orac.Sib.1.182, A.P.5. 250.1 (Paul Sil.) ἡδύ, φίλοι, μείδημα τὸ Λαΐδος. In Homer, μειλίχιος is used mainly of speech (e.g. Il.12.267, Od.6.148), also with αἶδοι (Od.8.172), see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.1.294, 3.898, al., Nonn.Par.13.146, Coll.277; later it is applied to gods, see LSJ s.v.II, noting A.P.5.226.4 (Paul Sil.), and adding GVI 1029.8 (?2nd cent.A.D.), Orph.Hymn pr.30, 72.2, 73.2. But it is also used more widely, e.g. GVI 194.2 (?2nd cent.A.D.) μητέρι, 1924.35 (after A.D.94) φέγγος (of the sun); Opp.H.5.33f θαλάσσης/κριοῖς (identified with the killer whale); Nonn.D.7.330 χεῖλεσι (serpent), 34.300 παλάμη, al., Par.19. 173 of one of those crucified with Christ ("penitent", PGL s.v.2); Tryph.496 πυρὶ, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.75 γαλήνης; Agath.Hist.1.13.7 of Narses.

παρήϊα σεμνὰ χαράσσει: Nonnus uses χαράσσω with παρείη/παρηΐς, but of scoring the cheeks in mourning (D.16.352, 33.13) or in combat (D.25.463, 37.412, 529), and of down marking the cheeks (D.10.180, cf. 5.404, A.P.2.279, Christod.). Here, however, Paul is describing the wrinkling of the cheeks (of an old, lined face) in a smile, and the sense is "furrow"; the verb is used analogously elsewhere in late poetry of ploughing the earth, or rippling/furrowing

the surface of the sea, with waves/oars et simil., see the exx. cit. LSJ s.v.II, adding Nonn.D.40.331 (ploughing); ib.3.9 (frozen water), 10.170 (water), al., cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.304, 2.97, A.P.5.35. 7 (Rufin.; metaph., in physical description). For the use of the verb in other contexts, see nn. sup. on 271, 280. The form παρῆϊον is Homeric, plural Od.19.208 of Penelope, singular Il.23.690; plural of a lion, Od.22.404, singular of a wolf, Il.16.159; plural of people (one or more), A.R.2.82, 3.681, 4.45, Theoc.22.128, Nonn.D.20.16, 47.109, 733; also of gods, GVI 1765.15 (1st/2nd cent.) παρῆϊσι μειδιδῶντες. For σεμνός here, cf. 969 sup. σεμνὸν ἐς ἀρητῆρα, also of Eutychius, and see n. ad loc.

1004. ταῦτα δὲ προῦνόοιο, κτλ.: "These things you bear as signs of your gentle-minded heart". As at 58, 236, 934ff sup., ταῦτα refers generally to the preceding passage, here the description of Eutychius' characteristics from 997. These are signs of his inner Christian tranquillity, see n.sup. on 995-1006. Graefe (ad loc.) suggested that the line would be more forceful if the particle δὲ were omitted, on the analogy of the earlier instances of ταῦτα mentioned sup. In the earlier cases, however, the pronoun refers to the achievements of J. and carries strong panegyric emphasis; in our line the context is also panegyric, but the note of triumphant emphasis is lacking. This difference in tone is reflected in the inclusion of the particle here. The question of the deletion of δὲ was first mooted by Hermann (Orphica, Addenda p.XXVII), who suggested that it should perhaps be removed to avoid Attic correption. (It is in this connection that Graefe raised the point). Nonnus allows Attic correption only in cases where a word is otherwise metrically inadmissible (Keydell I.40*, sec.16), but Paul admits it much more freely (Fr. p.117; Merian-Genast op.cit. p.71ff, who says that there are in Paul ten instances at the word-end in the second short of the first foot, p.72); hence its incidence here does not justify emendation. Du Cange's correction φέρεις for the ms. φέρει (haplography) is an improvement accepted by all subsequent editors.

The epithet προῦνοος is rare, first at Simias 24.10 (p.116 Powell

= A.P.15.24.10) πραῦνός δὲ πειθοῖ (corr. Bergk e codd. πραῦν), cf. Orph.Hymn 44.11 πρηῦνοον καλέων αἰεὶ μύσταισιν ὑπάρχειν (of Semele), ib.69.17 πραῦνοον μετάθεσθε βίου μαλακόφρονα δόξαν (addressed to the Moirae); A.P.9.769.1 (Agath.) τοῖς μὲν πρηῦνδοῖς τάδε παίγνια (of a gaming-board); and, in a context similar to ours, ib.7.592.5 (attr. Jul.Aeg.) πρηῦνδου κραδίης μέγα δεῖγμα (of J.). The following sentence (1005-6) expands upon the meaning of the epithet and serves as a summary of the whole description from 995.

1005. ἔσσι γὰρ εὐθίκτοισιν ἀνέμβατος, κτλ.: "for you are inaccessible to the ready steps of Anger". The term ἀνέμβατος, first extant in Eratosthenes (fr.16.14, p.62 Powell) is not uncommon in later prose and poetry in its literal sense, of place, military defences et simil., see LSJ and Soph.Lex.s.v., adding A.P.7.723.1 (Anon.), Opp.H.2.526, Q.S.8.484, 12.450, Nonn.D.2.140, 569, al., Par.3.66, 7.139, A.P.4.3B.28, 5.294.3 (both Agath.). For its metaphorical use, LSJ cite Ocell.1.15, but there Mullach (FPG I.394) reads ἀνέκβατος. Paul, however, uses it metaphorically of himself at A.P.5.234.3 γυιοβόροις βελέεσσιν ἀνέμβατος ὁ πρὶν Ἐρώτων; cf. the metaphorical exx. collected PGL s.v., which include its application to God. For the expression ἀνέμβατος ἵχνεσιν ὀργῆς, cf. 306 sup. ἀμβατὸν ἀνδρομέοισιν ὑπ'ἵχνεσιν αἰθέρα τεύχων, and for ἵχνεσιν ὀργῆς, cf. NT Ep.Rom.4.12 τοῖς στοιχοῦσι τοῖς ἵχνεσι τῆς...πιστέως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ. The term ὀργή ("anger") is contrasted with γαλήνη in 1006, as χόλου is contrasted with γαλήνην at 944 sup.

The epithet εὐθίκτος means "good at grasping/touching" (θιγγάνω; cf. εὐθικτέω, "find range", of artillery, see LSJ s.v.) and hence here "ready", "quick". Eutychius is inaccessible to anger which is "good at touching" other people, cf. 944 sup. ἀναγκαῖοιο χόλου. There is no precise parallel for Paul's use of it here, but it is used analogously of intellect or wit which is quick and apposite, see LSJ s.v. It is, however, very rare in poetry, only A.P.6.322.2 (Leon.Alex.) εὐεπίης, Maneth.5(6).289 in a list of epithets characterising those born when Jupiter is in the house of Venus. The adverb εὐθίκτως is glossed by Hesychius (εὐψηλαφήτως), while

Suidas and Etym.Magn. gloss εὐθικτον (εὐαφές, εὐψηλάφητον).

The form ἔσσι is used by Homer (e.g. Il.1.176) and Nonnus (e.g. Par.1.74).

1006. ἔδρῆσων ἀτίνακτος, κτλ.: "seated unshaken in untumultuous serenity". For Eutychius' γαλήνη, cf. 986 sup. with n. ad loc., and see also n.sup. on 944f. There is no parallel for the poetic form ἔδρῆσσω (cf. ἔδράζω), but Nonnus uses the compound formations ἐφεδρῆσσω (D.11.148, 20.36, al., cf. A.P.7.161.5, Ant.Sid., all c.dat.; also Coll.256 ἐφεδρῆσσειν...ὑψόθεν ἔδρης. LSJ cite Coll. 69 for absolute ἐφεδρῆσσω, but Weinberger and Mair there prefer the reading ὑφεδρῆσσω) and παρεδρῆσσω (D.9.112, 40.472, both c.dat.; Par.16.19 codd., παραδρῆσων Hermann, Scheindler). Cf. also Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.13.150 (PG.37.1239A) (ἀνίην) ἔδρῆεσαν; this epithet is glossed in Hesychius.

The term ἀτίνακτος is often used predicatively in Nonnus of people, e.g. D.10.165f ἰσχία βάπτων /ἀγχισθαθῆς ἀτίνακτος, of a satyr standing in the R.Pactolus, ib.31.183 μίμνει Ζεὺς ἀτίνακτος; Par.5.14 τοῦτον ἰδὼν ἀτίνακτον ἐθήμονι κείμενον εὐνῇ, of an invalid, al.; with our context, cf. also Nonn.D.11.50 ἀτίνακτα...ῶτα γαλήνης. The epithet appears first in Oppian, H.2.8 ἀναγκαίη, 4.415 plural of ships, C.2.336 ἀνάγκη. See the discussion of A.W.James, Studies in the language of Oppian of Cilicia (Amsterdam 1970) 19f, who discusses other formations in -τίνακτος and observes that the incidence of the epithet in an Egyptian papyrus (Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten 6574.5) may indicate that it is not Oppian's formation. Cf. also Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.356 (PG.37.996A), ib.2.2.51.1 (PG.38.110A = A.P.8.178.1); sup.461.

The phrase ἐφ' ἀφλοίσβοιο γαλήνης describes the condition or circumstances of Eutychius' sitting. Such a phrase would more normally be expressed by ἐπὶ c.dat. (see LSJ s.v. ἐπὶ B.I.1i, K-G.I.502, sec.438.II.3c). But Nonnus constructs local ἐπὶ with genitive or dative with little distinction (see Keydell I.64*f), and Paul's usage here may be seen as an extension of that licence. After ἔδρῆσσω a local expression is naturally expected (cf. Coll. 256, cit.sup.; Nonn.D.36.428 ἐξόμενοι...ἐπὶ βάθρων, 40.4 ἔζετο... ἐπὶ προβλήτος ἐρίπνης, al.simil) and ἐφ' ἀφλοίσβοιο γαλήνης used in

its literal sense of a calm sea (as γαλήνη is in Homer, e.g. Od.10.94) would indeed be local. The noun is in fact used metaphorically, but the mode of a local expression is retained. For the qualification of γαλήνη with the epithet ἄφλοισβος, cf. Nonn.D.10.125 Νηρεΐδς ἄφλοίσβοιο κυβερνήτειρα γαλήνης. The epithet occurs elsewhere only at ib.1.89 πορείης (of Europa's bull crossing the sea), 34.134 σιωπῇ, 34.315 ἀνθερεῶνος. It is derived from φλοῖσβος, used in the Iliad of the noise of battle (e.g.5.322), later of the sea, see LSJ s.v.

1007-26. In the remainder of the panegyric, Paul turns away from physical description of the patriarch and considers how the mental discipline of Christianity is manifest in his social behaviour. After a general statement of his Christian concern for human affliction (1007-9), Paul gives the specific example of his financial generosity (1010-13) and then describes in more detail how Eutychius' own exemplary purity and strict personal standards, based upon Scriptural prescription, render him entirely incorruptible in the administration of Church affairs, in particular in making ecclesiastical appointments (1014-26).

1007. πάντα μὲν, κτλ.: "You have shaken off all the woes of material labours", i.e. Eutychius' personal life is concerned entirely with spiritual labours, and material woes do not affect him (but, 1008-9, he is not oblivious of the mortal afflictions of others). For the idea, cf. Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.94 μόχθον ὅλον ῥίψασα, of Arete (see further n.sup. on 964f). Eustratius (V.Eutych.82, col.2368A-B) similarly concludes his account of Eutychius' physical virtues (see n.sup. on 995-1006) with a reference to his other-worldliness, praising the patriarch as another Christ, ἐπειδὴ Χριστοῦς οἶδεν (sc. ὁ λόγος μοι) τοὺς ζῶντας κατὰ Χριστὸν. (This expression derives from Greg.Naz.'s praise of Athanasius, see editor's n. ad loc.). Eustratius' passage includes such phrases as τὸν ἔτι ὑπὲρ γῆν ὄντα καταλιπόντα τὴν γῆν, ..., τὸν ἔξω σαρκὸς καὶ κόσμου ἀεὶ γενόμενον, ζήσαντα ὑπὲρ τὰ ὁρώμενα, καὶ τὰς θείας ἐμφάσεις δεξάμενον, ἀμιγγῆς τῶν κάτω χαρακτήρων καὶ πλανωμένων, ὄντως ἔσοπτρον ἀκηλίδωτον Θεοῦ, κτλ.

For metaphorical ἀποσεΐομαι, cf. 217 sup. with n. ad loc.; with our line-end, cf. also Nonn.D.35.321 ἀπεσεΐσατο λύματα λύσσης, Par.5.9 ἀπεσεΐσατο λύματα νούσου, and for πῆματα μόχθων, cf. 283 sup. τέρματα μόχθων; Orph.Hymn 67.2 πῆματα νούσων, Nonn.Par.8.51 πῆματα κόσμου, A.P.5.236.1 (Paul Sil.) πῆματα ποινῆς, etc. For the person-ending of ἀπεσεΐσαο, cf. 974 sup. with n. ad loc. The only poetic parallel for the rare epithet ὕλαϊος in the sense "material" is Procl. Hymn 1.3 ὕλαίοις ἐνὶ κόσμοις. It is used in the sense "woodland" at Theoc.23.10 θῆρ, A.P.11.365.8 (Agath.) ἀνθοσύνην (i.e. weeds); elsewhere only in prose, see LSJ, Soph.Lex.s.v.

1008. εὐσεβίης δ' ὀχετηγὸν, κτλ.: "but, opening up a conduit of piety, your kindly heart". For εὐσεβίης ὀχετηγὸν, cf. Nonn. Par.4.98f νέου βιότοιο διάκτορος ἔρχεται ὥρη, / εὐσεβίης ὀχετηγὸς, ib.14.64 ἀτρεκίης ὀχετηγὸν, of the Paraclete. Metaphorical ὀχετηγὸς, used literally at Il.21.257, is not uncommon in epigram (see the exx. collected LSJ s.v.) and in Nonnian poetry, cf. Nonn. D.7.203 ὄμμα...γαμίης ὀχετηγὸν ἀνάγκης (of Zeus), ib.44.270 φόνων ὀχετηγὸν (sc.μάχαιραν), al., Par.11.200 ἀρχιερεὺς..., ὀχετηγὸς ἑορτῆς (Caiaphas), al.; Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.133 πτερόεις ὀχετηγὸς ἀνέβλυσεν Ἀγγελιώτης; also Synes. Hymn 3.167f (p.12 Terzhagi) νοερητόκε νοῦ, / ὀχετηγὲ θεῶν. For the form εὐσεβία, see n.sup. on 309f. The Homeric epithet ἐνηῆς (Il.17.204, Od.8.200, etc., elsewhere of men, gods, animals) is here parallel to πρηῦνδοιο (1004). For ἀνοίγω here, of the heart being opened like the flood-gates of a conduit, cf. Theoc.14.15 of tapping wine, Nonn.D.48.877f νέης...ἀνοιγομένης ἀπὸ πηγῆς/συμφόκομος πάλιν οἶνος ἀνέβλυε; also E.Med.660f (lyr.), S.fr.360 Nauck, of opening the door of the mind/soul.

1009. συμπαθεῖς: Cf. 40 sup. ταῖς τοῦ βιοῦ γὰρ συμπαθῶν ἁμάρταις, of J. The adjective is very rare in poetry, only Tryph.393 γυναικῶν, "sharing the common doom" (Mair), of the women of Troy, A.P.11.352.7f (Agath.) νεῦρα.../ἥ φύσις ἀλλήλοις θῆκατο συμπαθεῖα, "interacting", of the strings of the lyre. It is, however, common in late prose in Paul's sense "sympathetic" (once in NT, 1Ep.Petr.3.8),

see LSJ s.v.1, Soph.Lex.s.v.1, PGL s.v.1, noting especially the designation of a bishop as ἔμπειρος καὶ συμπαθὴς ἱατρὸς πάντας ἰώμενος τοὺς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις πεπληγμένους, Const.App.2.20.10 (I.77.4f Funk). Cf. Leont.V.S.Jo.Eleem.26 (54.2f Gelzer) τοῦτον τὸν συμπαθέστατον, of the patriarch John the Almsgiver. John Moschus' Pratum Spirituale illustrates the high esteem in which a bishop's sympathy with sinners was held, see N.H.Baynes, loc.cit. in n.sup. on 993-4.

ἀνδρομέοισιν ἐπ' ἄλγεσιν ὄμμα τιταίνεις: Like ὄμμα τανύσσας (sup. 286, see n. ad loc.), ὄμμα τιταίνω is Nonnian; it is most often used absolutely (e.g. Nonn.D.42.40, 48.395, al., ps.Ap.Met.Ps.68.35, Tryph.371, A.P.2.225, 353, Christod.) or followed by εἰς (Nonn.D.9.32, al., Par.16.2, ps.Ap.Met.Ps.108.7, A.P.2.60, Christod., Enc.duc.Roman.2.2, I.121 Heitsch, sup.531), sometimes by ἐπὶ and accusative (Musae.336, v.l. εἰς; cf. Nonn.D.15.242, 17.269). But for its use with ἐπὶ and dative, cf. Nonn.D.39.256 ἄσμενον ὄμμα τίταινε ἐπ' εὐθύρῳ Διονύῳ; the verb τιταίνω is also constructed with accusative, followed by ἐπὶ and dative at ib. 10.155, 12.342, 37.516. Paul's choice of the construction here may be influenced by the fact that the dative ἄλγεσιν (often with the preposition ἐν or ἐπὶ) is frequently placed immediately before the bucolic caesura, e.g. Il.24.568, Od.5.83, al., A.R.1.297, 4.1395, 1652, Opp.H.3.323, 329, 4.679, Nonn.D.47.314, 48.849, Par.19.11, A.P.11.382.7 (Agath.). For the epithet ἀνδρόμεος here, cf. Nonn.D.7.13 μεληδόνης, 7.59 κακότητος, 12.258 μερίμνας, 47.55 ἀνίης, and see further n.sup. on 306.

1010-13. The theme of Eutychius' support for those in need has already been touched on at 993 sup. Its recurrence is doubtless due to the fact that this was a virtue most highly-prized in a bishop, see n.sup. on 993-4.

1010. οὐδὲ λιπερνῆτης: Cf. A.P.9.649.5f (Mac.Cons.) οὐδὲ λιπερνῆτης κενεῶ καὶ ἄκερδέϊ μόχθῳ/κλαῦσε (on this epigram, see J.A.Madden in Mnemosyne Ser.4, 30, 1977, 153ff). The adjective

("poor", "without means"; cf. the rare λιποκτέανος at 993 sup.) is extant in this form only in these two places (and Longus 2.22 if Schäfer's restoration for λιπεργάτης is correct), but Callimachus (fr.254.2 Pf.) uses a feminine form λιπερνῆτις, cf. Epic.adesp.4.17 (p.79 Powell = P.Oxy.1794), while λιπερνῆς occurs in Archilochus (and Hesychius), and the verb λιφερνέω in Josephus. See LSJ s.vv and cf. Pfeiffer on Call.loc.cit. on the citations of glossaries. For a discussion of the etymology, see Chantraine, Dict.étym. s.v. λιπερνῆς.

τελέθει βροτῶς: Cf. 962 sup. τελέθει χρέος in eadem sede and see n. ad loc. on τελέθω, here used with predicative adjective as in Homer. As at 286 sup., βροτῶς suggests a contrast with the immortal or divine, here the godlike virtue of Eutychius.

ὃν σὺ νοήσης: The aorist subjunctive νοήσης is Fr.'s correction of the future νοήσεις of the ms. and all earlier editors. The sense of the relative clause is here general ("anyone whom you see"), for which the regular classical construction would be ὃς with ἄν and subjunctive (Goodwin GMT sec.532, p.204, K-G.II.424ff, sec.559.1, cf. Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.380.1b, p.308). But Homer and later poets frequently omit ἄν (or κε) in such general statements (K-G, sec.559.1, Anm.1, p.426, cf. Goodwin GMT sec.538, p.207f, Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec.380 n.7, p.309), and Fr.'s ὃν...νοήσης would accord with this practice. Even in Homeric and classical Greek, however, the indicative sometimes replaces the subjunctive (Goodwin GMT sec.534, p.206, although Goodwin gives no exx. with future tense) and late Greek often makes no distinction between future indicative and subjunctive with ἄν in such clauses (cf. the alternative use of ἔαν with subjunctive and εἰ with future indicative in general conditions in classical Greek, see Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf sec. 380.2, p.308 and cf. ib.sec.363, p.293). This tendency is well exemplified by Nonn.D.19.138ff ὅς τις ἀεθλεύσει (Hermann, Keydell, Peek; ἀεθλεύσειε L) .../...οὔτος ἐλέσθω/...κρητῆρα.../ὅς δὲ πέσῃ.../...ῆσσανα δῶρα δεχέσθω. See further Keydell I.72*f, who cites cases of the replacement of the

future indicative by aorist subjunctive and discusses the difficulty of determining whether the form has been correctly transmitted. Hence it is possible that Paul wrote either νοήσης or νοήσεις, but perhaps we may tentatively accept Fr.'s aorist subjunctive, in view of Paul's general strictness in adhering to Homeric practice on such points of grammar (cf., for example, the use of the optative ἀναίξειας in primary sequence at 309 sup., see n. ad loc.), and because here the easy corruption from -ης to -εις is made doubly easy by confusion with the preceding line-end τιταίνεις .

1011. καθαροῦ νόου θημῶνα πετάσσας: "having opened wide the treasure-store of a spotless mind". Cf. 680f sup. ἐνθάδε πολλοὶ/ ἡμετέρων θημῶνες ἀκωίχθησαν ἀνάκτων, in the context of the collection of gold and silver for the adornment of S.Sophia. On the term θημῶν, see 237n.sup. Like οἴγνυμι and compounds (cf. 173, 212, 320, al.sup.), πετάννυμι is regularly used of opening doors, cf. 328 sup. and see n.sup. on 174f., where it is used metaphorically, as here. The genitive καθαροῦ νόου is possessive, like ἀνάκτων in 681, not constituent like ἀγλαΐης in 237. The weight of meaning lies in the epithet καθαρὸς, an epithet which is applied to Eutychius again inf.1015, cf. καθαίρων 1029 and the twofold use of καθαρὸς at 1026 in the context of Eutychius' lessons to those who try to corrupt him. This reiteration of the term in connection with Eutychius serves to set his purity against the corruption of others with more worldly interests. The quality of purity is regularly associated with Christians in the NT (see Arndt and Gingrich s.v. καθαρὸς 3) and in patristic writers (see PGL s.v.I.D), cf. esp. Const.App.2.11.1 (I.47.22ff Funk; quoted PGL s.v.I.D.2) ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, σπούδαζε καθαρὸς εἶναι τοῖς ἔργοις, κτλ. So here Eutychius' spontaneous response to the sight of someone in need is that of the pure-minded Christian who has no thought of personal or worldly interest, but only that of Christian benefaction. For καθαρὸς νόος, cf. Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.211 (PG.37.986) αὐτὴν δ' ἀτρεκίην καθαροῦ νοὸς ὄμματι λεύσσων; Nonn.Par.13.53 ἄμμορον ἀμπλακίης καθαρὸν νόον ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί, ib. 48, both of the disciples.

1012. Λυδὸν ἐρίχρυσοιο...ὄλβον ἀναύρου: A reference to the Lydian river Pactolus, proverbially associated with wealth on account of the gold washed down in its streams in ancient times, to which the Lydians were reputed to owe their wealth. See RE s.v. Paktolos (Bd.XVIII.2, col.2439f), for examples of this topos in classical Greek and Roman poetry, and cf. also Call.fr.814 Pf., Schol. ad id. Del.250; A.P.9.423.4 (Bianor) ὄλβον Πακτωλοῦ ῥεύματι δεξάμεναι (builders of Sardis); Dio Chrys.Or.33.23, 78.31; D.P.831f, with Eustathius' n. ad loc.; Them.Or.27 (II.158.20f Downey-Norman); Nonn.D.10.163 ὄλβον εὐψήφίδα μεταλλεύων ποταμοῖο (i.e. Pactolus), 13.472f ὅπη Πακτώλιον ἱλὺν/ξανθὸς ἀποπτύων ἀμαρύσσεται ὄλβος ἑέρσης, 34.213 Λυδῶν ἄσπετον ὄλβον, ὅσον Πακτωλὸς ἄξει, al.; Jo.Geom. Par.25.3f (PG.106.873) ἐκάλει τόγε τοὺς τοιοῦτους/τοῦ μεγάλου Λυδοῦ πολλὸν ἀφνειοτέρους (of the three virtues recommended by a holy man; the earlier lines of this epigram are quoted in n.sup. on 995). The generosity of S.John the Almsgiver is described by his biographer Leontius by means of the same analogy, without the literary reference to the Pactolus, Leont.V.Jo.Eleem.12 (23.4f Gelzer) καὶ ἀφειδῶς ἠπλωμένην χεῖρα καὶ ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἀεννάως πᾶσιν παρέχουσιν.

Nonnus uses adjectival Λυδός (first in Sappho, see LSJ s.v.), as well as Λύδιος, e.g. D.17.318 Λυδὸν...ὄγκον ἀπειλῆς in eadem sede, cf. 17.106 ἀνῆρ, 46.123 μέλος, al. For ἀναυρος, cf. 290 sup., and 210 with n. ad loc. The epithet ἐρίχρυσος (cf. Homeric πολύχρυσος, Il.11.46, al.) occurs elsewhere only at sup.503 καρήνου (of the dome; the line is restored by Fr.) and at A.P.9.785 (Anon.) Μηνᾶς χρύσειον ἔργον ἐδείματο πᾶσιν ὀδίταις,/κυδαίνων πολίεθρον ἐρίχρυσων βασιλῆων (i.e. Cpl.). For other new formations in ἐρι-, cf. sup. 304 ἐρικνήμις, 274 ἐρίκνημος with n. ad loc.

παρέδραμες: "you surpassed". For this sense in late poetry, cf. Opp.H.3.96 παρὰ δὲ φρένας ἔδραμον ἀνδρῶν (of fish escaping fishermen), where the senses "outrun" and "outdo" are both present; Nonn.D.1.490 Φοῖβον ἔμῃ φόρμιγγι παρέδραμον. Homer uses the verb transitively in the literal sense "outrun", "overtake" at Il.23.636 Ἴφικλον δὲ πόδεσσι παρέδραμον, cf. A.P.16.275.9 (Posidipp.), Nonn.D.29.347, 37.694, al.; the metaphorical usage "surpass" appears

in classical poetry and in later prose, see LSJ s.v. παρατρέχω 2. Earlier (65, 123, 445, 703) Paul uses it in the sense "neglect", "overlook" (cf. LSJ s.v.4b). In our line a present tense is expected after τελέθω (1010) and before ὀπάζων (1013), but the aorist is gnomic, since this is a general statement (ὄν σὺ νοήσης, 1010). Homer (exclusively) and Nonnus (with one exception, D.41.109) admit only the strong aorist form (although Paul has the perfect at 445, 703 sup.). For the same idea with ὄλβος, using a different verb, cf. A.P.5.259.6 (Paul Sil.) ὄλβου παντὸς ὑπερπέταται, of a lover.

1013. ἔκχυτον ἐκ παλάμης: "poured forth from your hand". Cf. A.P.5.260.3f (Paul Sil.) ἐγὼ ξανθίσμασι χαίτης/ἔκχυτον ἐκ στέρων ἐξεσόβησα νόον, ib.16.229.1 (Anon.) ἐξ αὐτοῦ Διὸς ἐστὶν ὁ φίλτατος ἔκχυτος οὗτος (Pan); also A.P.5.249.5 (Iren.) ἔκχυτα σώματα φωτῶν, 5.275.1 (Paul Sil.) Μενεκρατῆς ἔκχυτος ὕπνω, 9.669.8 (Marian.) ἔκχυτον...κόμην (of ivy); sup.639 of white markings spread over black marble, 888 of the lights of S.Sophia; Suidas s.v. καγχασμός· ὁ ἔκχυτος γέλως. The adjective is not elsewhere attested, although the term ἔκχυτος is used substantivally at A.P.9.395.2 (Pall.), sens.dub. of something eaten. At 208 and 925 sup., Paul uses the participle ἐκχύμενος, "streaming forth", respectively of fire and water, see nn. ad locc. For ἐκ παλάμης, cf. Opp.H.3.154, Nonn.D.6.63, 18.185, 37.689, Par.4.35, Jo.Gaz.Descr.2.250.

ποταμήρρυτον: The form is not elsewhere attested, although ποταμόρρυτος occurs in late prose, see LSJ s.v. Graefe emended to ποταμόρρυτος in our line (with a note ad loc. suggesting as an alternative adverbial ποταμορρυδὸν), but other editors have retained the transmitted form, Fr. with some hesitation, see his app.crit. There seems to be no good reason for emending ποταμήρρυτον (the lectio difficilior): Oppian has ποταμηπόρος (C.2.178, 4.84), and Nonnus uses the adjectival forms ποταμήιος (e.g. D.6.224, 26.237) and ποταμηῖς (D.12.163 of the Pactolus, 27.184, al.), the latter in imitation of Alexandrian poets (A.R.3.1219, Nic.Al.128). Fr. (ad loc.) observed that there are many other composites

of the kind ποταμήρρυτος, citing θανατηφόρος (A.Cho.369, etc.); for such a compound in late poetry, cf. ἄσπιδηφόρος (Aesch., Eur., Georg.Pisid.Exp.Pers.3.402). Paul's wide use of new or rare formations has already been amply demonstrated, and there is no reason why ποταμήρρυτος should not be added to this list. For the association between ὄλβος and a flowing river, cf. Paul's use of the epithet ῥυηφενῆς sup.225 (see n. ad loc.), ἐπίρρυτον ὄλβον 234.

ὄλβον ὀπάζων: The repetition of ὄλβον from 1012 in eadem sede is not obviously intended as deliberate word-play, although the similar repetitions of ὄμμα (286, 289 sup.) and ἰδεῖν (288, 290) may be such, see 290n. Here it is perhaps a sign of haste: Paul may have intended lines 1012 and 1013 as alternatives, one of which would have been omitted on revision, since 1013 could stand instead of 1012 if ὀπάξεις were written instead of ὀπάζων. Compare n.inf. for a similar case of parallel lines. The use of ὄλβον is acceptable in both 1012 and 1013, since it is elsewhere used of the Pactolus' gold (see the exx. quoted 1012n.) and ὄλβον ὀπάζειν is Homeric, Od.18.19 ὄλβον δὲ θεοὶ μέλλουσιν ὀπάζειν, cf. Hes.Th.420, Maneth.2(1).221, Greg.Naz.Carm.1.1.4.83 (PG.37.422), etc. The verb is often used of the gifts of the gods.

1014f. πάντα μὲν ὠγυγίων, κτλ.: "All the glories of labours primeval and more recent you have thoroughly learned". I.e. Eutychius is thoroughly acquainted with the history of Christian endeavours. There is no linguistic indication to suggest it, but the context requires that the reference be specifically to Christian labours, since the following lines (1015-17) describe Eutychius' exemplary Christian life, presumably based upon the knowledge here referred to. Hence it is likely that the two adjectives ὠγυγίων τε καὶ ὀπλοτέρων refer respectively to the Old and New Testaments. Eutychius' outstanding knowledge of the Scriptures is apparent from Eustratius' Life, for example, in Eutychius' apt citation of a passage from Scripture in resolving the controversy about anathematisation of the dead at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (ch.22, see n.sup. on 998f). According to the

Life, Eutychius' early education at his local church (ch.8ff, cols.2282D ff) was followed by a period of secular education at Cpl. (ch.10, col.2285A-B); after distinguishing himself in the latter, he chose to devote himself entirely to theological studies (col. 2285C). Leontius' Life of S.John the Almsgiver similarly comments on the patriarch's knowledge of Scripture and his practice of its precepts, ch.18 (36.1ff Gelzer) εἶχεν μὲν οὖν γνῶσιν καὶ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὃ ἐν ἁγίοις, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ δὲ λόγου ταύτας ὥς ἐπὶ κενοδοξίας ἀποστηθίζων, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν ἔργων πράξεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐντολῶν τηρήσεως.

For the expression κλέα μόχθων, cf. 138 sup. κλέα...ἔργων and see n. ad loc. At A.P.2.378 (Christod.) the genitive (φωτῶν) is qualified by ὠγυγίων, as μόχθων is in our line. The coupling of ὠγύγιος and ὀπλότερος appears to be Paul's own. The former is first certainly used as an adjective by Hesiod (Th.805f Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ/ὠγύγιον), although in Homer's expression νῆσον ἐς ὠγυγίην (Od.1.85, al.simil.), where the term is traditionally interpreted as a proper name, it need not be so. It is used by poets in the sense "primeval", "very ancient" (Hesychius glosses it ἀρχαῖον, παλαιόν, cf. Suidas, Etym.Magn.), but the etymology is unknown, see West's n. on Hes. loc.cit., Chantraine Dict.étym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. ὠγυγίη. For its use, see LSJ s.v. and cf. Epigr.Gr.845.2 (3rd or 2nd cent.) ὠ[γ]υγίων υἱὲς Ἐριχθονιδᾶν; A.R.3.1178 ὦ. ἐνὶ Θήβῃ; Call.Jov.13f ἀλλὰ ἔ'φρείης/ὠγύγιον καλέουσι λεχώϊον Ἀπιδανῆες (of a holy place), Del.160 ὠγυγίην...Κόων Μεροπηΐδα νῆσον, fr. 260.22f Pf. ὠγυγίους.../οἰωνοὺς; Nic.Th.343 μῦθος; A.P.7.42.7 (Anon.; on Callimachus) ἀμφ'ὦ. ἥρώων, ib.15.24.12 (Simias) σκάπτρον; D.P.523 of Thasos, 911 of Tyre, al.; Orph.Hymn 64.10 of Nomus, cf. 59.10; Nonn.D.13.164 ὠγυγίης πέδον Αἰγῆς, conj. Canter at ib.12.19f ὠγυγίῳ.../...νωμήτορι κόσμου, of Helios (the conjecture is accepted by all editors except Keydell, who printed L's οὐγίῳ and obelised. Peek argued in favour of ὠγυγίῳ in Abh.d.deutschen Akademie d.Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Kl. für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, Jg.1969, Nr.1, p.17f); Coll.10 ὠγυγίη...νεῖκεος ἀρχῇ. (See also PGL s.v. for an example from late prose in the sense "immense"). The comparative ὀπλότερος

is Homeric (Il.4.325, al., see LSJ s.v.), where it is used in "the comparison in age of people alive at the same time" (Gow on Theoc.16.46). This sense ("younger") is common amongst later poets (e.g. A.R.1.43, 992, al., Theoc.22.176, Opp.H.3.645, Nonn. D.5.209, 48.889, al., Musae.77, A.P.5.220.4, Agath., ib.7.604.6, Paul Sil.), but Theocritus (16.46) also uses it of later generations (cf. Euph.fr.80.1, p.44 Powell, A.P.4.2.6, Philipp., Orph.Arg.16, 109, al., Nonn.D.15.283, 16.125, A.P.5.218.3, Agath.), while Nonnus uses it more widely of things (as well as people) in the sense "later", "new", as here, e.g. D.13.463 Σαλαμῖνα, 29.353 sc. δεσμὸν, Par.3.28 ὀπλοτέρην...γενέθλιον ἄσπορον ἀρχὴν, 13.138 ὀπλοτέρην...ἔφημοσύνην ἐπιτέλλω, also Coll.57 ὀπλοτέρης δολίης...βουλῆς, A.P.2.362 (Christod.) ὀπλοτέρου κώμοιο, of Menander's New Comedy. Line 1014 is remarkably similar to 1007 sup., which likewise marks the opening of a new topic. The formal similarity between the two lines may be a further sign of hasty composition, cf. n.sup. on ὄλβον ὀπάζων 1013.

For ἐξεδάης, cf. A.R.4.1564f Ἀπίδα καὶ πέλαγος Μινωῖον εἴ νύ που, ἥρως, / ἐξεδάης, also Maneth.6(3).469 ἧ γὰρ μέτρα μακρῆς χθονὸς ἐξεδάησαν. (At Theognis 1349f οὐνεκα κἀγὼ / ἐξεδάμην καλοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι δαμείς, Sauppe's conjecture ἐξεδάην is less plausible than the alternative conjecture ἐξεφάνην, Baiter, Ahrens, Bergk, West, etc., based on the similar lines 1342 and 1344). These are the only known instances of this compound of Homeric δᾶω (Il.3.208, al.). The aorist here has perfect sense, cf. σταθμήσατο 1017.

1015f. πᾶσιν δὲ ποσὶν, κτλ.: "and with spotless feet you travel every path in the holy meadow". In the reference to the holy meadow, Paul has chosen an image with a wealth of association in Christian thought, of which an indication is given by the examples collected in PGL s.v. λείμων; see also n.sup. on 286-99 on the use of λείμων images in late rhetorical writers. The vague generality of Paul's expression here leaves the reader free to conjure up this wealth of association. In view of the reference in 1014 to Eutychius' knowledge of Scripture (see n.sup.), the use of λείμων here must recall the image of the meadow of Scripture (exx. PGL, n.sup. on 286-99). Hence this line may be seen as a

metaphorical reiteration of the statement of 1014f, with the additional suggestion, in the idea of walking a path, of the application of this knowledge to Eutychius' conduct of his life. But other associations of the image are also relevant: the image of the path here recalls the reference in 964f sup. to Eutychius' easy course over the rugged path of virtue (ἀρετῆς...οἶμον; see n. ad loc.), and elsewhere virtue is described in terms of the image of the meadow, e.g. Jo.Chrys.Laud.Paul.1 (PG.50.473.1ff) οὐκ ἂν τις ἁμάρτοι λειμῶνα ἀρετῶν καὶ παράδεισον πνευματικὸν καλέσας τὴν Παύλου ψυχὴν; Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.91 ἀρετῆς λειμῶνας (cf. n.sup. on 964f); similarly John Moschus called his collection of virtuous Lives a λείμων, because in it he culled the various flowers of contemporary virtue, Prat. proem. (PG.87.2852A-C, esp. B) ἐξ ὧν (sc. ἀρετῶν) τὰ καλὰ δρεψάμενος ἄνθη πλεκτὸν στέφανον ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος λαβὼν, κτλ. (cf. E.Hipp.73f). So Paul's expression here also means that Eutychius leads a life of complete virtue, based upon the knowledge of the Scriptures referred to in 1014f. Moreover, the reference to Eutychius' "spotless feet" suggests his spiritual purity and Christian enlightenment (cf. κ. νόου 1011 sup., with n. ad loc.), a further context in which the λείμων analogy occurs elsewhere, see PGL s.v. There is no reason why Paul's image here should not be intended to suggest all of these associations.

The particles μὲν (1014) and δὲ (1015, 1016) indicate no greater antithesis than that between Eutychius' theoretical knowledge and his practical application of it in life. For the verb ὁδεύω (once in Homer, Il.11.569) constructed with accusative expressing the place traversed, see LSJ s.v.2 and cf. esp. A.R.4.838 οἶμον ὁδεύειν, simil.D.P.923, Nonn.D.2.127, 10.102, Par.2.64, 7.67f, al., Tryph.102, Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.275; also Nonn.D.16.72 = 48.514 ἔσω λειμῶνος ὁδεύων. For this verb with the instrumental dative ποσ(σ)ῖν, cf. Opp.C.1.101. Instead of οἶμος, Paul substitutes the Homeric ἀτραπιτός (Od.13.195, also ἀταρπιτός; cf. ἀτραπός), which is found in both literal and (less often) metaphorical contexts, see LSJ s.v. and cf. Call.Del.74; A.P.7.241.8 (Ant.Sid.), ib.12.121.1 (Rhian.), 16.256.4 (Anon.); Opp.C.1.484, 2.208, al.;

Orph.Lith.338; Nonn.D.21.168, 24.90, 40.464, Par.4.20, 13.137.

The dative λειμῶνι θεουδέϊ gives local definition to ἀτραπιτὸν; Nonnus often uses the dative alone in a local sense, see Keydell I.59* and cf. sup.202 and 197 with n. ad loc. On the epithet θεουδέης, see n.sup. on 168.

1016f. σὰς δὲ μερίμνας, κτλ.: "and your cares the mystic canon has measured on a just-minded balance". In a new metaphor from measuring, Paul refers to the strict rule by which Eutychius' cares or preoccupations are governed. The plural μέριμναι denotes that which occupies or weighs down the mind (cf. 175, 251 sup., where it refers to the concern felt at the collapse of the dome of S.Sophia); its use here implies that strict discipline is applied not only to Eutychius' actions, but to the things which he allows to enter his mind. But the main point of the clause is to add the idea of a strict discipline of life.

The term κανὼν doubtless suggested the development of the measuring image: originally it denoted a rod or bar used to keep something straight, see LSJ s.v.I for its various technical senses, and cf. Nonn.D.5.63, 17.66, 41.269, all of builders' rules; A.P.6.64.4, ib.65.2, 4, 66.3 (all Paul Sil.) of a writer's rule. But its metaphorical usage begins in the classical period (see LSJ s.v.II) and by the 6th cent. the term is well-established in Christian usage in several metaphorical senses in the range "rule", "order", "system", see PGL s.v. and cf. Soph.Lex.s.v., Du Cange Glossarium s.v. Here the "mystic canon" is the Christian rule or prescription by which Eutychius governs his life. It is the canon or rule of faith (PGL s.v.A), which was derived from the canon of Scripture (PGL s.v.A.3, B), cf. the reference to Eutychius' Scriptural knowledge in 1014f. In Christian thought, the term κανὼν also denotes a moral standard of behaviour (PGL s.v.D) and a rule of ecclesiastical law (PGL s.v.C). It has been suggested that Eutychius himself may have been involved in the reform of ecclesiastical canons, but at a later stage of his career, after his exile and reinstatement, see E.Honigmann, Trois mémoires posthumes d'histoire et de géographie de l'Orient chrétien (Subsidia hagiographica 35,

Brussels 1961) p.49ff, esp. 55ff. On the use of μύστης in Christian contexts and in Paul, see n.sup. on 313. Elsewhere Paul uses it only of people, either substantively (313, 350, 718, 974) or as an adjective with ἄνθρωπος (432, 686, 865), but it is occasionally used elsewhere as an adjective with a non-personal noun, see LSJ s.v.1 fin.

The verb σταθμάομαι is derived from στάθμη, the Homeric term for a carpenter's line or rule (Od.5.245, al.). The noun sometimes occurs in later writers in conjunction with, or in distinction from, κανών, see LSJ s.v.1 and, for their collocation in metaphor, cf. Greg.Naz.Or.43.20 (PG.36.521C) κανόνες ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ στάθμαι, οἷς τὸ εὐθεῖς, καὶ μὴ, διακρίνεται (of himself and Basil, studying together at Athens); the two occur along with our verb σταθμάομαι at Luc.Hist.Conscr.63 οὐτός σοι κανὼν καὶ στάθμη ἱστορίας δικαίας. καὶ εἰ μὲν σταθμήσονται τινες αὐτῇ, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι, κτλ. Paul here chooses the verb because its connection with the technical term στάθμη suits the metaphor of κανὼν; at the same time σταθμάομαι is not inappropriate to the idea of measuring by weight, which is introduced in the instrumental dative πλάστιγγι ("scale of a balance", see LSJ s.v.): Hesychius glosses σταθμήσας· ἐν ζυγῷ στήσας, although the form σταθμίζω is elsewhere used in the sense "weigh", see LSJ, PGL s.v. Both verbs properly belong to prose, although σταθμάομαι occurs in Callimachus (fr. 191.54 Pf. = Iamb.1.119) and Aratus (234; passive) and, in a similar context to ours, at Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.2.10 (PG.37.579) μηδὲ μικροῖς μέτροισι τεῖν σταθμώμενος οἶμον (advice to the celibate).

Metaphorical πλάστιγξ is found in classical drama, see LSJ s.v.; for its incidence in later poetry, cf. A.P.12.88.5f (Anon.) τμήσατ', ἐμοὶ τοῦθ' ἡδύ, καὶ εἰς πλάστιγγα δικαίην/νείμαμενοι κλήρω τὰμὰ φέρεσθε μέλη, Orph.Hymn 63.7 πλάστιγγι βριαροῖσι παρεγκλίναντες ἀπλήστως, of the scales of Justice upset by the greedy; Jo.Gaz. Descr.2.329 καὶ μεθέπων σύμπαντα σοφῇ πλάστιγγι πορείης, of Kosmos; also metaphorical in patristic writers, see PGL s.v. The epithet ἰθύνοος occurs elsewhere only at Nonn.D.41.353 θεσμῶν, ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 10.4 (κακοῖ) ἰθυνόους ὀρφνήθεν οἴστεῦσαι μεμῶτες.

1018-26. The description of Eutychius' personal wisdom, purity and discipline in 1014-17 has been preparatory to the account of his incorruptibility in Church administration, which now follows in the final section of the panegyric (1018-26). This is concerned with his refusal to tolerate the abuses of simony (1019f) and the appointment of laymen to ecclesiastical posts (1020f).

There is evidence that simony was a major problem from the mid-fifth century onwards, by which time a post as a priest or deacon could be quite lucrative: it was repeatedly condemned in imperial laws and ecclesiastical canons, and J. regulated by law certain fees and payments. See Jones LRE II.908-10 with notes, III.309ff, and cf. Boojamra in Buzantina 7 (1975) 367f; Bury HLRE II.361. An instance is described in Leontius' Life of S. John the Almsgiver (ch.13, p.25.15ff Gelzer), in which a landowner attempts to bribe the patriarch by offering him corn and gold at a time when the church was hard-pressed to support the needy (because of famine and refugees from Persian invasion), on condition that John make him a deacon; the offer was, of course, refused. Cf. ib.ch.4 (10.12ff Gelzer) for a reference to stewards being corrupted by bribes.

The appointment of laymen to ecclesiastical posts was likewise irregular, but not uncommon: J. passed a law that only clerics of six months' standing might become bishops (Nov.VI sec.1, A.D.535). See Jones LRE II.915ff on the appointment of bishops, ib. 912ff on the promotion of lower ranks, with notes III.313ff. An instance from the reign of J. is that of John the Cappadocian, who was exiled to Cyzicus, ἐνταῦθα ἱερέως οὐ τι ἐκούσιος περιβέβληται σχῆμα, οὐκ ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ καλεῖν πρεσβύτερον νενομίκασιν, Proc.BP 1.25.31, cf. ib.2.30.54 and see Stein B-E II.482f.

Fr. observed in his note on 1019-20 that refusal to tolerate simony is to our minds a very dubious subject of encomium. Similar themes are not uncommon, however, in panegyric of secular figures, e.g. Prisc.Pan.197 nec lucri causa commiscet sacra profanis (in the context of Anastasius' removal of vices in the administration), Cor.Laud.Just. pan.Anast.29f qui munera temnis,/spernis avaritiam, fulvum qui respuis aurum (of Anastasius, quaestor and magister officiorum)

with Cameron ad loc. But Paul does give the theme of Eutychius' refusal to tolerate abuses striking prominence at the conclusion and climax of the panegyric. He may have chosen to develop this theme simply to give a concrete conclusion to a very generalised panegyric (see nn.sup. on 978-1029 and 987-90), but, like 987-90, our passage may reflect an actual incident or incidents in Eutychius' career. But Eustratius' Life furnishes no information on the subject.

This peroration of the encomium is marked by a rhetorical heightening of style similar to, although much more compressed than, that of the opening hexameters 135-67 (see n. ad loc.). Lines 1019-21 comprise a rhetorical tricolon of the form οὐ...οὐδὲ.../...οὐδὲ, exactly like that of 135ff; as in the earlier instance, the two οὐδὲ clauses add precision to the general statement of the opening clause. Note also the rhyming line-ends 1019-21 (cf. 974-77 sup. with 974n.), the parallel προῦς and βριθῦς at the beginning of 1022 and 1023, the homophony of χαλέψας and χαλινῶ in 1023, the reiterated ὅσπον of 1024, which forms part of a second tricolon expression using the aorist infinitive (1024-26), the homophony of ἀτιμηθέντα and ἀφραίνοντα in 1025, the polyptoton of καθαρὸς (i.e. repetition in different cases, cf. K.Mitsakis, The language of Romanos the Melodist, Byz.Archiv 11, Munich 1967, 165) and the alliteration of the letters theta and tau in 1026.

1018. ἔνθεν: Causal, cf. 959 sup. and 155 sup. with n. ad loc.

ὕπ' ἀχράντοις νόον μελεδήμασι θέλων : "enchanting your mind with undefiled cares". The pure thoughts or concerns which alone are allowed by Eutychius' strict discipline to occupy his mind (1016f), so charm, or transform and purify it, that he cannot contemplate the corrupt practice of selling ecclesiastical posts (1019).

The verb θέλω has been used before of the eyes of the beholder of S.Sophia (297) and the barbarians who hear Eutychius' voice (989), see nn. ad locc. As well as being applied to eyes and ears, it is also regularly used metaphorically of the mind, heart, soul et simil., and the expression νόον θέλω is Homeric, Il.12.255 (of a squall of wind raising dust and confusing the Achaeans),

cf. h.Cer.37 and other similar exx. cit. LSJ s.v.3, Nonn.D.8.171 θέλγε νόον Κρονίδαο (imperative), 16.153 νόον οὐ θέλξειας ἀπειθέος ἰοχεαίρης, al. Paul has φρένα θέλγω at A.P.5.254.7, 9.443.5. The verb is used with instrumental μελεδήμασι, as in our line, at A.R.3.4f ἄδμητας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις/παρθενικᾶς (of Erato, bringing the cares of love), cf. also ib.3.471 ἥ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς ἐόλητο νόον μελεδήμασι κούρη (Medea, also of love-cares). The noun, here a synonym for μερίμνας in 1016, is Homeric (plural only), Il.23.62, Od.15.8, al., see further LSJ s.v. and cf. Nonn.D.5.291 μελεδήματα θήρης, 7.63 μ. κόσμου, also 20.244; A.P.5.221.3 (Paul Sil.) of cares in love. (Du Cange's mistaken μελετήμασι was corrected by Graefe). For Paul's use of ἄχραντος here, cf. A.P.1.10.65 (Anon.) ἄχραντοις κραδίης ὑπὸ νεύμασι (of the patroness Anicia Juliana), and see further 196n.sup. For instrumental ὑπό, cf. 172 sup. with n. ad loc., 306, 343.

1019. ὦνιον οὐ τέτληκας ἰδεῖν σέβας: "you have not endured to see holiness for sale". Paul uses the vague term σέβας to refer to ecclesiastical offices: the meaning becomes clear from what follows. As at 284 sup. (see n. ad loc.), σέβας denotes "an object of reverence", here the Church and its offices, cf. also 986 sup. with n. ad loc. The adjective ὦνιος is used chiefly in prose (see LSJ s.v.), but also occasionally in poetry, cf. A.P.7.622.6 (Antiph.Byz.) μέλι ψυχῆς ὦνιον, 10.44.3 (Pallad.) ὦνια γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα; Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.1.157f (PG.37.981f) ἀμφοτέροισιν/ὦνιοι (sc.κακοῖ); Nonn.D.45.113 ὦνια Σιδονίης ἁλιπόρφυρα πέπλα θαλάσσης, Par.2.76f πολὺν ἐσμὸν...φιλεμπορον.../ὦνιον ἔργον ἔχοντα, 13.50f τίς μιν ἀνὴρ ἤμελλεν Ἰουδαίῳ παραδῶσειν/ὦνιον ἀντιβίοισι; (Christ). For Paul's use cf. also Agath.Hist.5.15.6 ὥς δὲ ὦνιον ἐλόντες τὸ γέρας (i.e. enrolment among the Scholarii). For τέτληκεν ἰδεῖν, cf. 287 sup. with n. ad loc.

1019f. οὐδὲ καρήνοις, κτλ.: "nor have you made holy heads the object of trafficking", i.e. Eutychius has not allowed ecclesiastical office to be bought and sold like merchandise. The verb ἐφαρμόζω is strictly used of fitting one thing onto another, as at 147 sup.

(see n. ad loc.), but it is also used more widely in a metaphorical sense, of the application or accommodation of one thing to another, see the exx. from Paul collected in n.sup. on 966 and cf. LSJ s.v.II, PGL s.v.2. So here the sense is that Eutychius has refused to connect commerce and ecclesiastical office, or to see the latter as a suitable subject for the former. The combination of abstract ἐμπορίην and concrete καρῆνοις is similar to, although bolder than, that of οὐνομα and πέτρῳ at Amb.104 (quoted 966n.).

The term ἐμπορία belongs to the same linguistic milieu as ὄνιον in 1019. At 235 and 851 sup., and at A.P.10.15.6, Paul uses it more precisely of the merchandise carried in ships, see n.sup. on 235. Here, however, the sense is more general, "trafficking", "trade", "commerce", see LSJ s.v.I.1 and cf. GVI 1833.4 (2nd cent.), D.P.710, 908; Nonn.D.3.117 (metaph. of love), Par.2.87; A.P.7.586.2 (Jul.Aeg.); Agath.Hist.4.21.7, 5.5.6. The adjective ἱερός means "priestly", "of priests", as elsewhere in Paul, cf. 88, 344, 996 with nn. ad locc.

1020f. οὐδὲ βεβήλοις, κτλ.: "nor yet have you pointed out to profane men a path which should not have been theirs to tread". I.e. Eutychius has forbidden the appointment of laymen to ecclesiastical posts. The term οἶμος here denotes the course of a career in the Church. For the image of the "path" or "way" in a similar context, cf. 996 sup. (with n. ad loc.), and for metaphorical οἶμος, cf. 964 sup. The term is widely used in metaphorical or allegorical expressions, e.g. Nonn.Par.7.68 οἶμον ἐτητυμίας, cf. 8.80 and, for Paul's use with ἔδειξας, D.P.1171 καὶ βαθὺν οἶμον ἔδειξαν ἀμετρήτοιο θαλάσσης. Nonnus similarly uses ἀνέμβατον οἶμον of a forbidden path at Par.7.138f καὶ οὐ θέμις, ὅπποθι βαίνω,/ ὕμέας ἱμείροντας ἀνέμβατον οἶμον ὁδεύειν. The epithet is regularly used in topographical contexts, see 1005n.sup. Here it is emphatically placed at the end of the sentence, between the third foot feminine caesura and the bucolic caesura. The dative expression βεβήλοις/ ἀνδράσιν might go with ἀνέμβατον (exx. quoted LSJ s.v.), but ἀνέμβατον is perhaps rather absolute, and the dative indirect object after ἔδειξας.

In the language of the mystery religions, the βέβηλοι are the uninitiated, the profani, e.g. Call.Cer.3 τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ θασεῖσθε, βέβαλοι; Theoc.26.14 τὰ (sc. ὄργια Βάκχου) τ'οὐχ ὀρέοντι βέβηλοι, cf. ib.3.51 and see Gow's nn. ad locc.; Orph.fr.245.1 φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ'ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι (v.1. βεβήλοις); A.P.9.298.1ff (Antiphil.) με...ὄντα βέβηλον/οὐ μοῦνον τελετῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡελίου·/μύστην δ'ἀμφοτέρων με θεᾷ θέσαν; cf. Soph.fr.570 with Pearson's note, and other exx. cit LSJ s.v.II. As in the epigram of Antiphilus, Paul here uses it as the antithesis of μύστης, his term for a priest or one in holy orders (cf. 313 sup. with n. ad loc.). Gregory Nazianzus similarly uses the term in a Christian context in a passage which recalls Callimachus (cf. Ap.2), Carm.1.1.1.8ff (PG.37.399) ἀλλ'ἀποτῆλε/φεύγετε, ὅστις ἀλιτρός· ἐμὸς λόγος, ἢ καθαροῖσιν,/ἢ καθαιρομένοισιν ὁδ'έρχεται· οἱ δὲ βέβηλοι/...κτλ. In the NT, βέβηλος is used more generally of those who are "godless" or "irreligious", see Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2; cf. PGL s.v. for its use in patristic writers, also Agath. Hist.2.23.2, of a Persian who has not lived according to religious practices; Opp.C.2.208 οὐνεκεν ἀτραπιτοῖ μερόπων θήρεσσι βέβηλοι, "because the paths of mortals are profane to wild beasts" (Mair).

1021f. δώροις/πρηῦς ὑποσσαίνων τις: "anyone meekly coaxing with gifts". Like βριθῦς in 1023, the adjective πρηῦς is used with adverbial force. Elsewhere πρηῦς (an epic form of πρᾶος) is applied to men, gods and animals in a favourable sense, see the exx. collected LSJ s.v. πρᾶος I.2 and cf. Call.fr.202.18 Pf., 263.1; A.P.6.244.4, 16.273.6 (both Crinag.); GVI 1903.15; Opp.H.1.562, 4.29; Nonn.D.14.49, 44.111; Tryph.659; A.P.7.606.1 (Paul Sil.); sup.43; so too in Biblical and patristic writers, see Soph.Lex., Hatch and Redpath, Arndt and Gingrich and PGL s.v. For ὑποσσαίνων, cf. 927 sup. with n. ad loc. The dative δώροις is instrumental.

1022. οἴσεται εἰς χάριν ἔλκειν: "thinks/expects to draw you to favour". The form οἴσεται is very rare. Fr. (ad loc. and p.112) was inclined to think that Paul intended it as a present, but the incidence of the form in Oppian indicates that it is

short-vowelled aorist subjunctive, cf. Opp.H.1.432f ἦτέ κεν ὄρνιν
 ὀΐσσαι οὐδὲ μὲν ἰχθὺν /εἰσοράαν, where ὀΐσσαι is potential
 subjunctive with κε, see Goodwin GMT sec.285, p.97f; also ib.
 4.368f εἰ γάρ τις ὀΐσεται ἔργα δόλοιο, /οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ἐμπελάσειε, where
 ὀΐσεται is a variant reading (see Schneider's 2nd ed., Leipzig
 1813, p.239) accepted by A.W.James in his Index to Oppian. These
 are the only other instances of the form. So here χαλέψας (1023)
 is gnomic aorist in the apodosis of a general condition, and
 ὀΐσεται aorist subjunctive, see Goodwin GMT sec.466, p.171 and
 cf. ib.sec.155, p.53f. The form is derived from the Homeric
 aorist ὀΐσατο (Od.1.323, 9.213, both c.inf., al.), ὀΐσάμενος
 (Od.15.443), where variant readings in double sigma are supported by
 the use of forms in double sigma in Alexandrian poetry, e.g.
 A.R.2.1135, Epic.Alex.Adesp.2.41 (p.74 Powell); see W.Schulze
Quaestiones epicae (Guetersloh 1892) 354 and cf. LSJ s.v. οἶομαι init.,
 W.Veitch, Greek verbs irregular and defective (Oxford 1887) s.v.
 οἶομαι. (Schulze argued that these sigmatic forms indicate a
 sigma in the root from which the verb is derived; modern etymologists
 argue similarly, but no certain etymology is known, see Chantraine
Dict.étym. and Frisk Griech.etym.Wörterbuch s.v. οἶομαι). For
 this aorist form in later poetry, usually with single sigma, but
 often with a variant in double sigma, cf. Opp.H.2.97 ὀΐσάμενοι
 (v.l. ὀϊόμενοι), C.4.228 ὀΐσσαμένη (c.inf.); Orph.Lith.123 ὀΐσ(σ)ατο
 (c.inf.), ib. 568, 569 ὀΐσ(σ)ασθαι; Nonn.D.4.105, 30.35, al.
 ὠισάμην (usually c.inf.) and esp. ib.5.515 Ἄρτεμιν ὠισάμην...εἰς
 γάμον ἔλκειν for the line-end similar to ours; Coll.258 ὀΐσ(σ)αμένη,
 ib.370 ὠίσατο (both c.inf.); A.P.6.70.4 (Mac.Cons.) ὠισάμην (c.inf.),
 cf. ib.5.247.2 (id.). Nonnus allows epic correption of the second
 short in the fourth foot, see Keydell I.41*, sec.18.

Ludwich (op.cit.p.23f) argued that the ms. εἰς should be restored
 here instead of the εἰς of all editors: he listed examples to
 prove that Paul prefers the form εἰς in hexameters even before
 consonants (e.g. sup.373, 563, 649, 919) and argued that the
 exceptions (534, 922, 953) are probably due to scribal error.
 But, in a note, he conceded that Paul may have written εἰς at
 534 and 922 on grounds of euphony (presumably because the form εἰς

also occurs in both of these lines). It may be that Paul wrote εἰς σὲ again at 953, as at 922, cf. A.P.4.3B.57 (Agath.). Our line is akin to 953 since in both cases the preposition follows ἔλκω and accusative used in the same sense. (See the exx. collected in 953n. for this use of the verb). On the basis that Paul would be likely to use the same form in similar instances, one might argue either for the retention of the ms. εἰς in 953 and emendation to εἰς in our line (with the additional support of the similar line-end with εἰς at Nonn.D.5.515, quoted sup.), or, with Ludwig, for the emendation of 953 to ἐς in accordance with Paul's usual preference, and the retention of the ms. ἐς in our line. Since there are arguments in favour of either form in both instances, caution favours the retention of the ms. reading in both cases (i.e. εἰς at 953, ἐς in our line), in the hope that the ms. does accurately represent the idiosyncrasies of Paul's style; but only a small error of transmission would be required for one form to be changed into the other.

1023. βριθὺς ὁμοκλητῆρι, κτλ.: "heavily you crush him with rebuking bridle". The adjective βριθὺς is chosen as a parallel to πρηῦς in form. The term is not elsewhere applied to people, cf. Il.5.746, 16.802 ἔγχος; A.Ag.200 (comparative) μῆχαρ; A.R.1.958 of an anchor-stone; A.P.6.185.1 (Zos.) δίκτυον, 16.127.4 (Anon.) χάλυβα; Opp.H.4.421 λαῶν, 5.44 πόνον (hunting). 5.175 πέλωρ, al.; Q.S.3.540 (comparative) δέμας; Nonn.D.37.683 βέλως.

On the gnomic aorist χαλέψω (corr. Du Cange e χαλέψαιο), see n.sup. on οἴσσεσται, and for Paul's use of the uncontracted aorist middle, cf. 974 sup. κληρώσας with n. ad loc. The middle is here used transitively in the sense "crush", as others use the active (Od.4.423, etc., see LSJ s.v.I.1 and cf. Nonn.D.2.117, 42.391). Paul chooses the verb for its homophony with χαλινῶ (cf. n.sup. on 1018-26). The image is that of reining in an undisciplined horse, for which compare Jo.Gaz.Descr.1.269 ἀκοστήσαντα χαλέπτων, in a lengthy description. Paul earlier uses the metaphor of the bridle in the context of government, cf. 226 sup. with n. ad loc. (Roma's use of J. as a bridle), 960 (Christ using a bridle

to direct J.'s enterprises). The term ὁμοκλητῆρ is used substantively by Homer in the phrase ὁμοκλητῆρος ἀκούσας, Il.12.273, 23.452. It is not elsewhere extant, although Hesychius glosses both the genitive singular and nominative plural forms, suggesting that he knew an instance of it in the plural. Paul uses the term in a similar sense ("threatening", "rebuking") to that in which he uses ὁμοκλή at 228 and 927 sup., see nn. ad locc. The use of γε to reinforce the article used as a demonstrative pronoun is a Homeric mannerism, see Denniston Greek Particles p.121f, sec.4. Nonnus uses γε only in clauses of comparison (except D.36.237, where it is a conjecture by Keydell), see Peek Lex.s.v. Du Cange and Graefe wrote τόνδε.

Π/ 1024. ὅσον ἀποσμήξαι κραδῖς νέφος: Cf. Nonn.Par.3.115 σμήλων ἀνδρομέης κραδῖς ῥύπον, of baptism. Paul substitutes for metaphorical ῥύπον the image of the cloud, i.e. that which obscures or dulls, here a misguided belief in the efficacy of money. The image is similarly used in Christian contexts of idolatry, see PGL s.v. νέφος B.1, νεφέλη B.4, and cf. Epigr.Gr.1068.2 πᾶν γὰρ ἀκοσμί[η]ς λέλυται νέφο[ς], of a pagan temple converted to Christian use; Greg.Naz.Carm.1.2.14.22 (PG.37.757) σαρκὸς...κυανέη νεφέλη; No.XII ap. Trypanis Fourteen Early Byz.Cantica η'5 τὰ δὲ νέφη τὰ πάνστυγνα τῶν παισιμάτων, inf.Amb.36. In Homer it is used of death, grief, etc., see LSJ s.v. νέφος I.2, νεφέλη I.2, and cf. n.sup. on 215. In prose, ἀποσμήχω appears first in Pherecydes, but only rarely thereafter until the Christian period, when patristic writers use it freely in contexts denoting the "wiping away" of sin, see LSJ, PGL s.v. It is not used in Homer or extant classical poetry, but Nonnus constructs it with accusative and separative genitive as here, e.g.D.5.604 ἰδρῶτας ἀποσμήξασα προσώπου, 48.348 ῥαθάμιγγας ἀποσμήξασα κομῶων; cf. A.P.9.362.8 (Anon.) c.acc. only, ps.Ap.Met.Ps. 68.59 passive. The ms. error ἀποσμήξαι is corrected in the margin, see Fr.'s app.crit. For ὅσον with infinitive, cf. 272 sup. Here it is used adverbially, without antecedent, in a limitative sense, "enough to...", as often, see K-G.II.511, sec.585 Anm.3, Peek Lex.s.v. ὅσ(σ)ος II.5, and cf. Theoc.30.6 with Gow's note ad loc.,

Opp.C.4.387, etc. For the repetition of ὅσσον after the bucolic caesura, see n.sup. on 1018-26 and cf. 152 sup. with n. ad loc.

1024f. ὅσσον ἐλέγξαι / χρυσὸν ἀτιμηθέντα: The sense of ἐλέγξαι may be simply "show", "prove", with ἀτιμηθέντα predicative, see LSJ s.v. ἐλέγχω II.3 and cf. Nonn.D.37.446 ἕτερος δὲ χερεῖονα φαῦνον ἐλέγχων, Par.7.29 ἡθάδος ἀμπλακίης ἐγκύμονα κόσμον ἐλέγχω, 12.191f λόγος οὗτος ἀπειθέα τοῦτον ἐλέγξει/κρίνων, al. But at 933 sup. the verb is used in the Homeric sense "disgrace", "put to shame", and this interpretation here gives a more forceful parallel expression to ἀποσμηῆσαι. See the exx. collected in n.sup. on 933, noting esp. the conflicting statement made by Paul at A.P.5.217.5 χρυσὸς ὅλους ῥυτῆρας, ὅλας κληῖδας ἐλέγχει. The verb is similarly ambiguous at Nonn.D.48.801 Ἄρτεμιν ὠδίνουσας ἐλέγξατε, μαϊάδες ὦραι, where the sense might be "expose" (so Peek Lex.s.v. ἐλέγχω init.) or "reproach", "put to shame" (Rouse).

Paul uses the aorist passive participle ἀτιμηθέντα as an equivalent for ἀτίμητον (cf. Fr.'s n. ad loc.) or ἀτιμος (Il.1.171, etc.), because of its homophony with ἀφραίνοντα (cf. n.sup. on 1018-26). The verb ἀτιμάω is Homeric (= ἀτιμάζω), see LSJ s.v., noting its use with the proper name Χρῦσιν at Il.1.11, and adding Coll.33, 139. The aorist passive does not, however, occur elsewhere in epic.

1025. ἀφραίνοντα διδάξαι: For the line-end, cf. Theoc.24.71 μάλα τοι φρονέοντα διδάσκω. The verb ἀφραίνω is elsewhere used as a participle, cf. Il.2.258 σ' ἀφραίνοντα, indicative, ib.7.109, Od.20.360; also in later epic, Nic.A1.34 ἀφραίνοντες, Opp.H.4.634 ἀφραίνουσας, Q.S.2.322 (infinitive), Nonn.D.36.355 ἀφραίνοντα... ἄνδρα, ib.20.397 (indicative).

1026. ὡς καθαρὸν καθαροῖσι, κτλ.: The closing line of the panegyric proper is carefully worded and arranged for stylistic effect, see n.sup. on 1018-26. For the collocation of the same word

in different cases in Paul, J. Merian-Genast (op.cit.p.37) cited 478 sup., Amb.290, comparing Nonn.D.37.443f, to which may be added ps.Ap.Met.Ps.68.56f. With the accusative καθαρόν, the noun ἄνδρα or simil. must be understood. The term καθάρως is associated with Eutychius elsewhere in this passage, cf. 1011 sup. with n. ad loc. The expression θέμις (ἔστί) is more commonly constructed with dative and infinitive (see LSJ s.v.I), but for Paul's following accusative and infinitive, cf. Orph.Lith.628, Nonn.D.2.488f, Par.7.138, 13.68, 136. For θαμίζω with simple dative, cf. A.P. 5.293.9f (Paul Sil.) ἀλλὰ θαμίζεις/μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίη, Κύπριν ἀπωσάμενος, Agath.Hist. praef.10 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν τοῖσδε θαμίζειν ἐδόκει, where τοῖσδε refers to the composition of poetry. The verb is Homeric (Il.18.386, Od.8.161, al.), but it is more often used absolutely or constructed with a preposition, see LSJ s.v. and cf. A.R.3.250, Orph.Lith.633, Nonn.D.29.27, 40.294, al., Par.2.69.

1027-29. The epilogue (ἐπίλογος) of Paul's ekphrasis is cast in the form of a prayer for Eutychius' longevity, the conclusion recommended by Menander Rhetor for the βασιλικὸς λόγος, cf. 921 sup. and see n.sup. on 921-33. The Amb. similarly ends with a prayer for the blessing of the Trinity (302ff).

1027f. ἀλλὰ μένοις, κτλ.: Cf. A.P.16.72.7 (Anon., 6th cent.) ἔμπεδος ἀλλὰ μένοις, Βυζαντιᾶς ἔμπορε Ῥώμα; ib.1.35.5 (Agath.) ἀλλὰ φανείης, in prayer to the Archangel. For ἀλλά in prayers, cf. Denniston Greek Particles p.13-16, secs.4 and 5. The force of μένοις with following participle in Paul's expression is virtually periphrastic: "May you continue to foster...; and may you continue to cleanse...". Fr. rightly suggested (ad loc.) that the καὶ of 1027 should be linked with the δὲ of 1028, the latter being substituted for a second καὶ linking the participles ἀέζων and καθαίρων(1029). The two participial clauses describe Eutychius' twofold role as patriarch of Cpl., namely support of the emperor and general care of the people. George of Pisidia similarly concludes his Hexaemeron with an appeal to the patriarch Sergius as protector of his people, lines 1881ff (PG.92.1577f).

On ἔμοῦ βασιλῆος, see 153n.sup. and for ἀέξω in a similar context, cf. 934 sup. Honorific μάκαρ is used of J. at 224 and 934 sup., see 224n.; it is also regularly used in Christian contexts of God, Christ, et simil., see 193n.sup. For εὐχολῆσι, cf. 981 and see 352n.sup.

1028. ἁλιγεῖτονι Ῥώμη: Dative of interest. The epithet is used of Smyrna at Hom.Epigr.4.6; elsewhere only in Nonnus, D.28.247 πέτρην, 42.17 ὄρμου, 42.28 κοῦρη, Par.2.63 Καφαρναοῦμ (genitive). Compounds in ἁλι- are listed in the Alexandrian onomasticon P.Hib.II. 172, col.iii (see n.sup. on μελαγκρήπιδα 261), but this one does not survive among them.

1029. πᾶσαν ἁμαρτινίου βιότου σμῶδιγγα καθαίρων: "cleansing every weal of sinful-minded life". Cf. inf.Amb.44f αἵμαλέοισι ῥεέθοις/ψυχაίης ἐκάθηρεν ὅλην σμῶδιγγα καλύπτρης, on Christ's treatment of martyrs. The patriarch is seen as spiritual ἱατρός, cf. Const.App.2.20.10 (quoted 1009n.), Greg.Naz.Carm.2.1.11.32 (PG.37.1032) ἱατροὶ παθῶν, of bishops; etc. Such medical imagery is common in imperial panegyric and in patristic writers, see 224n.sup.

The verb καθαίρω picks up earlier references to Eutychius as καθαρός, see n.sup. on 1011. It is used in medical contexts (LSJ s.v.I.3, cf. Opp.H.1.302), but also frequently metaphorically in a religious sense, in both pagan and Christian writers, see LSJ s.v.I.2, Arndt and Gingrich s.v.2, PGL s.v. and cf. Procl.Hymn 1.35 κέκλυθι καὶ με κάθηρον ἁμαρτιάδος αἰὲν ἀπάσης, al.; Greg.Naz.Carm. 2.1.1.347 (PG.37.996) ὡς δακρύων ὀχετοῖσι μολύσματα πάντα καθήρω (of the soul); Nonn.Par.15.5 γειόπονός βιότοιο πατήρ ἐμὸς οἶδε καθαίρειν (in metaphor of the vine), 17.57 πάντας ἀληθείης νοεραῖς ὀκτίσι καθαίρων; also metaphorically at A.P.9.658.1 (Paul Sil.) Κόσμον Ἰουστίνος βασιλεὺς ῥυπῶντα καθήρας. Homer uses σμῶδιξ to denote a bloody weal or bruise caused by a blow (Il.2.267, 23.716; see Hesychius s.v.), cf. Lyc.783; Nic.A1.545, Opp.H.2.428 (both of the effect of a bite/sting); Nonn.D.21.79, 37.574; Tryph.260. The epithet ἁμαρτίνοος is used by Hesiod (Th.511) of Epimetheus, in the sense "erring in mind", "wrong-headed",

cf. Sol.22a.2 West ἡγέμονι, Rhian.1.1f (p.9 Powell) πάντες ἁμαρτίνοοι
 πελόμεσθα/ἄνθρωποι; Aeschylus uses it of Io in the sense "distraught"
 (Suppl.542, lyr.). In Nonnus, however, the sense is probably
 stronger, "sinful-minded" (cf. ἁμαρτία, "sin"), Par.1.88 Φαρισαίων,
 6.188 μαθηταῖς, cf. ps.Ap.Met.Ps.1.13 οὐδ' ἄρ' ἁμαρτίνοοι πινυτῶν
 βουλῇσι δικαίων, 3.13 αὐτὰρ ἁμαρτινῶων ὀλοοῦς ξυνέεξας ὀδόντας.
 Paul uses the similar compound ἀλιτρονόος of the Devil, sup. 975.
 Here, as in the case of the compound πρηύνοος in 1004, the -νοος
 element is redundant with βιότου.

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ERRATA

Abstract, line 9: for 'classicing' read 'classicising'.

Page 20, line 5: underline 'fin'.

- " 20, line 11: for 'Justinianischer' read 'justinianischer'.
- " 27, note on 4f, 8 lines from end: delete stop after 'BG'.
- " 28, line 1: delete stop after 'HE'.
- " 31, 10 lines from end: delete underlining under 'XXX'.
- " 31, 3 lines from end: delete stop after 'BP'.
- " 34, note on 18, line 3: for 'id.' read 'ib.'
- " 38, footnote, 2 lines from end: underline 'Chrysotriclinos'.
- " 40, line 6: replace colon by semi-colon.
- " 50, 5 lines from end: for 'κατείσαγει' read 'κατεισάγει'.
- " 54, note on μετῆλθε, line 4: underline 'fin.'
- " 55, note on 66-80, 2nd para, 4 lines from end: for 'the' read 'Greek'.
- " 56, line 1: delete comma after '311-314'.
- " 81, note on 119f, 6 lines from end: underline 'Or!'
- " 85, note on 129, for 'καί' read 'καὶ'.
- " 97, 9 lines from end: complete first o of 'πολιτισσοῦχοισιν'.
- " 112, footnote, line 3: for 'he' read 'K.'
- " 117, 3 lines from end: for 'ἄπονεννημένον' read 'ἄπονενενημένον'.
- " 119, note on ὑπερήλατο θάμβος ἐκεῖνος, line 2: for 'Αὔσονῆς' read 'Αὔσονίης'.
- " 125, 11 lines from end: add comma after 'personal'.
- " 133, 9 lines from end: add comma after 'σύνθρονον'.
- " 140, note on 171, line 3: for 'ὀπωπῆ' read 'ὀπωπή'.
- " 143, note on 174, 3 lines up: underline '(fin.)'.
- " 144, para 1, 4 lines from end: for 'μερίμνα' read 'μέριμνα'.
- " 144, note on 176f, line 5: delete stop after 'BZ'.
- " 155, note on 186, line 2: for 'μὲν' read 'μέν'.
- " 164, line 5: for 'componds' read 'compounds'.
- " 170, note on 199, 4 lines from end: for 'Ἀθηναί' read 'Ἀθηναί'.
- " 211, line 6: for 'A.R.4.285' read 'A.R.4.825'.
- " 219, note on 251, 6 lines from end: for 'μερίμναι' read 'μέριμναι'.
- " 245, note on 267, line 6: for 'ἔπευφήμησαν' read 'ἔπευφήμησεν'.
- " 248, 9 lines from end: for 'ἐπικείται' read 'ἐπικείται'.
- " 262, note on 280, last line: for 'ἀνεζωγρήσας' read 'ἀνεζώγησας'.

ERRATA contd.

Page 264, line 6: for 'ἤθεσι τέχνη' read 'ἤθεσι τέχνης'.

" 266, note on ἄκτινας... , line 5: underline 'v.l.'.

" 266, 7 lines from end: for 'drives/forces' read 'drove/forced'.

" 268, line 2: for 'smale' read 'small'.

" 269, 2 lines from end: underline 'ca.'

" 312, note on 320f, line 3: underline 'ca.'

" 347, note on ἀγχιάλοιο...χθονός, 2 lines from end: add stop after 'Amb'.

" 370, note on 941-949, 10 lines from end: close bracket after 'Heraclius'.

" 380, note on 951, line 1: for 'τοῦ' read 'τεοῦ'.

" 396, 3 lines from end: for 'Spartiates' read 'Spartoi'.

" 447, last line: for 'n.sup. on 998f' read 'n.sup. on 988f'.

" 449, note on 1015f, 7, 6 and 2 lines from end: for 'λείμων' read 'λειμών'.

" 450, lines 12 and 20: for 'λείμων' read 'λειμών'.

" 455, note on 1019, 5 lines from end: for 'φιλέμπορον' read 'φιλέμπορον'.

" 460, note on 1024, line 1: for 'ἄμοσμηξαι' read 'ἄποσμηξαι'.

" 466, line 18: for 'Periegeta' read 'Periegetes'.

" 470, General...works, line 9: for 'accentuation' read 'Accentuation'.

" 474, line 23: delete bracket before 'Copenhagen'.

" 475, line 15: for 'spateren' read 'späteren'.

" 489: for 'σφαίρη' read 'σφαῖρα' and for 'τόλμη' read 'τόλμα' - here
and throughout thesis.